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THE OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS OF LANCELOT ANDREWES,
WILLIAM LAUD AND JOHN COSIN, AS REPRESENTATIVE OF
THE 'CAROLINE DIVINES'

MELVYN DIXON GRAY

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Ph.D.

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VOLUME I



M.D.Gray: The Old Testament Exegesis of Lancelot Andrewes, William Laud and John Cosin, as representative of the 'Caroline Divines'. (Abstract)

Andrewes's 'XCVI Sermons' provide evidence of the style, exegetical methods and beliefs which were to become characteristic of the school which followed him, known collectively as the 'Caroline divines'. The sermons are 'witty', with high-flown language mixed with homely illustrations, colloquial expressions and explanation of Hebrew terms. The humour is sometimes, not always, donnish. His exegetical methods are here examined, and his keenness on 'authorities' (Bible, Fathers, rabbis, et al).

He reads the Old Testament always in the light of the New, often demonstrating typology of Christ, New Testament events and Christian doctrine.

There is far less Old Testament material in Laud and Cosin, yet enough to show their dependence on Andrewes as they deal with the themes of order, Divine Right, the monarch as Supreme Governor of the Church, the people's duty, and apologetic against both Rome and the Puritans.

All three produced private prayers which have been much used (though only Cosin's were intended for the use of others). These display remarkable dependence on the Old Testament, especially Psalms. They all treat of the Decalogue too (Andrewes devoting a work to it).

We see how in their different circumstances, in the 1630s and 1660s, Laud and Cosin were able to put Caroline principles into practice.

On Old Testament exegesis, The Puritans are shown to have much in common with the Carolines, as are the 'Rationalists', and their divergences are discovered.

A chapter is devoted to Hebrew and allied scholarship before and during the Seventeenth Century, so as to describe the academic foundation of Andrewes, Laud, Cosin et al., and the linguistic and other tools (e.g. rabbinics) available to them.

Conclusions include the acknowledgement of a wide spectrum of belief on both 'sides', together with the considerable agreement between them (especially on Old Testament exegesis) and observations on the vexed question of how far the Carolines were innovators.

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CHAPTER 1

LANCELOT ANDREWES: SERMONS

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Lancelot Andrewes was born in 1555, in Barking, the son of a merchant who may have been a former master mariner; in this respect he was typical of a large proportion of Seventeenth Century ecclesiastics which was drawn from the burgeoning commercial middle class. He attended the newly-founded Merchant Taylors' School, where he learnt not only Latin and Greek, but also Hebrew and Aramaic. He went up to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow in 1576. At Cambridge he was exposed to the strong Calvinism there prevailing at the time. Made deacon in 1580, in 1589 he got the living of St.Giles, Cripplegate; this was attached to a Prebend of St.Paul's, and it was there that Andrewes made his mark and became noticed as a fine preacher. Also in 1589 he became Master of his old college.

Elizabeth offered Andrewes two bishoprics – Salisbury and Ely – but he declined to accept on her conditions, i.e. that some of their revenues would be alienated to the Crown. Nevertheless, in 1601 he became Dean of Westminster, where he took a particular interest in the school, and taught there himself. Andrewes fell into immediate and warm favour with James I. He participated in the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, and was appointed to chair one of the Westminster Companies working on the 'new translation' of the Bible. In 1605 James appointed him Bishop of Chichester.

The day before his first Parliamentary appearance as such the Gunpowder Plot was uncovered. This resulted in the imposition of the Oath of Allegiance, for which James himself wrote an *Apology*. This was attacked by Cardinal Bellarmine, one of the brightest Jesuit brains of the Counter-Reformation. He was too big a gun for James to outshoot, so Andrewes was pressed to spend most of the winter of 1608-9 composing an adequate reply, erudite and robust. He was rewarded in 1609 with translation to Ely. The matter was not ended, however, for Bellarmine responded in 1610, and Andrewes had to write his *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini*.

It is thought that this correspondence was a dutiful chore to Andrewes, rather than a pleasure, since he was not naturally inclined to controversy.

In 1617 Andrewes accompanied the King to Scotland, in an attempt to re-establish episcopacy in that land. In 1619 he became Bishop of Winchester, where he spent his last years as the elder statesman of the Church of England, liked and respected by men of all shades of opinion. (There are those who even think that the Civil Wars might have been averted had Andrewes, and not Abbott, been made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1611, as most people expected he would be.) He died in 1626, just after the master he had served so loyally, and at the beginning of the reign of one who would put so many of his ideas into practice, but in a rash, autocratic and unwise manner of which Andrewes would almost certainly have disapproved and counselled against.

Andrewes is credited, with Hooker, with being the founding father of classical Anglican theology, and its general approaches and attitudes; of its concern for balance - between sacrament and Word, between Scripture, reason and tradition, between authority and private judgement, attitudes and methods

which would set the tone of the Church of England's liturgy, morality and church order for centuries to come. From Andrewes and his disciples came the *Via Media*: not a weak compromise between Continental Protestantism and Rome, but something much stronger and more positive.

Andrewes was massively learned; his linguistic competence was legendary in his own time; he was saturated with Scripture; he knew the rabbis as well as the classical authors; and he knew the Fathers, in whom he reposed much – but not uncritical – faith. He fomented the Anglican ‘appeal to antiquity’ in the belief that the Church before the Roman errors and accretions had crept in was the model to which Englishmen should look when striving to establish their own ecclesiastical and doctrinal positions. His motto is said to have been: “One Bible, Two Testaments, Three Persons in the Trinity, Four Centuries and Five Councils.” The Christian needed no more. The affection and respect in which he was held was only partly because of his erudition and homiletic prowess: it was also due to his well-known personal piety, humility and generosity. His was a pleasantly eirenic Christian character, quite unlike that of some of his combative disciples who thought to follow him. His loss was felt keenly by many who were not at all of his school: no less formidable a Puritan than Milton wrote an elegy on his passing. Perhaps this was partly due to his confining himself to matters theological and ecclesiastical; in his essay on the ideal qualities of a bishop, Fuller quotes Buckeridge's funeral sermon for Andrewes: “He meddleth little in civil affairs, being out of his profession and element”.¹

It was as a preacher, however, that he was most widely known and famed in his lifetime. He preached regularly at Court on High Days, being James's

¹ Fuller: *Holy State and Profane State* (ed. Nichols, London, 1841), essay on *The Good Bishop*, p.365.

pulpit favourite. The nature of his style and the content of his sermons form the subject-matter of this and the succeeding chapter.

STYLE

Andrewes the preacher

“All times have somewhat amiss in them, else preachers should have the less work”²

Indisputably, any investigation of the theology of the so-called ‘Caroline divines’ must take much account of the thought of Lancelot Andrewes, and may even centre upon it, for his position is more or less that of the founding father of that group and its characteristic approaches to all matters spiritual, moral, and, indeed, political, coming, as he did, at the end of the Sixteenth Century and flourishing during the first quarter of the next. “The essence of Jacobean High Churchmanship can perhaps best be understood if we examine the teaching of perhaps its most distinguished representative, Lancelot Andrewes....”³ More than that, “Andrewes’s writings, presented to a European audience with an authority that he was one of the few English scholars to possess, formed with the work of his predecessors Jewel and Hooker what was to become the norm of Anglican apologetics.”⁴

Since in this study we are concerning ourselves with Andrewes’s treatment of the Scriptures, and particularly of the Old Testament, and since much of what Andrewes wrote was polemic, directed especially at the Roman Church, it is

² Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (Oxford, 1841 and later), *The Works of Lancelot Andrewes*, henceforth abbreviated to LACT, Preface, p.xviii.

³ Hylson-Smith, K: The Churches in England from Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II (Vol.I 1588-1688 (SCM Press 1996), p.136.

⁴ Story, G.M.: Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons (1967), p.xix.

necessary to look at his extant sermons, in order to infer what we may from carefully prepared public utterances from the pulpit. Andrewes blazed a trail among non-Puritan clergy in the importance he attached to the sermon. Hooker, for example, had played down the importance of preaching, perhaps bearing much in mind the fact that it was regarded by Puritans as very much the most important element in their style of worship. Andrewes, by contrast, whilst remaining wedded to the sacraments and liturgical prayer, regarded preaching as a most necessary activity on the part of the clergy, repeatedly bemoaning their incompetence in this regard, and encouraging his clerical flock to better efforts.⁵ It has to be emphasised, however, as many commentators have, that Andrewes probably had to make himself devote so much time and energy to this activity against his natural inclinations, which were towards study, prayer and meditation – apart from the conscientious (for his day) discharge of his several high pastoral offices – yet he would certainly know that these very practices to which he was devoted throughout his life were the ones needed as underpinning homiletic excellence, and it is likely that he did in fact enjoy preaching, and the attention of his often exalted congregations. Moreover, in his day every ecclesiastic had inevitably to be involved in the several fervent religious controversies of the time; there is evidence that Andrewes did not relish this, preferring to eschew direct controversy for the uncontested arguments of the pulpit, sometimes veiled, sometimes not at all veiled, as we shall see! “For the contemplative mind of Andrewes, preaching was more congenial than controversy, and it is where he was more at home.”⁶

⁵ MacCulloch, D: Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700 (Penguin 2003), p.507.

⁶ Middleton, A: Fathers and Anglicans (Gracewing 2001), p.122.

The significance of Andrewes as a preacher in his day can scarcely be exaggerated: known even in his lifetime as *stella praedicatorum*,⁷ “Andrewes came to occupy a special position at the centre of English life, a position which was expressed above all in his sermons preached before the royal court, ...”⁸ and: “He was the most was the most popular and admired preacher of the time, with the King as one of his main devotees.”⁹ Not only that, but he was expressing ideas, as well as setting standards which were both to be taken up, explored, developed and practised by many illustrious – and doubtless many more less illustrious – figures of the High Church movement of the Seventeenth Century, and, indeed, beyond it, even to the present day. T.S.Eliot has described Andrewes as, “....the first great preacher of the English Catholic Church.”¹⁰ Hylson-Smith comments that although Andrewes’s most lasting contribution to the English Church was in devotional practice and theology, it was arguably in his preaching that these stalls were most evidently set out.¹¹ Lossky goes further, in maintaining that Andrewes’s theology is better stated in his sermons than in even his polemical works (especially *Tortura Torti* and *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini*), for in the sermons it is very positive, intending to edify, whereas it is rather less so in the controversies, where Lossky describes it as “bellicose”.¹²

Use of language

Andrewes’s oratorical style is elevated and deliberately rhetorical – he is preaching, after all, and to august hearers, and in an age when nearly every

⁷ Lossky, N.: *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher* (Clarendon Press, 1991), p.1.

⁸ Allchinn, in Rowell (ed): *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism* (IKON 1992), p.146.

⁹ Hylson-Smith, op.cit., p.137.

¹⁰ Eliot, T.S.: *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London, 1928) p.18; quoted in Lossky, N. op.cit., p.327.

¹¹ Hylson-Smith, op.cit., p.138.

¹² Lossky, op.cit., p.23.

modern style would have appeared banal and quite insufficient to its solemn purpose. "...none ever have, ever have, or ever shall suffer the like, the like, or near the like in any degree."¹³ At any rate, Andrewes's style must obviously have struck a chord in the minds of his original hearers (and, indeed, readers, when his sermons were published by royal desire not long after his death), for they were used to what now seems high-flown English, when it can so affect a modern student – Allchin – whose immersion in the bishop's works leads to use of language which is pure Andrewes, as in, " A movement of assent which is also a movement of ascent."(!)¹⁴ Andrewes is infectious!

Andrewes takes a frequent delight in plays upon words – "his personal habit of letting off words like squibs so that they break into a number of dazzling images"¹⁵; indeed, this was the main substance of hostile comment from his critics, as the editor of the LACT volumes notes.¹⁶ He has clever English turns of phrase, such as, "Who can complain of his wondering, or wonder at his complaining?"¹⁷ And, notwithstanding his generally elevated language, appropriate to the occasions, he can and often does descend into colloquial speech: " ... Korah, Dathan, and their crew"¹⁸; " It undid Felix, that."¹⁹ ; "Stones That will neither head well nor bed well, as they say."²⁰; " hath gotten the upper hand."²¹ As well as such phrases and sayings, he can employ contemporary colloquial grammar, such as using adjectives for adverbs, as in, "

¹³ LACT II, p.46.

¹⁴ Rowell, op.cit., p.154.

¹⁵ Mitchell, W.F.: English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson (1932), p.162.

¹⁶ LACT I, p.9.

¹⁷ LACT I, p.346.

¹⁸ LACT I, p.151.

¹⁹ LACT I, p.364.

²⁰ LACT II, p.279.

²¹ LACT III, p.67.

.... Be put out of the building clean.”²² (Where ‘clean’ has the nuance of ‘utterly’.)

The insertion of the common tongue into a text whose language is for the most part of considerable gravamen is sometimes mirrored in what he says as well as in how he says it. Normally quite direct in his descriptions, prescriptions and proscriptions, he can on occasion become rather untypically coy; speaking of Absalom’s outrageous lèse-majesté, on II Sam 16.2, he says, “ He spread a tent aloft, and *did you know what, not to be told* [my italics], and that in the sight of all Israel.” Perhaps we should not be overly surprised at such juxtapositions of words or treatment of subject. It is a powerful rhetorical device (noted at least once by Andrewes himself, on, e.g., Mic.5.2), which gives the listener a ‘breather’ from the unremitting intellectual effort of following dense argument densely expressed. This device has been well-known to orators throughout history : Hitler, Churchill and Billy Graham have all been accomplished exponents of the technique. (It may also be that Andrewes knew quite well what he was doing in the ‘Absalom’ example, and making his point even better than with his usual elegance : here is something which even this eminent preacher cannot express in decent terms – wow! it must have been really disgusting! A moment’s reflection, of course, tells us that Andrewes could perfectly well have chosen to deal with the episode in his normal manner – especially when it is actually told in the Bible!)

The technique of giving a ‘breather’ to the audience often involves humour – for some speakers necessarily so ; Andrewes is no exception in this regard: “Mary Magdalene wept enough to have made a bath.”²³ And his humour melds well with his liking for word-play : “[David] should have been no head, nay

²² LACT III, p.280.

²³ LACT I, p.373.

should have had no head if he had been gotten.”²⁴ The humour can turn bitter, with a quick side-swipe at events, ideas or – especially – persons of whom he disapproves: “ The error of the brain-sick Anabaptist”²⁵; “Much ado is made by your antiquaries, if an old stone be digged up with any dim letters on it.”²⁶

Opinion, based on contemporary or near-contemporary evidence, is divided on the precise extent of Andrewes’s knowledge of foreign languages. What is not disputed is that its range was formidable – at least fifteen, and maybe as many as twenty or more: a truly astounding achievement for one who, so far as is known, never left the shores of his native island, nor even travelled far within it. There is contemporary evidence for this facility, though the way of these things is that quite possibly it was not so extensive as admirers honestly thought. Nevertheless, Bishop Buckeridge, in his celebrated sermon at Andrewes’s funeral, could say, “His admirable knowledge of the learned tongues, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, besides other modern tongues to the number of fifteen as I am informed...”²⁷ Another contemporary, Thomas Fuller, said of his friend, “Some conceive he might have served as Interpreter General at the confusion of tongues.”²⁸ “Whence came such knowledge? Almost certainly through the good offices of Andrewes’s father, merchant and former seafarer as he was, who was required to provide his son, during his month’s pre-Easter holiday from Cambridge each year, with a ‘tutor’ in a language hitherto unknown to him.”²⁹ ³⁰ So it is not surprising to find his liking for word-play

²⁴ LACT II, p.287.

²⁵ LACT I, p.186.

²⁶ LACT II, p.257.

²⁷ LACT V, p.291.

²⁸ Quoted by Lossky, in Rowell, op.cit., p.149.

²⁹ Ottley, R.L.: Lancelot Andrewes (Methuen, 1894), p.13.

extending beyond English, usually into Latin, occasionally Hebrew. This results in his curious habit of using Latin words or phrases almost as if they are English ones: “Where the eye is upon *idipsum* and no *ipsum* else...”³¹; “Give him an *ortus est*.”³² “ Two *celebrabimuses* to one *iudicabo*.”³³ (Note that the Latin can become so English as for a verb to become a noun, and to take an English plural ending!) Andrewes takes fewer liberties with the Hebrew, though this doesn’t stop him from producing an amazing hybrid, *Rex Alkum*, used as an English term!³⁴ Sometimes there is a combination of this trick, plus word-play, plus humour, as in, “If it be not *Immanu-el*, it will be *Immanu-hell* If we have Him, and God by Him, we need no more; *Immanu-el* and *Immanu-all*.”³⁵ Finally, we see how Andrewes can even make words up: “ it [Bethlehem] was ‘minima’ – the very ‘miniminess’ as I may say of it.”³⁶ Of course, Andrewes, at the turn of his century, was not alone in his word-mongering, but in some excellent company: “Donne’s poetry was circulating in manuscript among the members of Andrewes congregation. His audience was also Shakespeare’s audience.”³⁷

It was not in the good bishop’s nature to pretend to infallibility, and his style is not without the occasional weakness. “ ‘Now’ is the first word of the text [Joel 2.12] ,” he asserts confidently – though it isn’t, except in the Vulgate (but it

³⁰ The possible list of ‘modern’ languages is hard to imagine. Andrewes would be likely to acquire only those tongues which would prove useful to his academic researches. He would probably know French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German and Dutch – then what? Ottoman Turkish, possibly, or Church Slavonic. By the C17th most European languages had not developed extensive vernacular literatures. The Indian and Far Eastern languages were just beginning to be studied – but they were vehicles of non-Christian cultures, and their students were by and large Roman Catholic missionaries: neither fact conducive to attracting Andrewes’s interest!

³¹ *LACT I*, p.221.

³² *LACT I*, p.184.

³³ *LACT II*, p.14.

³⁴ *LACT IV*, p.11.

³⁵ *LACT I*, p.145.

³⁶ *LACT I*, p.60.

³⁷ Hewison, P.E.: *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Writings* (Carcenet Press, 1995), Introduction, p.xii.

suits his purpose).³⁸ At times he quotes the Hebrew for no apparent reason, e.g. “אֶדְ מוֹרִים – even enemies or rebels.”³⁹ Is he showing off? Or simply forgetting himself? On more than a few occasions he gives a false Scriptural reference. And he is capable, like St.Paul, of producing incomplete sentences, as his tongue (or, more likely, his pen – or both) is carried away by his passion, as with, “Trustiness, with *non confundetur*, the chief virtue of a stone, of Christ and of those that are head-stones, by, and under, Him.”⁴⁰

In view of all this, it is perhaps uncharitable to recall that Andrewes was fond of claiming that the substance of a sermon was far more important than the words that clothed it; he used to remind people of what was said about St.Augustine: “Dicat sapienter quod non potest eloquenter.”⁴¹ We shall look at the substance later.

Construction: divisions

The construction of the sermons is meticulous. Nearly all are arranged in sections, which Andrewes happily tells his hearers about, calling them “divisions”. Thus the technique of many a preacher, then and later. In Andrewes’s case, it was a homiletic device inherited from the Middle Ages, lasting through the Sixteenth Century.⁴² However, Andrewes is not content with the hallowed ‘three points’ or anything like them. There may well be three ‘divisions’ in a sermon, but these are nearly always subdivided – and even these subdivisions can in their turn be made to contain several points in each. This is due to Andrewes’s penchant for minute examination of the wording of his text, as

³⁸ LACT I, p.358.

³⁹ LACT III, p.235.

⁴⁰ LACT II, p.279.

⁴¹ LACT I, Editor’s Preface, p.xvii.

⁴² Story, G.M. (ed.): *Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons* (1967), p.xliii.

when, on Gen.1.1, his four divisions are based on *in principio/ Deus/ creavit/ coelum et terram*.⁴³ (Unsurprisingly, his exposition of Gen.1-4 in the *Apospasmata Sacra* comprises 92 ‘Lectures’, running to more than 500 folio pages!) In some sermons there are more than one set of divisions, as a result of his exhaustive analysis, as on Lam.1.12, when both “passers by” and “my sorrow” merit extensive treatment.⁴⁴ In this procedure, as elsewhere, it has to be admitted – and this is not to criticise him adversely – that his imagination is regularly brought into play, for the ‘divisions’ are not always immediately obvious to one less well-endowed with that mental facility, let alone his massive erudition. Thus he will offer disquisitions on all three parts to God’s name: ‘Jehovah’, ‘justitia’ and (even) ‘nostra’.⁴⁵ A fair example of the division technique is found in one of his Christmas sermons, when he is expounding Isa.9. He offers two main divisions, concerning: I: The Child’s Birth; II: Baptism. The former is itself divided, then subdivided, as follows:

I.1 (a) two natures – Child and Son;

(b) two persons, based on ‘shoulder’ and ‘name’;

(c) his office: government.

2. (“Our interest”, inferred from “to us” – twice, N.B.)

(a) birth;

(b) gift.

Division II is merely subdivided into five, based on the epithets describing Isaiah’s figure:

(1) “Wonderful”;

(2) “Counsellor”;

⁴³ Andrewes, *Apospasmata Sacra or a Collection of posthumous and orphan Lectures* (London, 1657) p.2.

⁴⁴ *LACT II*, p.139.

⁴⁵ *LACT V*, p.108.

(3) “Mighty God”;

(4) “Everlasting Father”

(5) “Prince of Peace”.

These easily produce a good hour’s sermon, if not more.

Construction: other techniques

Individual words are subject to fine dissection; not only nouns, verbs and adjectives – as one might reasonably expect – but prepositions, pronouns and conjunctions can be held to be of considerable import to the message he – and, he says, the text – are trying to convey. When, for instance, discussing the title ‘Immanuel’, he gives the Hebrew, then, in an exposition which covers several pages, takes the term to pieces (explaining the Hebrew by reference to Latin usage – his regal audience is an educated one!), right down to the very word order, on which he lays stress as meaningful in itself: apparently there is a world of difference between *cum nobis* and *nobiscum*.....⁴⁶ Thus he can find meaning in everything: “*in medio deos iudicabit* – out in the open, not in a corner.”⁴⁷ He himself is ‘out in the open’ about it: “ every word containing matter worth the passing on.”⁴⁸ He is also capable of finding a word lying in his text, when he wants to, a word that is invested with more meaning than perhaps it can really bear. In Ps.2.7 it is ‘law’ (אֱלֹהִים). Andrewes sees the rest of the Psalm as concerned with law (both *lex fidei* and *lex factorum*, taken from Rom.3.27), so decides that Verse 7 is a preamble and therefore must in itself contain these – as,

⁴⁶ LACT I, pp.44f.

⁴⁷ LACT I, pp.204f.

⁴⁸ LACT II, p.18.

indeed, his exposition shows us it does. So a simple 'decree' or 'directive' has acquired an altogether bigger meaning: that of a whole body of law.⁴⁹

No wonder that T.S.Eliot, in his tribute volume, "For Lancelot Andrewes", writes: "Andrewes takes a word and derives the world from it; squeezing and squeezing the word until it yields a full juice of meaning which we would never have supposed any word to possess."⁵⁰ However, as mentioned above, this technique did not appeal to everybody: According to Aubrey, one Scottish nobleman, asked by the king how he had liked Andrewes's sermon, replied, "...he did play with his Text, as a Jack-an-apes does, who takes up a thing and plays a little with it, Here's a pretty thing, and there's a pretty thing."⁵¹ Maybe in his case, and certainly in others', disagreement with Andrewes's theology coloured judgement. And Collinson, whilst placing Andrewes, along with Cosin, firmly in the 'Top Nine' Episcopal preachers of all schools in the Seventeenth Century, yet qualifies his choice thus: "Andrewes has gems which put him in the front rank as a stylist, but it must be admitted that his gems are often embedded in arid philological analyses of texts".⁵²

Another part of Andrewes's technique is a sort of diatribe, perhaps following St.Paul: he regularly produces objections to a part of his text, then demolishes them. He does not, however, take these diatribes to the ridiculous lengths perpetrated by some of his contemporaries (e.g. John Barlow of Plymouth [fl.1618-32]), who "...interspersed their exposition with *objection* and *solution* to

⁴⁹ LACT I, p.295

⁵⁰ T.S.Eliot: For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order (London 1928), p.18.

⁵¹ Aubrey, J.: Brief Lives (London, 1677), p.7.

⁵² Collinson, P., in Knox, R.B.: Reformation Conformity and Dissent (Epworth Press, 1977), p.93.

such an extent as to earn from their theological critics the nickname of ‘obsollers’.”⁵³

His range of knowledge is remarkable, by no means confined to academic and intellectual matters, but extending to many practical and material. For instance, when dealing with Christ the Cornerstone, he avers (re corners), “ No place so much in danger of weather going in, and making the sides fly off, if it want a covering.”⁵⁴ Elsewhere, he digresses on human anatomy, agriculture, physiology, botany, warfare and art, *inter alia*. Teaching is done methodically and directly, all points hammered home by repetition. In addition, Andrewes will push in here and there some point almost in passing, as if it has just occurred to him. (More likely, it occurred to him as an afterthought to his main themes, as he was drafting the sermon.) Thus, for example, he tells his people that a frequent theme of the Psalms is the eventual alleviation of the suffering of God’s people, and the final abasement of the exaltation of their enemies. In this instance, as an afterthought to an afterthought, perhaps, he surrenders to the temptation to play with words, showing that he can pun in Hebrew as well as English! He says that, “אל־נְקָמוֹת of Ps.94.1, ‘the God of vengeance’, is also אֱלֹהֵי נַחֲמוֹת ‘God of comfort’ to His people.”⁵⁵ [We cannot find the latter term in the Old Testament, but that is not to claim that Andrewes couldn’t.]

A curious feature of Andrewes’s technique is that the last part of a sermon – the main point to which he has been proceeding – can be almost cursory, a brief epilogue to the extensive and fastidious examination of the text, an examination which has given rise to lengthy and rich exposition. (About twenty times too lengthy and ten times too rich for any modern congregation!)

⁵³ Mitchell, W.F.: English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson (1932), p.207.

⁵⁴ LACT II, p.78.

⁵⁵ LACT II, p.16.

Versions

So much for Andrewes's importance, style and technique as a preacher. We now turn briefly to the Versions he used. During his adult lifetime several English Versions were current, but pre-eminently the Geneva Bible in one or other of its many editions. It is the Geneva Bible from which Andrewes almost invariably takes his English text, even after the publication of the 'King James' or 'Authorised' Version, in the preparation of which he himself played a major, perhaps the leading role.⁵⁶ In this he was by no means alone among Church of England luminaries (it was to be expected that Puritan divines would continue to prefer the Geneva, as they did for several decades after the 'new translation' came out), for it seems to have been a habit of bishops in the early Seventeenth Century, to, say, 1630, to use the Geneva Bible – Laud no less than Andrewes,⁵⁷ and it took until 1662 for the 'Authorised Version' to be used for the Epistles and Gospels in the Book of Common Prayer.⁵⁸ Can it be that Andrewes did not, in fact, think highly of his own and the others' work in the 1600's? This is not so absurd a possibility as it may at first seem. Andrewes was a rigorous scholar, steeped in language study and revelling in textual analysis, and it may be that he would have preferred the 1611 Bible to have been a new translation, rather than the mere revision of the Bishops' Bible which the King had commanded. Furthermore, if a revision it had to be, then his constant use of the Geneva Bible may imply that he regarded it as superior to the Bishops' Bible, an opinion held by most scholars then and since.⁵⁹ Daniell claims that the basing of the revision on the Bishops'

⁵⁶ Interestingly, the Preface to the AV itself cites the Geneva Bible! [McGrath, op.cit., p.99.]

⁵⁷ Daniell, D: The Bible in English (Yale, 2003), p.295.

⁵⁸ Chadwick, O: The Reformation (Penguin, 3rd.Edition, 1972), p.225.

⁵⁹ "...it [Geneva] retained its popularity against the Bishops' Bible, and, for a generation,

Bible of 1568 was due to ecclesiastical (and maybe secular) politics; the Authorised Version was deliberately archaic, it seems, though to what purpose is a matter for conjecture. “The KJV was born archaic: it was intended as a step back.”⁶⁰ (Indeed, Daniell can go on to state with some passion: “ The forcible replacement from 1611 of the remarkable, accurate, informative, forward-looking, very popular Geneva Bibles with the backward-gazing, conservative KJV was one of the tragedies of Western culture.”⁶¹ It is a minority opinion. Interestingly, the archaism of the Authorised Version is manifestly apparent when compared with Andrewes’s style, even his (presumably) artificial, elevated homiletic style. For instance, he often eschews the 3rd.Person Singular ending –eth, and never uses the 2nd.Person Singular other than when addressing God. This suggests that these features, around 1600, had disappeared from the vernacular, being kept for poetry – and the Bible.

When all this is said and done, English Versions did not matter all that much to Andrewes the preacher. Virtually all the direct quotations of Scripture in his sermons are from the Latin Vulgate, immediately translated into English, often in Andrewes’s own ‘version’. Often he will refer to the Latin rather than the English to make a homiletic point difficult to extract from our own more amorphous tongue. He can give the impression that he regards the Vulgate as the final authority, even though he can and does go to the Greek and Hebrew, as if he respects Jerome as near-infallible (Jerome being certainly one of his greatest heroes among the Fathers, and regularly quoted in Andrewes’s sermons.) It must

against the Authorised Version.” [So Greenslade, S.L. in the Cambridge History of the Bible (CUP, 1963), Vol.III, “The West from the Reformation to the Present Day”, p.159.]

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.441.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.442.

also be remembered that in the early C17th Latin was still very much a living language, in that it was the language of scholarship, science (such as it was), law and international relations. Its mastery was thus a *sine qua non*⁶² for any cleric with a hope of distinction: “The requirements of an ideal priest are outlined in the thirty-fourth Canon, which declared that every young man should be ‘able to yield an account of his faith in Latin’ according to the Articles of 1562/3 and to confirm the same ‘by sufficient testimonies out of the Holy Scriptures.’”⁶³ “....the sermons were preached before a learned monarch; and in educated circles the Vulgate would be not uncommonly used for the purpose of quotation.”⁶⁴

Biblical knowledge

Andrewes’s sermons are characterised by what more than one commentator has described as a wealth of biblical illustration,⁶⁵ and another, less kindly, to opine that “...many of Andrewes’s sermons were ‘cut and paste’ jobs from the Scriptures”.⁶⁶ Not only do we find direct quotation piled upon direct quotation, we encounter numberless allusions, rather than direct quotes, such as, “We must creep into Ebal, and leap into Gerizim” (i.e. be slow to curse, swift to bless).⁶⁷ Many quotations are without references⁶⁸ and many of those actually given are erroneous (corrected in the LACT volumes). This is doubtless due to haste, rather than laziness: given Andrewes’s encyclopaedic Biblical knowledge, most quotations are almost certainly from memory; thus quite often the wording is

⁶² Forgive the Andrewsian touch!

⁶³ Higham F., Catholic and Reformed (SPCK, 1962), p.90.

⁶⁴ Ottley, R.L, op.cit., p.144.

⁶⁵ e.g. Middleton, op.cit., p.122.

⁶⁶ Dorman, M.: Lancelot Andrewes: a Perennial Preacher of the Post-Reformation Church of England (Fenestra Books, 2005), p.11.

⁶⁷ LACT IV, p.9.

⁶⁸ LACT I, Editor’s Preface, p.vi.

not exact, claims the LACT Editor⁶⁹ - but exactly to which Version, one may ask, or to which original available to Andrewes? And we have seen that he is eminently capable of producing his own.

Did he have a concordance of sorts? If not, he obviously knows his Bible through and through, and details have lodged in his mind, to be retrieved when needed. Only such ability, surely, could account for many of his vivid allusions, such as (admonishing those who would repent in comfort): “Change Joel into Jael, take a draught of milk out of her bottle, and wrap them up well, and lay them down, and never rise more.”⁷⁰ [Following it up with, “Far more than we have a liking to perform we cannot at any hand abide should be urged as useful.” Plus ça change!]

Linguistic competence

Before he went up to Cambridge, aged seventeen, Andrewes is said to have mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic; he continued their study throughout his life, and it is not surprising, given his competence in and fascination with these languages, that he refers to them in almost every paragraph of every sermon, in one way or another. Often this takes the form of detailed examination of the (original) wording of his chosen text, as when dealing with Lam.1.12 he picks upon three words and animadverts on their meanings: מכאוב “ ‘sorrow’, taken from ‘wound’ or ‘stripe’”; עולל “ ‘Gholel’ [sic] – ‘done to me’, ‘melting in a furnace’” (Andrewes explains that this is Jerome’s explanation of an Aramaic word in the Targum – supported by Lam.1.13.) Andrewes himself produces the Old Latin (he doesn’t rely solely on the Vulgate, N.B.), finding

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.vi.

⁷⁰ LACT I, p.370.

vindemiavit me, “as a vine stripped of fruit”; הוּגָה “ ‘afflicted’, ‘rending off, bereaving’”⁷¹. On Job 19.27 his text says, “though my reins are consumed within me (Or, and this hope is laid up in my bosom)” Hope is here, he explains, the ‘kidneys’ (כליות) of the soul: “It made the translator miss, that he knew not this idiom.”⁷²(!) (‘This idiom’ got into the AV, nevertheless, though it was well into preparation when this sermon was preached in 1610, as well as into modern Versions.) On Psalm 2.7 he discusses יִלְדָּתִיךָ ‘begotten’, maintaining that ‘born’ is better; also that אָמַר is to be taken in the sense of ‘command’, not merely ‘say’; both suit his homiletic purposes.⁷³

Frequently Andrewes supplies an alternative rendering to his Geneva text, usually explaining this by reference to the Hebrew in a marginal note. On Num.1,2: “Then God spake to Moses, saying, Make thee two trumpets of silver, of one whole piece shalt thou make them. And thou shalt have them (or, they shall be for thee) [margin: לְךָ וְהָיוּ] to assemble (or, call together) [margin: לְמִקְרָא] the congregation, and to remove the camp.”⁷⁴ We have mentioned how Andrewes is very willing to supply at least a nuance, shall we say, to fit in with the thrust of an argument, and already given the example of קָח in Ps.2.7, when Andrewes shifts the singularity of a decree or instruction into the larger burden of law and laws, since these are overtones he needs in the sermon.⁷⁵ On Zech.12.10, he explains the Hiph’il וְהִבִּיטוּ as “the command conjugation”, then offering a reflexive meaning of “made themselves look”, again because it suits his purpose at that point in the sermon. He explains, “For in the original, it is in the

⁷¹ LACT II, p.144.

⁷² LACT II, p.271.

⁷³ LACT I, p.285.

⁷⁴ LACT V, p.141.

⁷⁵ LACT I, p.287.

* Adumbrations, here as elsewhere, are mine.

commanding conjugation [sic] that signifieth, *facient se respicere*, rather than *respicient*”⁷⁶, whereas it is more properly rendered into Latin by *facient eos respicere*, as he well knows. Again, on Dt.23.9, he takes דָּבָר in the sense of ‘judicial cause/case’, rather than ‘evil talk’, דָּבָר רָע, later indicating ‘keep from boasting’, i.e. trusting in one’s own strength, showing that he can accept more than one nuance at a time, to further his point, helped by references to Exod.15.9 (Pharaoh), Isa.36.14 (Rabshakeh) and Dan.5.2 (Belshazzar).

Perhaps assuming that his hearers must share his interest in matters Hebraic, Andrewes is not shy of enlightening them. He tells them that it is a Hebrew habit to use the plural with the force of a superlative; thus Mic.5.2 does not really say ‘goings forth’ but is an intensive of ‘going forth’.⁷⁷ On Isa.9.6, “For unto us a Child is born”, he notes the ‘prophetic past’, “ Speaking of things to come as if they were already past.”⁷⁸ Elsewhere, he maintains that ‘Jehovah (Yahweh)’ is used only of God, whereas ‘El’ is found also in, e.g. angels’ names, ‘Jah’ in, e.g. names like ‘Isaiah and Jeremiah’.⁷⁹ Names are important, and usually translated with homiletic purpose. Thus with ‘Simon Bar-Jonah’, only found in Mt.16.17 – why? Because he (Simon Peter) has just declared Jesus the Son of God; ‘Bar-Jonah’ is *filius columbae*, Son of the Dove, i.e. the Holy Ghost – who, Jesus says, has inspired him to make his confession of faith.⁸⁰ ‘Beelzebub’ is “a great flesh-fly” who never ceases to molest us.⁸¹ He explains that he interprets יָדָא as ‘my pillar’, from the segholate יָדָא ‘base’, ‘pedestal’, perhaps

⁷⁶ LACT II, p.128.

⁷⁷ LACT I, p.164.

⁷⁸ LACT I, p.18.

⁷⁹ LACT I, p.66f.

⁸⁰ LACT III, p.254.

⁸¹ LACT V, p.538.

stretching a point.⁸² In the same passage, speaking of the ‘pillars’ of Ps.75.3, he refers to the two pillars at the doorway of Solomon’s Temple as יָכִין ‘will establish’, and בָּעֶז ‘in the strength’ (i.e. of God); these adding up to steadiness. These ‘explanations’ frequently lead to homiletic comment. Taking מוֹשֵׁל (Mic.5.2) as ‘guide’ rather than ‘ruler’ (possibly knowing the cognate root מָשַׁל ‘to be like/resemble’, which produces מִשְׁל ‘proverb’, ‘parable’, he is led to the sublime, “ And who better Guide than the One who is the Way Himself?”⁸³ Sometimes it is just a matter of passing interest, as when he explains that ‘Bartholomew’ means ‘son of rain’.⁸⁴ The comment may be dismissive, as on the meaning of Zedekiah’s name, ‘God’s righteous one’ or ‘the righteousness of God’: “Men’s names are for the most part false.”⁸⁵ ‘El’ is the name of power – but since power must be undergirded by justice, so justice is paramount with God, “as here” (comment on Jer.23.6)⁸⁶ And on the celebrated crux of Hos.11.4, ‘cords of man’, he says this means the inducements of religion and reason, the two allied, if not virtually synonymous (the Age of Reason had not yet dawned, of course, despite early Socinian stirrings on the Continent; nearer home, Great Tew and Cambridge would shortly be beginning to interpret ‘religion’ and ‘reason’ differently from Andrewes, but he was not to know that.)⁸⁷

Andrewes’s wit reaches into his comments on the Hebrew, as in “ Many times the names given by wise men fall out quite contrary. Solomon called his son Rehoboam, ‘the enlarger of the people’; he enlarged them from ten [sic] to two.”⁸⁸

The puns appear, too: indicating that the people should be amenable to being led,

⁸² LACT II, p.7.

⁸³ LACT I, p.66f.

⁸⁴ LACT IV, p.245.

⁸⁵ LACT V, p.106.

⁸⁶ LACT V, p.110.

⁸⁷ LACT II, p.9.

⁸⁸ LACT I, p.142.

like sheep (ps.77.20), he says that thus they will get נָהַג 'lead', 'guide'; if not, they will get נָכַח 'smite', like goats Rulers must employ both carrots and sticks!⁸⁹

What do Andrewes's countless quotations from the Hebrew, coupled with his explanations, tell us? Firstly, that his concern for texts and versions was deep, driven by a conviction that only the original text could be the 'inspired' one, and therefore must be sought and, when found, examined minutely for the all-important meanings it must contain. Secondly, that his preparation was meticulous, leaving no linguistic stones unturned; one has the distinct impression of his going to the originals, and several Versions, before he starts composing, and repeating the process during composition, so thorough that it cannot but show through in the finished product. His references are catholic, drawn from all over the Bible, and elsewhere, including the Fathers, pagan writers (occasionally) and mediaevals (occasionally).

Extra-Biblical sources

Andrewes does not, then, confine himself to the Hebrew and the pages of the Old Testament. He is aware of the Septuagint, the Apocrypha, the New Testament (necessarily and naturally, even when commenting on the Old), the Targum and rabbinic traditions, though references – apart from New Testament ones – are tantalisingly few. However, they are enough to show that he knew, indeed was familiar with these sources. When examining Mt. 2.6, ποιμανεῖ, he refers us to the Hebrew Vorlage וְשָׁלַח (not this time to the LXX, which has

⁸⁹ LACT II, p.28.

εἰς ἄρχοντα)⁹⁰ The Septuagint he calls ‘the Seventy’, and can summon its aid; for instance, to justify offensive war, in his sermon on Ash Wednesday, 1599, on Dt.23.9, he cites the LXX παρεμβαλλεῖν ‘to invade’ as better than mere ‘go forth’.⁹¹ On Jer.8.5, Andrewes points us to the following verse for elucidation: not only will they not ‘return’, but “are vigorous in pursuing sin”, citing LXX ὥς ἵππος κάθιδρος ‘like a horse foaming at the mouth’⁹² [On Verse 7 he imagines marvellously the attributes of the four birds as indicating the proper manner of repentance: the turtle-dove bewailing sin; the stork (Heb. *ṭṭṭṭ* he takes to be from *ṭṭṭ*) symbolising works of mercy; the swallow is near the altar of God (cf.Ps.84); the crane practises abstinence and watching before migratory flight.]

The Apocrypha’s place in the Scriptural record being much in dispute in Andrewes’s day, it does not figure largely in his work; it does come within his orbit, however, and he defends its use by pointing out that Jude 14 quotes from Enoch, and “...all the ancient writers are full of allegations from them.”⁹³ Accordingly, the occasional quotation appears in his sermons.⁹⁴ He quotes Wisdom 1.12 at one point, approvingly;⁹⁵ also Ecclus.47.2 (referred to as “the Son of Sirach”)⁹⁶ In the *Apospasmata*, he mentions “Philosophers as ancient as the Prophet *Esdras*” (as identifying Noah with Janus, looking in both antediluvian and postdiluvian directions.)⁹⁷

⁹⁰ *LACT I*, p.155.

⁹¹ *LACT I*, p.327.

⁹² *LACT I*, p.351.

⁹³ *LACT V*, p.61.

⁹⁴ There is no evidence that Andrewes influenced the inclusion of the Apocrypha in the Authorised Version [unlike Geneva], [see Greenslade, *op.cit.*, p.157], but it seems that he would have approved.

⁹⁵ *LACT II*, p.22.

⁹⁶ *LACT V*, p.249

⁹⁷ *Apospasmata*, *op.cit.*, p.3.

He knows the Targums. As mentioned above, he quotes Jerome on the Aramaic, to elucidate עולל, referring to “the Chaldee Paraphrast” on Lam.1.12, as he does again when commenting on Ps.118.22, averring that the ‘stone’ originally referred to David, and that “The Chaldee Paraphrast offers ‘The Child whom the chieftest men oppugned, He of all the sons of Ishai, was made Ruler of Israel.’”⁹⁸

An excellent example of how Andrewes flits from one source to another, sampling, retaining, reflecting, comes from a discussion of the status of the female figure of Isa.7.14. עלמה is merely a ‘young woman’ (adding, significantly for our awareness of his sources, “say the Jews”.) But it is from the root עלם ‘to cover’, so must mean one who has not yet been uncovered, i.e. a virgin. He points us also to Miriam (Exod.2.8), and Rebecca (Gen.24.43; 55.57, where it must mean ‘virgin’). His examples may stem from Jerome, one of his most influential mentors. Curiously, he makes no play of the fact that ‘a woman of marriageable age’, as עלמה is usually understood, would probably and/or rightly be a virgin. He goes on to tell us that the Targum glosses עלמות by בתולות, which definitely means ‘virgins’. However, this comment refers us to Cant.2.2, which is an erroneous reference! Also, he cites the LXX, triumphantly emphasising that this document was produced by Jews “skilled in Hebrew”, who write παρθένος - centuries before Christ’s time. All this is very important to Andrewes, since, as we shall see below, the Incarnation is central to his theology; “ But if no virgin, no *ecce!*” – i.e. no wonder.⁹⁹ (There follows an interesting comparison, perhaps not quite incidental, with Elizabeth, aged and barren, with whom, apparently, God did the reverse of what he did with Mary.)

⁹⁸ LACT II, pp.144,275.

⁹⁹ LACT I, p.137f.

Andrewes's style is often dubbed 'witty' or 'metaphysical', the style favoured for the greater part of the Seventeenth Century. It draws unexpected parallels and analogies from often quite mundane images and sayings, but always to good and serious purpose. There is a dense 'mosaic' or 'tessellation' of text and quotation, which became thinner as the century wore on (cf. Cosin *infra*; he stands in the tradition, but the 'mosaic' is less dense). Another characteristic of the style is the constant recourse to 'authorities' to support points and clinch arguments, where later preachers would more likely appeal to reason and personal experience.¹⁰⁰

METHOD

His debt to previous schools

We come to Andrewes's exegetical method. Here we see his debt to all the schools preceding him: rabbinic, patristic, mediaeval, Reformation. Trevelyan, not primarily interested in theology, states confidently, "The triumph of the Tillotsonian style marked a decisive break [C.18th] with the traditional forms of pulpit oratory, deriving from the mediaeval Church. Latimer, Andrewes, Donne and Taylor were all, in their different ways, essentially mediaeval. It is possible to see how Tillotson saved Anglican homiletics from degenerating into a morass of pedantry and affectation."¹⁰¹ McAdoo extends the charge to most of the Carolines, whose tendency to incorporate into their writings and sermons a massive panoply of quotations from the Fathers and rabbis as well as Scripture follows the 'authoritative' – and thoroughly mediaeval – method of exegesis, the method which obtained to a greater or less extent in all theological schools,

¹⁰⁰ See Mitchell, *op.cit.*, for a lengthy treatment of the style.

¹⁰¹ Trevelyan, G.M.: English Social History (Longmans, 1944), p.357.

Catholic and Protestant, until well into the second half of the C17th.¹⁰² The charge has some validity, when one looks at passages such as the introduction to a sermon on Num.10.1,2, where Andrewes takes up nearly one sixth of his time in ‘setting the scene’ with much geographical, chronological and linguistic detail.¹⁰³ Any modern preacher would try to accomplish this task just as effectively in a quarter of the words. But is this trait mediaeval, any more than his exegesis is, i.e. somewhat, but not entirely? And we see stirrings of greater emphasis on reason vis-à-vis ‘authority’ in the work of the group which met at Great Tew before the Civil Wars; Hales, for example, putting it into words. It is also to be doubted whether the Quakers were much concerned with such appeals to ‘authority’; nor, certainly, were the Socinians, whose influence was beginning to be felt faintly on these shores.¹⁰⁴ With regard to his many quotations from the classical languages, Andrewes defends this practice robustly, by reference to St.Paul, who, writing to “Grecians, hath not feared to use terms as strange to them, as Latin or Greek is to us – ‘Maranatha’, ‘Belial’, ‘Abba’.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, it could justly be pointed out that these are not encountered in every dozen verses of the Epistles! But to be fair to Andrewes, a man of his time, he actually produces rather fewer Latin or Greek allusions than do many of his lesser imitators; far fewer, in fact, than some of his illustrious successors, notably Jeremy Taylor. McAdoo himself admits that Andrewes was also much influenced by the Renaissance, especially in that he had read widely in the Greek and Latin classics. Indeed, he was a ‘Renaissance Man’ when it was still possible to be one, conversant with more than a little of all areas of human knowledge thitherto available. “The very breadth of

¹⁰² McAdoo, H.R.: The Spirit of Anglicanism (1965)

¹⁰³ LACT V, pp.141-144.

¹⁰⁴ Schroder, K.: The Birth of Modern Critical Theology (SCM Press, 1990); see Chapter 2 for a detailed account of the Socinians’ theological method.

¹⁰⁵ LACT V, p.61.

his scholarship and knowledge of languages had about it a spaciousness which must have commended itself to his friend Bacon. The friendship and the fact that Bacon consulted with Andrewes about his own works seem to presuppose in the latter an interest in the philosophical, observational and humanist approach which the *Essays* reveal.”¹⁰⁶

Mediaeval exegesis

Andrewes’s exposition of Scripture in minute detail had a long history behind it; already in the C12th Andrew of St.Victor was writing copious commentaries which eschewed arguing backwards by reading into Scripture traditional and doctrinal assumptions. Instead, he presented and explained the text using his own Biblical scholarship, adding, amending and glossing from Scripture itself.¹⁰⁷ His mentor, Hugh of St.Victor, (whom Andrewes actually quotes a couple of times¹⁰⁸) like many contemporaries, “regarded the literal sense as important because it was the foundation for the spiritual; it was the wax of the honeycomb.”¹⁰⁹ [Memorable phrase!] But his disciple Andrew shied away from the spiritual sense: for him, the literal sufficed, and he took the view that quite often the Jewish exegesis, concentrating as it did on literal or ‘carnal’ exegesis, was to be followed (though Jewish concentration on the literal was a relatively recent development in Andrew’s day, but he was not to know that.) Andrewes follows in Andrew’s footsteps; his ‘squeezing words’ betrays this approach, rather than the allegories and other ‘spiritual’ exegeses of the Middle Ages which

¹⁰⁶ McAdoo, op.cit., p.321.

¹⁰⁷ Smalley, B: The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (3rd edition, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983). p.105ff.

¹⁰⁸ LACT I, pp.181,190.

¹⁰⁹ Smalley, op.cit., p.169.

flourished even after the C12th, alongside the 'literal sense' commentaries.¹¹⁰ Some of this may have been conscious on Andrewes's part, since the mediaeval Gloss was still current in his day; originally C12th, with additions in various editions, it remained popular among scholars and exegetes well into early modern times. Both Romans and Anglicans used it.¹¹¹

The Fathers

The mediaevals were both building upon and (some of them, as above) reacting against the foundations laid by the early Fathers in their exegesis. It is arguable that the Fathers were the strongest influence upon Andrewes's thinking; he was not alone among Reformers and their heirs in this respect (Cranmer, for example, was a patristics scholar), but he was among the keenest to enter into their mind, not just quote their aphorisms in proof-text fashion, to support some theological position or other. This entry into the patristic 'phronema' caused him to adopt their approach to the Bible, which was one of utter trust in its text to provide the believer – who, after all, stood within its tradition – with all he needed to secure the salvation of his soul and a life lived according to the will of God.¹¹² How it did this was of secondary importance; hence the development of methods of interpreting Scripture.

The orthodox Fathers had unanimously regarded the Old Testament as a body of divinely inspired literature whose purpose was to prefigure the Incarnation of Christ. Andrewes subscribed heartily to this view, though, as we shall see, he also found much in the Old Testament which provided lessons in contemporary living, both for individuals and bodies ecclesiastical and politic.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.67.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.367.

¹¹² See Middleton, op.cit., Chapter 7, pp.114-136.

Unlike many before him, Andrewes had a deep interest in and wide knowledge of the Eastern Fathers as well as, if not more than those of the Western Church, and quotations from the former appear frequently in his sermons. At least once, he offers an explanation of their exegetical methods, as “the four senses which Scripture will bear”, i.e. the literal, the “analogical” (allegorical), the moral and the “prophetic”. The first three are after Origen and many later Fathers; the last leads to typology (see below). Dealing with Ps.68.18, he offers examples of each ‘sense’:

Literal: Moses going up onto Sinai;

Allegorical: David as Psalmist, referring to his own experience of the ‘Ark going up to Zion’ episode;

Moral: God has the upper hand; the Church arises after depression;

Prophetic: it’s all about the resurrection of Christ.¹¹³

Typology

This last brings us to typology, the dominant characteristic of patristic and Andrewes’s exegesis of the Old Testament. In his discussion of Christ as our Guide (on Mic.5.2) he uses Moses and Joshua as guides leading to the Promised Land to be able to say, “You may see all this represented in the shadows of the Old Testament.”¹¹⁴ Andrewes is utterly convinced of the validity of the typological approach; his best presentation of it comes when musing on such items as ‘Out of Egypt I called my Son’ and ‘My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’ He avers: “ The correspondence which is between Christ, and the Patriarchs, Prophets and people before Christ, of whom the Apostle’s rule is

¹¹³ LACT III, p.222f.

¹¹⁴ LACT I, p.169.

omnia in figura contingebant illis (I Cor.10.11) which makes Isaac's offering, and Joseph's selling, and that complaint of David, and this of Jeremy's, applicable to Himself, and the Church ascribe them to Him, and that in more fitness of terms, and more fullness of truth, than they were at the first spoken by David, or Jeremy, or any of them all."¹¹⁵ [My adumbrations] And on Heb.1.1: "...if in πολυτρόπως you understand *tropos*, figures; then there were yet many more. The Paschal Lamb, the Scape-goat, the Red Cow, and I know not how many, even a world of them. Many they were; and tropes they were; shadowed out darkly, rather than clearly expressed. Theirs was but candle-light, to our day-light."¹¹⁶ Andrewes does find many, as we shall see below; furthermore, he is not confined to searching for and finding types of Christ: other persons, and, indeed, events and material things can be types of someone or something or other. So the gentle waters of Shiloh are a type of the Holy Spirit, laving the soul.¹¹⁷ He finds the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity (Word and Spirit) involved in Creation.¹¹⁸ Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether his use of a text is typological or merely a useful illustration, as when he follows Basil in claiming that the usage of "the ancient Church" included Isa.6.7 after Communion, and bases a whole sermon on sacramental efficiency on this verse.¹¹⁹

Rabbinic exegesis

Andrewes seems to have been aware of some of the rabbis, as well as all of the Fathers, and to have valued some of their insights (we have seen how some at least of the mediaeval exegetes did likewise). Lest his audience may have

¹¹⁵ LACT II, p.140f.

¹¹⁶ LACT I, p.105.

¹¹⁷ LACT III, p.268.

¹¹⁸ *Apospasmata*, P.47.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p.515.

entertained reservations about sitting at their feet, as it were, in a Christian service, Andrewes points out that St. Paul, himself a rabbi no less, must have been quoting the Talmud, he says, when he mentions (on II Tim. 3.8) ‘Jannes and Jambres’ – who are not actually named in Exodus, and comments, “As many other things in the New Testament from them receive great light.”¹²⁰ Thus, for instance, he can happily tell us that the rabbis supposed Jonah to have been the son of the widow of Sarepta.¹²¹ However, he is not uncritical. “The rabbins, in their speculative divinity [miaou!], do much busy themselves to shew, that in the Temple there was a model of the whole world, and that all the spheres in Heaven, and all the elements in earth were recapitulate in it.” Adding, “They were wide!”¹²²

In his sermon at Easter 1610¹²³ he states that Job was a contemporary of Moses. This was a notion accepted by many, though not all rabbis. Job was the ‘righteous Gentile’, living at Pharaoh’s court, together with Balaam and Jethro, in rabbinic tradition. The Fathers, e.g. Origen, held him to be a non-Jew and a sort of Christian (thus also Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Jerome).¹²⁴ Thus Job has great authority with the Fathers and their students, such as Andrewes, who, in this sermon on Job 19.23-27, can state confidently that “Job was jealous for the Gospel [inferred from the text], Moses for the Law.”¹²⁵ On Ps. 85, Andrewes admits that its original subject was the return from the Exile, but that it also points to Christ, and backs this up by informing us that the rabbis regard the Psalm as

¹²⁰ LACT V, p.61.

¹²¹ LACT II, p.392.

¹²² LACT II, p.348.

¹²³ LACT II, p.256ff.

¹²⁴ Baskin, J.R.: Pharaoh’s Counsellors: Job, Jethro and Balaam in rabbinic and patristic tradition (Scholars Press, 1983), pp.11,23.

¹²⁵ LACT II, p.257.

Messianic.¹²⁶ An indirect piece of ‘evidence’ that Andrewes may have been aware not only of the rabbis’ conclusions, but of their methods, occurs in his interesting, extended treatment of Job.19.25b,27c.¹²⁷ For each of these, he includes a translation of the Vulgate as an alternative to his stated, Geneva-based text – and uses the Vulgate in his commentary. The Vulgate here may be seen as a ‘midrash’ upon the Hebrew, and it is possible, even probable, that Andrewes would have spotted this, and, following the rabbis, approved of it as helping his sermon along.

Like virtually all theologians of his day, Andrewes is utterly convinced that the Bible is the very Word of God – every sentence, every word, every jot and tittle; there is nothing in its pages that is not of some consequence: it all has import for all time. Thus his immediate leaps from ancient Israel to Seventeenth Century England are understandable, as being not only proper but imperative, so as to discover God’s will for his contemporary society and the individuals who form it. This was true also of rabbinic exegesis; not that he gained his view from the rabbis – he already held it when he came to study them - but he undoubtedly found their approach congenial and confirmatory of his own. Thus he was able to use many of their insights and interpretations.¹²⁸

The New Testament

The New Testament is used to ‘prove’ the Old, repeatedly. No interpretation can be tendentious if this kind of ‘proof-text in reverse’ can be found. Thus, Zech.12.10 (“And they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced”) is a definite prophecy about Jesus, because it is ‘proven’ quite explicitly

¹²⁶ LACT I, p.175.

¹²⁷ LACT II, p.256ff.

¹²⁸ A later chapter will deal more fully with this aspect of the Carolines’ work.

by Jn.19.37.¹²⁹ Similarly, Eph.4.8 ‘proves’ that ‘Thou art gone up on high’ in Ps.68.18 refers to Christ.¹³⁰ Even when discrepancies occur, Andrewes is undaunted. Micah says Bethlehem is “least” (among the cities of Judah); Matthew says, “not least”. No problem: Micah speaks of Bethlehem as it was, in his day; Matthew of Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Saviour, thus achieving the higher status.¹³¹ It has to be said that even some mediaevals were perhaps more sceptical than Andrewes, in that they did not consider a New Testament quotation as necessarily ‘proving’ a prophecy as messianic.¹³²

Literalism

Thus it can be seen that Andrewes was not so much mediaeval in his preaching as patristic. This is recognised by most scholars, including Lossky (Orthodox) and Allchin (Anglican).¹³³ However, Andrewes doesn’t shy away from the literal sense: rather the reverse, in fact, and in this he does follow some mediaevals, as we have seen, rather than the Fathers, who tended to prefer the allegorical and moral interpretations. On the other hand, the literal sense was held to contain everything the original writer intended to express, including by metaphor, and this could encourage the exercise of the imaginative faculties of the preacher, as not seldom with Andrewes¹³⁴. So Andrewes can happily still call David “the Prophet David”.¹³⁵ His views about authorship remain uncomplicated: Moses wrote the Pentateuch (“...the undoubted credit and unquestioned Authority

¹²⁹ LACT II, p.120.

¹³⁰ LACT III, p.221.

¹³¹ LACT I, p.158f

¹³² Smalley, *op.cit.*, p.193.

¹³³ Middleton, *op.cit.*, p.128.

¹³⁴ Smalley, *op.cit.*, p.101.

¹³⁵ LACT II, p.274.

of *Moses the Writer....*)¹³⁶ David the Psalms (unless Asaph is mentioned specifically¹³⁷), Solomon the Proverbs¹³⁸ (“So speaketh Solomon of sin” [on Prov.5.22])¹³⁹ He knows of no editing nor compiling, it seems: “Micah’s deliberate Apostrophe, in breaking off from ‘mustering garrisons or laying siege to Jerusalem’ to ‘Et tu, Bethlehem’ and off on quite a different matter” he regards as a rhetorical device (which he himself had probably practised from time to time, as we have noted above.)¹⁴⁰ After referring to Christ’s Resurrection as occurring “a thousand six hundred years ago”, he is in the next sentence equally confident in telling us that the Fall took place “five thousand six hundred years ago”.¹⁴¹

Andrewes’s massive, clever, imaginative mining of the Scriptural text was possible because of his utterly literal view of Scripture, in the modern sense; nowadays he would be described as a ‘Fundamentalist’ (for this latter, too, is not averse to typology, allegory, moral and ‘prophetic’ interpretations). With all his intelligence, shrewdness and worldly wisdom, he can take this view because of his complete acceptance of the doctrine of verbal inspiration . He knows better than most that the Scriptures are the words of men, products of many scribbling pens, but he also believes that all those men were divinely guided, so that within these words of men reposes the very Word of God. “ the Prophet tells us or God Himself rather, for He it is that here speaketh....”; “But it is not Joel, God it is that speaketh.”¹⁴² All Scripture is of a piece, and hangs together, for its source is one; thus, after quoting both Isaiah and Paul: “Two very homely comparisons,

¹³⁶ *Apospasmata*, P.1.

¹³⁷ *LACT I*, p.307.

¹³⁸ *LACT II*, p.3.

¹³⁹ *Vide* Wotton, C.: *Tracts of the Anglican Fathers, Part III: Andrewes and Bancroft* (London, 1839) p.120.

¹⁴⁰ *LACT I*, p.156.

¹⁴¹ *LACT II*, p.214.

¹⁴² *LACT I*, p.370.

but they be the Holy Ghost's own."¹⁴³ And nothing in Scripture is of no import: speaking of the two trumpets of Num.10.1, he notes that they are "of one whole piece [of silver]" and prefaces a fair amount of comment on this information with, "...that must needs have a meaning, it cannot be for nothing."¹⁴⁴

Thus Andrewes's Old Testament interpretation is confident, serenely so. Everything fits, everything has a meaning, no words are wasted, with no contradictions nor ambiguities when properly and exhaustively and imaginatively examined, whatever may appear on the surface of the text. Literalism can be put to good homiletic use at times, as when, in conjunction with typology, it tells us that the stains on the clothing of the character from Bozrah (Isa.63) cannot be wine-stains, since Easter is the wrong time for the vintage: they must be blood.¹⁴⁵ And literalism can lead to an untroubled, uncomplicated reading, which gives pictures that are, basically at least, simple. Thus, David is good, Saul is bad, thoroughly and always – just the impression the writers of I and II Samuel would have us get: "David, which giveth strength to the pillars Saul, an impairer or weakener of them."¹⁴⁶

It is noticeable that Scriptural references are sufficient to clinch arguments and individual statements. Both Andrewes and his hearers accept the authority of the Bible without question; it is unassailable in their minds, so a preacher's quoting it is akin to a lawyer's quoting an Act of Parliament. The assumption not only of trust in but also of knowledge of the Scriptures is revealed again and again in Andrewes's allusive style, so that without any explanation he can say things like, "...when distress, danger, or death came, when Rabshakeh is before the

¹⁴³ LACT I, p.109.

¹⁴⁴ LACT V, p.147.

¹⁴⁵ LACT III, p.70.

¹⁴⁶ LACT II, p.11.

walls....”¹⁴⁷ – one doubts whether even a preacher at a theological college would dare to try that one nowadays! Or, perhaps, “We only seek God when in trouble, as Joel 2.15; otherwise we are ‘Amos 6.1-6’”¹⁴⁸

All this does not mean that Andrewes cannot take liberties with the text when it suits him. Sometimes he can stretch meanings imaginatively, as when he avers that Aaron and Moses are God’s ‘hands’ (Ps.77.20)¹⁴⁹ or, in an example from the New Testament, as when he identifies the ‘living stone’ (I Pet.2.5) with Christ, rather against the plain meaning of the text.¹⁵⁰ And he can make quite arbitrary pronouncements, such as that *nostra* should be added to *Jehovah justitia*, so as to make “God for us”¹⁵¹ [Oh?] Elsewhere, however, he criticises such methods; discussing two patristic approaches, he writes: “In the *Canticles* and Scripture of that nature everything is to be reduced to a spirituall allusion and reference which it hath to the spousage of Christ and His Church. Now they which take the *Chronicles*, containing matter of historie, and draw them to like allusions (beside that they do wrong to those Scriptures) they make themselves very ridiculous”.¹⁵² The problem, of course, as always, was how to decide which bits of Scripture were to be treated as which....

¹⁴⁷ LACT I, p.310.

¹⁴⁸ LACT I, p.310.

¹⁴⁹ LACT II, p.19.

¹⁵⁰ LACT II, p.281.

¹⁵¹ LACT V, p.111.

¹⁵² Apospasmata, p.157.

CHAPTER 2

LANCELOT ANDREWES: SERMONS

CONTENT

Typology of Christ

Like the Fathers he followed, and the Carolines who followed him, Andrewes puts the figure of Christ in the centre of his life and thought. (More than 10% of the pages of the LACT Index consist of references to 'Christ' [7 pages]. (Virtually no other entry gets more than a quarter-page, the vast majority only one, two or three lines.) The supreme feature of his theology is its Christocentricity: all else stems from it, and all else points to it.¹ This applies overwhelmingly to his consideration of the Old Testament, involving his belief in typology and divinely inspired prophecy. All the Old Testament points to Christ; that is its main – though not, for Andrewes, sole – function. “....for to Christ Himself do all the ancient writers apply, and that most properly, those words of Lamentation” (on Lam.1.12) is his typical and oft-repeated refrain.² Even more explicit is his comment on Lk.4.18,19. Jesus has read in the synagogue words “....drawn and ready penned for Him long before by the Prophet Esay Who had the honour to be the registrar of this, and divers other instruments, touching Christ's natures, Person, and offices.”³ Three examples may suffice in demonstration.

¹ Hylson-Smith, op.cit., p.139.

² LACT II, p.128.

³ LACT III, p.282.

Andrewes immediately and unreservedly identifies the ‘Suffering Servant of the Lord’ in Deutero-Isaiah with Christ. Commenting on Isaiah 53.4-6, he writes, “....it was the sin of our polluted hands that pierced His hands, the swiftness of our feet to do evil that nailed His feet, the wicked devices of our heads that gored His head, and the wretched desires of our hearts that pierced His heart.”⁴ It may be noted in passing that Andrewes lays constant stress on Christ’s relationship with mankind, in that, as here, his Passion was brought about by men’s sins – for which they should constantly repent – or in the benefits offered to mankind by God through Christ’s Incarnation and actions.

Dealing with Isa.63.1, Andrewes again immediately identifies the one from Edom with Christ, as we have seen above. The problem of Bozrah, in that the risen Christ never went there, is no problem at all for Andrewes. “....the Prophets....express their ghostly enemies, the both mortal and immortal enemies of their souls, under the titles and terms of those nations and cities as were the known sworn enemies of the commonwealth of Israel.”⁵ Edom was the worst enemy, at that: Doeg and Herod, he reminds us, were Edomites. So Edom is “darkness and death”; Bozrah “hell”. Thus we have a picture of Christ rising again, after descending into hell.

The Resurrection theme appears in Job. Andrewes has no hesitation in accepting Job.19.23-27 as referring to it. In support, he cites no less a figure than Jerome (upon whom he often relies). Moreover, he states that no New Testament passage is plainer. He is encouraged by the Hebrew קום as ‘rise again’, rather than merely ‘stand’, a judgement which has some validity. He turns to the LXX for support, enlisting also both Jerome and Gregory in this connection, for he sees

⁴ LACT II, p.126.

⁵ LACT III, p.61.

there not *στήσεται* but *ἀναστήσεται* 'rise again'.⁶ But how could Job know about Christ's Resurrection? Easily answered! "And we shall not need to trouble ourselves to know how he knew it. Not by any Scripture, he had it not from Moses, but the same way Moses had it; he looked in the same mirror Abraham did, when he saw the same Person, and the same day, and rejoiced to see it." [Jn.8.56]⁷

Throughout his sermons, Andrewes makes similar confident assertions, as he finds type after type of Christ: Melchizedek, both King and Priest,⁸ Zerubbabel, saving and establishing his people,⁹ and many others. In addition, on countless occasions, he remarks in passing on all manner of things and events as pointers to Christ. Thus Bethlehem only deserved the name when the "True Bread" was born there;¹⁰ both Aaron's ointment and the dew of Hermon in Ps.133 are types of Christ;¹¹ the Patriarch's swearing by putting his hand under another's thigh refers to "the Incarnation of the blessed Seed."¹² Pointers to events in the earthly life of Christ are to be found all over the Old Testament: the visiting Queen of Sheba foreshadows the Magi;¹³ the Passover, Christ's sacrifice (and, by extension, the Eucharist).¹⁴ Types of the Resurrection abound; we have already seen it in Job, but many other instances there are, among them much Biblical support for the Credal 'On the third day He rose from the dead....': "....from the dungeon, with Joseph; from the bottom of the den, with Daniel; from the belly of

⁶ LACT II, p.256.

⁷ LACT II, p.269.

⁸ LACT I, p.297.

⁹ LACT I, p.176.

¹⁰ LACT I, p.170.

¹¹ LACT III, p.238.

¹² LACT V, p.79.

¹³ LACT I, p.261.

¹⁴ LACT II, p.300.

the whale, with Jonah – all three types of Him.”¹⁵ The Ascension is prefigured by, *inter alia*, Moses’s going up to Sinai, David to Zion,¹⁶ whilst the Messiah’s heavenly banquet is “the last great Passover of all.”¹⁷

Anti-types

Furthermore, Andrewes does not in this process disregard anti-types. Adam is the supreme anti-type of Christ (following St.Paul, Rom.5.12),¹⁸ especially in his giving in to temptation, contrasted with our Lord’s not yielding to it.¹⁹ There are others, not necessarily animate (as with types); thus, when at Pentecost the language-barrier is lifted, Andrewes avers that this is but the curse of Babel reversed.²⁰

Old Testament

In many of his sermons, especially those for Christmas and Ash Wednesday, Old Testament references far outnumber those to the New. (The reverse is true, admittedly, for Good Friday and Easter, but that is hardly unexpected.) Andrewes is very much at home in the Old Testament; so much is obvious. He handles it confidently and with facility. Everything in it is patent of profitable exposition by an erudite and energetic exegete. There are no inconsistencies. Thus, despite his conviction that kingship is divinely ordained in the Old Testament (as we shall see below) he, like Samuel, criticises the people

¹⁵ LACT II, p.328.

¹⁶ LACT III, p.222.

¹⁷ LACT II, p.308.

¹⁸ LACT II, p.214.

¹⁹ LACT V, p.497.

²⁰ LACT III, pp.123, 139.

for demanding a king (I Sam.8). Samuel could not have been wrong: the people's clamour was arrogance – and it is not the people's place to be arrogant.....²¹

Andrewes accepts the Old Testament order as chronological (presumably the Geneva order); thus: "Zachary, being after him [Daniel] in time"²² Into this body of literature which he accepted so gladly and so wholeheartedly, Andrewes threw himself, using his immense linguistic gifts to the full. His investigations went far beyond language and grammar, to history, geography and a myriad details, some arcane, of life in Bible times. Thus, e.g., he knows all about lead-filled inscriptions, as in Job.19.24.²³ He is so comfortable with the text as to take liberties with it, as seen above, but also to speculate, in an almost modern manner, on certain aspects of a text's provenance, as when he hazards the guess that Ps.75 was written "at the latter end of the long dissension between the Houses of David and Saul" – after the defeat on Gilboa. Somewhat perversely, however (he is very comfortable!), against the plain meaning, and *pace* all modern commentators, Andrewes seems to suggest that the speaker in Verse 3 is David, rather than God. This is because he wants to stress David as the "upholder" of the nation.²⁴ He can happily run to generalisations, such as informing us that the Old Testament prophecies of Christ occur mostly in times of crisis, citing Jer.31.22; Gen.49.10; Dan.9.24,25 (accepting Daniel at face value, of course, as in Babylon during the Exile.)

²¹ LACT II, p.28.

²² LACT II, p.121.

²³ LACT II, p.259.

²⁴ LACT II, p.3.

Historical typology: Israel and England

The Old Testament is of considerable use to Andrewes, given his high position in Church and State, and he brings it to bear mightily upon public affairs of importance. ‘Historical typology’ dates from Eusebius, seeing items such as the Exodus as at least divinely appointed analogies to contemporary events. This kind of exegesis was much employed by the Puritans, especially in North America, in the C17th. [And by preachers to this day!] There was also ‘spiritual typology’, in which, for example, divinely appointed kings mirrored God’s heavenly rule.²⁵ Both typologies are evident in Andrewes, not least because “...it was the Old Testament, as it seemed, that offered guidance about king and state, about a commonwealth organised under divine statutes, about law and property, about war, about ritual ceremony, about priesthood, continuity and succession.”²⁶ Andrewes could easily identify Israel with England (though not so easily with other Christian countries, which had a tendency to be Roman Catholic); so easily, in fact, that he can permit himself the amusing observation that “‘Anglia’ sounds like ‘Anguli’ – itself a ‘corner-stone’, indeed!”²⁷ It seems that he can thus apply almost any Old Testament passage to conditions in his native realm. In a sermon at the Opening of Parliament in 1621, he can tell the assembled Members that Ps.82.1 is “No better verse for a Parliament!”, for, “God standeth in the congregation of Princes. Or, in the assembly of gods. Or, congregation of the mighty.”²⁸ Note that he quotes here the BCP Psalter, Geneva Bible, and the “New Translation” (presumably the AV) respectively – which gives him more English

²⁵ Reventlow, H.G.: The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World [SCM Press, 2nd.ed., 1983], p.142f.

²⁶ James Barr, in Foreword to Reventlow, op.cit., p.xiii.

²⁷ LACT II, p.287.

²⁸ LACT V, p.205.

words to play with in a short text, of course.²⁹ And his sense of identification of the sacral body that was ancient Israel with his own nation leads him to a vision of Parliament as both a religious and civil authority. For *הַמִּקְדָּשׁ* Andrewes offers ‘holy place’, ‘sanctuary’, ‘high place’, ‘court of refuge’ – “all of them”. The Parliamentary assembly is not *לְהַקְדִּישׁ* “common or profane”, but *קֹדֶשׁ* “sacred”, because the purpose of such an assembly is to make laws to redress evil. He takes it further: *אֱלֹהִים* is a name given to ‘gods’ – and so to Parliamentarians.[!]³⁰

War

Andrewes can easily justify war declared by a sovereign state (his own). His Ash Wednesday sermon of 1599 was preached as a punitive expedition was setting sail for Ireland, so it is devoted to a long, detailed justification of war in certain circumstances (of which, we can safely presume, the Irish business was one). War can be holy (Joel 3.9; Exod.32.29). The Old Testament is full of “warrior saints”, like Samson, Jephtha and Gideon. And even offensive war can be acceptable: “When thou goest forth”, he says, not just “when others come against thee.”³¹ God wants peace, of course, but uses war as a punishment for men’s sins (cf. Amos 1.3; Isa.10.5; Jer.50.23), and certainly not as any kind of sporting adventure (cf. II Sam.2.14,26). In this sermon, he says that war against rebellious subjects is justified (Josh.22.12; Jg.20.1; II Sam.20.1; II Kg.2.28). “But here, here have been divers princely favours vouchsafed is a war sanctified.”

Andrewes is never far, not even when preaching about politics or warfare, from speaking the Gospel to the hearts of his listeners; so he does, still using the

²⁹ No portion of Scripture is closed to this preacher! How often is this Psalm the subject of a sermon nowadays?!

³⁰ LACT V, p.209.

³¹ LACT I, p.324ff.

Old Testament, in this very sermon. He stresses that the King and his armies must “keep from all wickedness”, with many indirect references to what is involved in this abstinence (Isa.1.4,24; 6.3,5; Jer.10.16; Hab.2.13; Hag.2.4; Zech.1.6; Mal.1.14; Jer.30.29 [he can certainly hammer his point home when he wants to!]). This abstinence from ‘wickedness’ is necessary, for “....we must be against God’s enemies [i.e. sin] if we want Him to be against ours.” He can also point to certain specific Old Testament partnerships between ‘captain and prophet’ (Exod.17.8-13; Jg.4.9; Isa.37.6,7; II Chron.20.14; II Kg.13.14). Without ‘keeping from sin’, the soldiers’ own strength will not be enough (Jg.20.17; Josh.7.5). Even prayer is not enough, without ‘keeping from sin’, just as Balak’s entreaties in Numbers 22 – 24 were vitiated by Balaam’s “causing Israel to sin with the daughters of Moab” [We may not be sure that Balak and Balaam deserve all the blame he heaps on them, but Ch.25 demonstrates adequately the peril of not ‘keeping from sin’ to an army otherwise justified in its operations.] Especially must one ‘keep from sin’ when going to war to punish sin (as the present case, to Andrewes). This, though, he knows to be quite contrary to human inclinations and, indeed, the almost universal practice of armies throughout history. Another incidental homiletic purpose is served by his extending ‘keeping from sin’ to all citizens at such a time, in support of their army.³²

Rebels

Andrewes was much exercised by the threat of rebellion, of which he utterly and wholeheartedly disapproved; his demise in 1626 meant that, *in opportunitate mortis*, he never saw the cataclysmic realisation of his worst fears,

³² LACT I, p.327f.

which, *inter alia*, included the unjust imprisonment and execution of his two most prominent disciples.³³ (The cataclysm, many would say, was at least indirectly and in part brought about by Andrewes himself, ironically enough, in his providing the solid intellectual foundation of an ideology which the majority of Englishmen – or at least the majority of those who increasingly influenced and controlled the nations' affairs – found distasteful, hard and even impossible to accept – not least because for many of them it militated against their vested interests.) Lossky's dictum remains true, that "...there is seen in these sermons [on the Gowries and Gunpowder Plot] the ideological basis for the repressive politics of William Laud and the autocracy of Charles I."³⁴ This dread of rebellion he gets directly from Old Testament exemplars. Andrewes finds a remarkable parallel between Absalom's treachery and the Gowries' attempt on the life of (the then) King James VI of Scotland. (Andrewes preached at special services of thanksgiving on the anniversaries of this event.) Absalom rebelled against his father, and, says Andrewes, Kings are the fathers of their peoples (I Kg.15.1 – but a misreading [can it be?] of אבִים as אֲבִיעִם, it seems: perhaps Andrewes is letting his imagination carry him away.)³⁵ The Gowries' conspiracy allows Andrewes to sanction cursing in certain circumstances; granted, it is often a bad thing (cf.Balaam in Num.22.6; Shimei in II Sam.16.13), but not always (cf.Moses on Mt.Ebal, Christ's 'Woe unto you....', God in Gen.3.13, and David in Ps.109).³⁶ The chief trouble with rebels is that they tend to rebel against kings, and that is getting close to the major lesson Andrewes learnt from the Old Testament, prophecy of the Incarnation apart: God crowns kings, and only He can remove

³³ i.e. King Charles I and Archbishop William Laud.

³⁴ Lossky, op.cit., p.289.

³⁵ LACT IV, p.21f.

³⁶ LACT IV, p.7f.

their crowns – not the people.³⁷ [A lesson forgotten – if ever learned – by Englishmen a generation later, and a generation after that.] So Andrewes can state that, “They that rise against the King are God’s enemies; for God and the King are so in league, such a knot, so straight between them, as one cannot be the enemy to the one, but he must be to the other.”³⁸ And, “For Kings being from God, saith Gamaliel, we cannot set ourselves against them, but we must be found θεομαχεῖν ‘to fight against God’. Being ‘ordained of God’, saith Gamaliel’s scholar, St.Paul, to resist them is to resist ‘the ordinance of God’ and as good put ourselves in the face of all the ordnance in the Tower of London, as withstand God’s ordinance....”³⁹ (Amid all this solemnity, Andrewes cannot resist the pun!) He makes much, in two sermons, of David’s refusal to kill the Lord’s anointed, though such action would have made life safer and easier for himself, for Saul’s person was sacred; Andrewes is outraged that in a country where this lesson is familiar to all, there have yet been two attempts on the life his own reigning monarch.⁴⁰ Even when their cause is apparently good, and they oppose an unworthy king, rebels are to be condemned, as David’s rejection of Abishai’s offer (II Sam.26) demonstrates.⁴¹ Those who behave themselves properly in this respect are to be commended, like Mordecai, who is an example of a faithful subject, even of a heathen king.⁴² One reason (not the only one!) for Andrewes’s disapproval of Anabaptists is that they “rise against the very estate of kings,” – like those who said they ‘had no part in David’ (II Sam.20.1).⁴³ Finally, rebels and traitors must be dealt with harshly, as was Absalom, killed by a former friend,

³⁷ LACT IV, p.114f.

³⁸ LACT IV, p.13.

³⁹ LACT IV, p.19.

⁴⁰ LACT IV, p.166f.

⁴¹ LACT IV, p.24ff.

⁴² LACT IV, pp.140-142.

⁴³ LACT IV, p.11.

Joab, against David's wishes. Therefore God's hand must have been in it. Other examples abound in the Old Testament: Bigthan and Teresh "rose up" – and were executed (Esther 2.21); Korah, Baanah and Rechab, Joab himself later.⁴⁴

Monarchy and divine right

There is one matter of 'historical typology' which stands supreme in Andrewes's mind, in support of which he adduces a vast amount of evidence from the Old Testament: the position of the monarch in a civilised, Christian society, including both his civil and religious status. In this concern, Andrewes was by no means alone: "...divinely sanctioned monarchy one of the most characteristic institutions of Western Christendom."⁴⁵ Just as he built on Hooker's work by emphasising the importance of preaching, so Andrewes took Hooker's treatment of episcopacy and divine right as understating their true biblical, traditional and reasonable justification.⁴⁶ A monarch is actually a *sine qua non* of an ordered society, for he is necessarily an organic part of that society, and an indispensable part at that: "...the safety of Kings the very corner-stone to all men's safety."⁴⁷ As we shall see, Andrewes entertains no high opinion of the masses, to organise and behave themselves properly and wisely: "They stir not without great peril, except they have one to lead them." This in a comment on the need for the rule of Moses and Aaron, when he declares sheep to be a type of the people of God [including the English, of course]; "Every strange whistle maketh the sheep; every *ecce hic* maketh the people cast up their heads, as if some great matter were in hand." Thus, "...their need of good government" "the necessity of a

⁴⁴ LACT IV, p.18.

⁴⁵ MacCulloch, op.cit., p.502.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.507.

⁴⁷ LACT V, p.244.

leader.”⁴⁸ The Prince is the guarantor of his people’s welfare in all aspects of their lives. More than this, he must therefore enjoy the special favour of God, and the divine support, “....because they are his vice-gerents upon earth; because they are in God’s place, because they represent His Person; because they are His ‘ministers’, His chief ministers.”⁴⁹ (Andrewes draws a comparison with ambassadors, royal representatives abroad, and governors at home.)

The theme surfaces repeatedly in the sermons; indeed, more than once Andrewes devotes a large section, even a whole sermon, to it. (E.g. on Num.1.2⁵⁰, and a sermon preached before two Kings, of England and Denmark⁵¹) Many of his published sermons, of course, were preached to the royal court, but it remains interesting to note just how much space he devotes to the subject, and how not all the attention paid to it is expressed in a sycophantic manner [though admittedly, to a modern, some of it is]. It has been noted, too, that when dealing with the subject, particularly in special sermons on the anniversaries of the Gowries’ conspiracy and Gunpowder Plot, his tone alters: “Then the words uttered display a severity, a harshness, a polemic, a lack of charity and understanding, which, though characteristic of the age, assort oddly with the temper of his other sermons.”⁵² In other words, this matter moves him to fierce denunciations and wholehearted approval of violently oppressive measures. “These sermons Do not always make for a pleasant read. In particular, there are to be found quite cruel passages: consequent upon the condemnation of the least thought of rebellion, not to speak of actions, Andrewes sometimes invites his congregation to give thanks to God for the physical destruction of the Gowrie brothers and the

⁴⁸ LACT II, p.28f.

⁴⁹ LACT V, p.243

⁵⁰ LACT V, p.150ff.

⁵¹ LACT V, p.235ff.

⁵² Hylson-Smith, op.cit., p.139.

conspirators of November 1605, as well as praying for the ultimate destruction of all enemies of the king, all, it is true, in scriptural terms, notably by making use of the verses of psalms such as Psalm 109."⁵³

It must always be remembered, of course, that Andrewes himself had narrowly escaped being one of the intended victims of the Gunpowder Plot.....⁵⁴ It must be emphasised, however, that the Gunpowder and Gowrie sermons are atypical; Story maintains with some justice that they are also atypically flat: "To read them is a task for Embertide" (!). It seems as though the good Bishop is going carefully, punctiliously and conscientiously through the homiletic motions: he says what he feels should be said – nasty though that necessarily is – but the passion is missing, and he is not enjoying himself.⁵⁵

This conviction of the necessity, divinely ordained, of the monarchy, rests upon massive evidence from Scripture. Quotations are endless: "And nothing could make⁵⁶ him [David] shrink from his allegiance to Saul his liege-lord" is a typical quotation, just in passing; there are scores like it. The famous 'corner-stone' applies to the earthly monarch, too.⁵⁷ "The Lord Christ, and the Lord's christ"⁵⁸ – all the difference in a lower-case letter! David (the supreme model) is seen as having been head of both the civil and ecclesiastical estates, though not a priest (more on this below).⁵⁹ Ps.75.3 'pillars' are compared with those of the Temple, both of which depend upon the King; there follow many OT references to the indispensability of Kings. [One wonders whether this

⁵³ Lossky, op.cit., p.290.

⁵⁴ He was consecrated Bishop of Chichester only two days earlier, so would have been making his first appearance as a Lord Spiritual on November 5th.

⁵⁵ Story, op.cit., Introduction, p.xxxiii.

⁵⁶ LACT II, p.28.

⁵⁷ LACT II, p.275.

⁵⁸ LACT II, p.275.

⁵⁹ LACT II, p.288.

indispensability was proved or disproved in 1649 and 1660.....] Because of the indispensability, and because of the special relationship between the king and God, God intervenes to save, when the king can't help himself any longer; through Elisha (II Kg.6.9); in David's struggle with Absalom (II Sam.17.14); in the Adonijah episode (I Kg.1.50).⁶⁰ A weakness is that Andrewes doesn't deal with cases where God's favour is withdrawn, or at least not often (Og? Agag? Pharaoh? Rehoboam? The sorry parade of un-preserved kings of Judah and Israel? Belshazzar?)⁶¹ The great example of the withdrawal of God's favour is Saul. Even anointed kings cannot rest on that fact alone, but must be obedient to God's commands in order to continue to enjoy his protection (which would presumably be Andrewes's case with regard to the unfortunate examples cited above). He is handed his judgement on a plate by the explicit condemnation from God through Samuel. Saul went wrong in opposite directions, as when he was too severe on Ahimelech, but too lenient with Agag.⁶²

[It may be pointed out at this juncture that the Old Testament evidence, even in the C17th, wasn't all on Andrewes's side. Cardinal Bellarmine averred that kings were anointed by their people, adducing Saul's and David's appointments in evidence.]⁶³

Anarchy....

We have seen how Andrewes had a horror of anarchy: "He can send them a Rehoboam without wisdom, or a Jeroboam without Religion, or Ashur, a stranger, to be their King, or, which is worst of all, *nullum regem*, a disordered

⁶⁰ LACT V, p.246f.

⁶¹ LACT V, p.244.

⁶² LACT II, p.12.

⁶³ LACT IV, p.52.

anarchy.”⁶⁴ He continues, “Very strange it is, that he [the Psalmist of Ps.77] should sort the leading of the people with God’s wonders, and recount the government of the people as if it were some special miracle. And indeed a miracle it is, and whosoever shall look into the nature and weight of a Monarchy will so acknowledge it.” We have also seen that Andrewes disapproves of the people’s demand for a king, and that this is because they were being improperly arrogant. They should have waited until such time as God chose to introduce the institution of monarchy into Israel, as He was intending to. Imaginatively, he tells us that the disorder so apparent in Jg.17 onwards, show that the time was then ripe for kings to arrive on the scene. Not only that, but the disgraceful events in those chapters were permitted so that the King would be the better appreciated when he came. [Though the plain reason for the people’s demand, in I Sam.8, is the Philistine threat.] Never mind: “In those days, there was no King in Israel, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes.” God allowed it, so that His people would rejoice in their monarchy when they got it.⁶⁵ Andrewes often animadverts on the perils of anarchy, due to the inherent weakness of mankind. ‘Every man doing what is good in his own eyes’ is the sin of Adam. We are simply not to be trusted to recognise good when looking through our own eyes only. That way leads to anarchy, for, “When God leaves a man to do that which is good in his eyes, he had best wipe his eyes, see they dazzle not. For if they do, that may be *bonum in oculis* which is not *bonum* indeed.....that which is evil may seem good to an evil eye.”⁶⁶ He cites the case of the ancient Britons, whose

⁶⁴ LACT II, p.20.

⁶⁵ LACT V, p.170f.

⁶⁶ LACT IV, p.162.

anarchy proved a weakness that the Romans were able to exploit, facilitating their conquest.⁶⁷

....and order

The positive corollary of this fear and hatred of anarchy is Andrewes's view that order in society is absolutely essential. This is a theological position. He is convinced that God has ordered His Creation, and that therefore any disorder is contrary to His will. He writes a decade or two before an emphasis on individualism will begin to underpin the development of democratic forms of government, and retains something like the mediaeval view of society as an organic whole, in which each person is almost literally a member, with a definite place, and definite expectations of conduct, accepted by himself and everyone else, and acts for the common good (as in feudalism, ideally), not, as since the Interregnum – and *pace* Mrs.Thatcher - merely a collection of individuals, each seeking his own good and setting interest groups (including social classes) in competition, to the detriment of the masses.⁶⁸ His clearest statement on the matter comes in a sermon on I Cor.12.4-7, which may be quoted at length: “And order is a thing so highly pleasing to God, as the three Persons of the Trinity, we see, have put themselves in order, to shew how well they love it. And order is a thing so nearly concerning us, as break order once, and break both your ‘staves’, saith God in Zachary [Zech.11.7]; both that of ‘beauty’, and that of ‘bands’. The ‘staff of beauty’ for no εὐσχημοσύνη, no manner of ‘decency or comeliness’ without it, but all out of fashion. The ‘staff of bands’; for no στερέωμα, no kind of

⁶⁷ LACT V, p.145.

⁶⁸ The view is well set out in Bourne,E.C.E.: The Anglicanism of William Laud (SPCK, 1947), pp.114-

‘steadiness or constancy’, but all loose without it. All falls back to the first *tohu* and *bohu*. For all is *tohu*, ‘empty and void’, if the Spirit fill not with His gifts; and all is *bohu*, ‘a disordered rude chaos of confusion’, if Christ order it not by His places and callings. [Margin: תוהו בזהו] Every body falls to be doing with every thing, and so nothing done; nothing well done, I am sure. Every man, therefore, whatever his gift be, to stay till he have his place and standing by Christ assigned him. It is judged needful, this, even in secular matters. Write one never so fair a hand, if he have not the calling of a public notary, his writing is not authentical. Be one never so deep a lawyer, if he have not the place of a judge, he can give no definitive sentence. No remedy, then, there must be division of places; of ‘administration’, no less than of ‘gifts’.”⁶⁹

Andrewes warns sternly against exceeding one’s station or office by referring to the unfortunate Uzzah (II Sam.6.7) who “....went beyond his degree, pressed to touch the Ark, which was more than a Levite might do, and was stricken dead for it by God.”⁷⁰ This underlines the view of society as God-given and divinely ordered, as when he says, “....happy is the government where the Holy Ghost bestoweth the gifts, Christ appoints the places, and God effecteth the work.”⁷¹ [Note how the 3rd Person endings vary in this educated writer of the early C17th.]

Underlying all this is the Carolines’ view of an ordered society, which distinguishes them from many – at least, the extremist – Puritans; in Figgis’s words: “The believers in Divine Right taught that the state is a living organism and has a characteristic habit of growth, which must be investigated and observed.

⁶⁹ LACT III, p.387.

⁷⁰ LACT III, p.390.

⁷¹ LACT III, p.379.

Their opponents believed the state to be a mechanical contrivance, which may be taken to pieces and manufactured afresh.”⁷²

Bishop and King

Andrewes is prepared to apply teaching specifically to current events, or events of the recent past, as we have seen; he also applies them to his own monarch. This is particularly true after James I succeeded to the throne, partly because he [Andrewes] was now in high Episcopal office, partly because between bishop and King there was a meeting of minds. Not without flaws, James was yet an educated man, well versed in theology and with a sustained interest in the discipline. And he cannot but have been pleased by many of Andrewes’s utterances from the pulpit, directed to himself, his court, and other august assemblies, such as Parliament. In particular, the King’s confidence in dealing with dissidents must have been bolstered by such pronouncements as, “They that rise against the King are God’s enemies; for God and the King are so in league, such a knot, so straight between them, as one cannot be an enemy to the one, but he must be to the other” (with references to Moses’ rod – God’s [Exod.4.20], Gideon’s sword – God’s [Jg.7.20] and David’s throne – God’s [I Chron.29.23]). In His place they sit, His Person they represent, they are taken into the fellowship of the same name they are gods then must their enemies be God’s enemies. Let their enemies know that they have to deal with God, not with them; it is His cause rather than theirs; they, but His agents.”⁷³ This is because, rulers being essential to the welfare of mankind, God’s children, (Rom.13.4), therefore their enemies are mankind’s enemies (many references, to,e.g., Zech.13.7; Gen.10.9;

⁷² Figgis, J.N.: Theory of Divine Right of Kings (CUP, 1896), p.261.

⁷³ LACT IV, p.13f.

Hab.1.14; Gen.3.14).⁷⁴ And James is described as “christus Domini”⁷⁵ [This was literally exact, of course – but the phrase is arresting nevertheless.] Allchin says, “He was one of the few persons of whom the King stood somewhat in awe”⁷⁶ - so much so that Fuller writes of “...his gravity in a manner awing king James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself”.⁷⁷

The King was obviously fond of his erudite, eloquent and highly supportive bishop, as evidenced by his preferments,⁷⁸ the frequent invitations to preach before the court, and his eventual appointment as Dean of the Chapels Royal in 1619 (when he had a large say in the invitations himself, and could to some extent control the religious messages whispered or thundered in the royal ears – not least the ears of the future King Charles.) Both King and Prince must have been much comforted by assurances like: “And this verily is usual with God, and surely no new thing, to give ‘salvation to Kings’ (Ps.144). This is His ancient goodness; yet of this ancient and no new goodness ever and anon He shews new examples, yea in our age He hath shewn them; nor doth he cease to shew them even to this day. For this very thing which today we celebrate [James’s accession], although it be new, and surely new it is, yet it is not the last. For since God hath vouchsafed us him, one and again another hath befallen us, wherewith God hath lately blessed us. Twice or thrice hath God given deliverance, twice or thrice hath God delivered him; and (to let pass other, surely those most

⁷⁴ LACT IV, p.15.

⁷⁵ LACT II, p.292.

⁷⁶ In Rowell, op.cit., p.146.

⁷⁷ Fuller: *Church History*, Vol. III, p.348.

⁷⁸ It is a matter of some puzzlement (and, indeed, to his contemporaries as well as to later commentators) that Andrewes was passed over when Canterbury became vacant in 1611, though most think it was perhaps to appease the Scots that the canny James appointed George Abbot, last Calvinist to occupy Augustine’s chair. Quite likely Andrewes shared the general expectation, yet there is not the slightest hint, in his own or others’ writings, of resentment or even disappointment at James’s action.

admirable). He That six years since hath 'delivered him from the hurtful sword' (Ps.144.10) very lately, this very year, hath delivered him from the perilous gunpowder. Thus yearly he heaps upon us new deliverances. It shall be our duty here to imitate David, and for several new precedents to sing new songs; for several new deliverances, new thanksgivings. So shall he every year heap upon us new deliverance: rehearsing old, He will enrich us with new; nor shall there ever be wanting new matter for a song, if a new song be not wanting. If old ones be not forgotten, a new harvest of thanksgiving shall yearly increase unto us."⁷⁹

Occasionally, and importantly, he reminds his exalted congregation that God is specially gracious to Kings who believe, rulers of people who believe.....⁸⁰ Doubtless James took comfort from that as well. He was being well repaid for his ardent support for a learned and preaching Ministry, a demand from Puritan divines in 1603 (though the latter may not have felt so well served by Andrewes as did the King).⁸¹ "James I was primarily concerned with the pursuit of traditional conformist aims – order, uniformity and obedience."⁸² In these he was to find a useful and more than willing support in Lancelot Andrewes, whose similar concerns stemmed from his theology, rather than from political considerations only, thus undergirding and providing a solid religious foundation for the King's attitudes.

In all this, however, we must stress that Andrewes merely gave added weight and authority to positions at which James had already arrived, as his own works demonstrate.⁸³ "To James's mind the entrusting of the royal power to the hands of his ancestors was proved by Scripture to be an irrevocable act, and the

⁷⁹ LACT %, p.236f.

⁸⁰ LACT V, p.249.

⁸¹ Hylson-Smith, op.cit., p.96.

⁸² Ibid., p.93.

⁸³ See McIlwain, C.H.: The Political Works of James I (1918)

corresponding duty of non-resistance in his subjects was equally supported by the same high authority.”⁸⁴ In his *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* he provides an extended commentary on I Sam.8, explaining this.⁸⁵ In His *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* James quotes Josh.1.17, Jer.27.12, Exod.5.1 and Ezra 1.3 to support his insistence upon subjects’ duty of loyalty, even to a bad king. “I read indeede, and not in one, or two, or three places of Scripture, that Subjects are bound to obey their Princes for conscience sake, whether they were good or wicked Princes.”⁸⁶ [In further fact, three out of four of the above citations describe or encourage obedience to a Gentile monarch, two of them hostile to Jews.]

James is entirely in agreement with Andrewes on the illegitimacy of attempts to depose kings; in his lengthy treatment of the subject in his *A Defence of the Right of Kings* he cites examples from the Old Testament, especially of Saul and Ahab - both under prophetic condemnation, yet not deposed in their lifetimes. Also Uzziah, merely isolated with a skin disease; the priest Azariah “gave sentence against him, not as against a criminal person, and thereby within the compasse of deposition; but against a diseased body.”⁸⁷

Indeed, James’s works are concerned as much with theology as with politics, these being inextricably intertwined and interdependent in his thinking (and in everyone else’s at that time), and informs his approach to problems in both state and Church. His writings show an almost complete concurrence with the views of Andrewes and his school on virtually all points.⁸⁸ He can write

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.xliii.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp.58-60.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.77.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.213ff.

⁸⁸ Though not entirely; in particular James probably did not share their view of the divine ordination of episcopacy.

confidently on purely ‘spiritual’ matters – for he has described King David, on whom he models himself (with Andrewes’s wholehearted approval, of course) as “that royal prophet” in *Basilikon Doron*.⁸⁹ Thus, in the preamble to the re-issued *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, a preamble magnificently and magniloquently entitled *A Premonition to all most Mightie Monarches, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendome*, James declares his acceptance of the Apocrypha [not in editions of the Geneva Bible, but included in the Authorised Version] as “*secundae lectionis, or ordinis*. They⁹⁰ are bound with our Bibles, and publicly read in our Churches.” He claims that this follows patristic practice, “...nor for confirmation of Doctrine, but onely for instruction of the people.”⁹¹

Supreme Governor of the Church

“It is good for Kings to be learned in God’s Law.”⁹² The Supreme Governor of Andrewes’s Church of England was the King, and the sermons provide frequent justification for this arrangement, nearly all of it drawn from the Old Testament. Reventlow comments on “...the great importance attached to the Old Testament in Anglican theology of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries as a basis for the order of the Established Church, and in particular for royal absolutism in matters of religion.”⁹³ So the many references in Andrewes to the King as ‘Head’, Head of two estates, civil and ecclesiastical. He says that even the ancient Persians – let alone the Israelites – recognised this, in that one kingly name was ‘Ahashuerosh’, meaning ‘sovereign head’; also the Greeks, because βασιλεύς is formed from βάσιν τοῦ λαοῦ ‘base or corner-stone of the

⁸⁹ McIlwain, op.cit., p.12.

⁹⁰ James is an educated man who knows his Greek grammatical Number!

⁹¹ McIlwain, op.cit., p.123.

⁹² LACT IV, p.161.

⁹³ Reventlow, op.cit., p.140.

people’.⁹⁴ The most interesting disquisition on this theme comes from his exposition of Num.10.1,2, preached to the court in 1606; in fact, it is the whole burden of that sermon, which is undoubtedly his finest statement on Divine Right and the King’s supremacy over both Church and State; James recognised this, and had it published in Latin, and later in English, as a major contribution to his propaganda campaign.⁹⁵ Both trumpets (for calling assemblies, going to war, etc.) belong to Moses only [וְהָיוּ לָךְ]. Now, Moses was not a priest – Aaron was; Moses was the “chief magistrate”, in Andrewes’s terms, whose holding of both the trumpets signifies both civil and religious authority. The power to call assemblies passed down from Moses to the “chief magistrates after him over the people of God”. Moses delegates the power to call assemblies to Aaron’s sons and descendants – but the power is not theirs. The strong implication is that the ‘chief magistrate’ can so delegate.....

Similarly, Joshua - not Eleazar the priest – called and dissolved the covenant assembly; David and Solomon did likewise, and disposed of the Temple offices; also Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehu, Josiah and Hezekiah: “The matters spiritual, the persons assembled spiritual, and yet called by the King’s trumpet.” Thus Mordecai, Nehemiah, Simon (I Macc.14), for, “There was in all God’s people no one religious King but this power be practised; and there was of all God’s Prophets no one that ever interposed a prohibition against it.”

The Old Testament rule stands after Christ, who didn’t countermand it. Thus Emperors eventually assumed the ‘trumpets’ (there follows a review of seven General Councils, all summoned by Emperors). A polemical development of the theme sees Andrewes inveighing against those who would usurp the

⁹⁴ LACT II, p.287.

⁹⁵ Ferrell, L.A.: Government by Polemic (Stanford University Press, 1998), p.130.

Prince's right to the 'trumpets'. The Roman Catholic Pope and hierarchy have done just that, and the Presbyterian clergy would fain do so, were they allowed; so would the Independents – even their layfolk.⁹⁶

For Andrewes, then, the King of England had “the right and power of doing whatever Kings of Israel did in matters of religion”.⁹⁷ Moreover, The King not only has a right to order matters religious: it is his bounden obligation, for it is his prime *raison d'être*. How so? We return to Andrewes's thesis that the time for kingship in Israel was only right after the disorder described in the last chapters of Judges, for he states that the chief need for a King arose from false worship (i.e. of Micah in Jg.17). So the King must have a hand in matters ecclesiastical. The reasoning is nothing if not close: that Micah's error precedes the disgraceful behaviour of the men of Gibeah in their mistreatment of the concubine indicates that the first duty of the King must be the regulation of religion.⁹⁸ “There is a King in Israel, that there may not be a Micah in Israel.”⁹⁹ And, as we have seen, any king will do, even a bad one: “For better any than anarchy; better anyone a King, than every one a King.”¹⁰⁰ [How much more meaningful is “every one” than ‘no one’!] The King's obligations are to be discharged assiduously, just as Andrewes, accused with some justice of a tendency to sycophancy, yet discharges his obligation to preach directly to the King, for the latter's edification. Kings are to take a pious interest in the affairs of the Church, never, never, neglecting them; otherwise, the sad situation will prevail as did in Saul's later years: [commenting on Ps.75] “....the ark not sought to, the Ephod in contempt [deliberately (?) misreading Michal's motives], the priesthood

⁹⁶ LACT V, pp.148-157.

⁹⁷ Quoted by Higham, in Catholic and Reformed, p.47.

⁹⁸ LACT V, p.179.

⁹⁹ LACT V, p.180.

¹⁰⁰ LACT V, p.183.

impoverished: *et Saulo nihil horum curae*” (echoing the Proconsul Gallio’s inattention to disorder resulting from religious controversy in Acts 18.17).¹⁰¹ However, even Saul was Head of Church as well as state, for he was (I Sam.15.17) “ ‘ head of the tribes of Israel’ of which Levi was one.” This, though he usurped the priests’ office by offering sacrifices (I Sam.13.9)¹⁰² [We note that we have not found anywhere in Andrewes similar condemnation of Solomon for this same transgression.] Elsewhere, Andrewes notes that his hero, David (who is mentioned in the sermons far more than any other person in the Bible, apart from Jesus), restored the Ark to its proper home as his first regal act in Jerusalem.¹⁰³ The evidence for the King as Supreme Governor is overwhelming, then; it is there in nearly the whole of the Old Testament – and beyond, indeed: “Thus, from Moses to the Maccabees, we see in whose hands this power was.”¹⁰⁴

‘Supreme Governors’ can even change religion, as did several Kings of Judah. Andrewes lived in a time when religious change had been massive, and continued to happen throughout his own lifetime; indeed, in his early espousal of the ‘High Church’ position, and his influencing its development and formulation, he was a considerable fomentor of change himself. Not that this vitiates his observation that, “Amongst us four Princes successively” had substantially altered the religious habits of their people.¹⁰⁵

Monarch and Church: identity of interests

The sacred status of the anointed monarch has the ramification that those who rebel against him rebel against the one whom God has set over the people’s

¹⁰¹ LACT II, p.12.

¹⁰² LACT IV, pp.37.38.

¹⁰³ LACT II, p.13.

¹⁰⁴ LACT V, p.156.

¹⁰⁵ LACT V, p.245.

affairs, civil and religious. Just as Andrewes equates David with the English King, so he equates Zion with the Church (i.e. the Church of England). Enemies of the King, therefore, are enemies of the Church, just as David's enemies were enemies of Zion (Ps.129.5). One may infer that the reverse would also be true, for King and Church are interdependent¹⁰⁶, though it usually suits Andrewes to emphasise the dependence of the Church: "Men may entertain what speculation they will; but sure *in praxi* how much of the Church's welfare hath gone by the good and blessed inclinations of Kings; it is but too plain." Probably casting a rueful backward glance as he recollects the doings of Henry VIII and Mary Tudor, as well as offering monarchs an excuse, he continues, "....tell me whether....the Church have any greater enemies than such as alien the minds of Kings...."¹⁰⁷, taking care not to blame the monarchs themselves – he is preaching to one, after all!

One may wonder at this point how great a hand Andrewes, as one of the leading Translators, probably the dominant one, had in the final production of the Authorised Version: "The finished book would include a genealogy of Jesus, drawn up by the mapmaker, John Speed, showing his descent from David – God was kingly just as the king was godly."¹⁰⁸

After all the above consideration of Andrewes's interest in the national polity, based on his reading of the Old Testament, it is perhaps surprising to record that his direct influence on it was limited. This was to his own satisfaction, for he was no Laud, and simply did not see himself as of direct involvement in

¹⁰⁶ One possible reason why the AV was required was to demonstrate this. The Geneva Bible had issued from a republic, whereas the title page of the Bishops' Bible, commanded by the king as the basis for the Translators' work, indicates a close relationship between Church and State, monarch and people, under God. [McGrath, *The King James Version of the Bible*, p.100]

¹⁰⁷ LACT IV, p.16f.

¹⁰⁸ Nicolson, A.: *Power and Glory* (HarperCollins 2003)

matters of state; even as a Privy Councillor, he would absent himself from meetings when no matter of Church business was to be discussed. He was little more active as a diocesan bishop, though active enough by the standards of the day. He was "...a professor rather than a churchman, and politics he regarded as outside the Church, whose doctrines only he expounded and annotated."¹⁰⁹

Thus his sermons have usually little or no direct reference either to recent events or even, sometimes, to the event commemorated by the service at which he is preaching. "...the sermons are strangely lacking in any reference to those public events of which they were the accompaniment. The Bishop conceived it to be his task not to direct men as to their duty in this political crisis or that social predicament, but to summon them back steadily and relentlessly to the contemplation of the eternal verities."¹¹⁰

Englishness

Andrewes was ever conscious of the insularity of his homeland, expressed at least once in a sermon.¹¹¹ Did this contribute to his distancing himself in his thought from both Protestants and Catholics on the Continent, one wonders? He states that the sea is at once a link (preferably under English control!) with other lands, for purposes mainly of trade (his father was a merchant and possibly a seafarer), and a defence of the British Isles, providing literal insulation when necessary. However, in what may seem a typically Anglican position with regard to the Prince's regulation of the Church within his realm, Andrewes was in fact following in a tradition already established in Reformation thought abroad. Erasmus it had been who had promulgated a shift of moral authority from

¹⁰⁹ Trevor-Roper, H.: Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645 (Macmillan, 1940), p.30.

¹¹⁰ Higham, F. Lancelot Andrewes, p.74.

¹¹¹ Quoted by Allchinn in Rowell, op.cit., p.148f.

ecclesiastics to princes; MacCulloch writes, “....in Erasmus’s ideal society everyone was to be an active citizen of a ‘civitas’ as in the city-states of ancient Greece, and everyone had a duty to behave as purely as monks were supposed to do under a monastic rule....the person to make sure they did so was the prince.”¹¹²

So, far from being Andrewes’s theological construct in England, the idea went back a long way, to before the Reformation proper. Melancthon, Zwingli, Hubmaier, in the early throes of the Continental Reformation, preached – and practised – it. Luther warmed less to the principle, despite his dependence upon temporal rulers for the success of his movement.¹¹³

Doctrine

The Old Testament is less useful to Andrewes when he is discussing specifically Christian doctrine and Church order. Then his concentration turns, not unnaturally, to the New Testament and the Fathers. Nevertheless, the Bible is a unity to Andrewes, and occasionally he can find support for his contentions in the record of the Old Dispensation, especially via his cherished typological exegesis. Thus the Trinity was present at the Creation (Gen.1.1-3) in God, the Word, and the Spirit, whose combined effort he sees repeated at Christ’s baptism: “The Son in the water, the Holy Ghost in the dove, the Father in the voice.”¹¹⁴ Thus, of course, the pre-existence of Christ – as in Andrewes’s assertion that He was one of the visitors to Abraham at Mamre (Gen.18.2).¹¹⁵ The Holy Ghost is operative throughout the Old Testament: in Creation (Gen.1.2); in the Law, when

¹¹² MacCulloch, *op.cit.*, p.104.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.167.

¹¹⁴ LACT III, p.242.

¹¹⁵ LACT I, p.128.

the Spirit descended upon the seventy elders (Num.11.25); in the Psalms (e.g. Ps.104.30 and 51.11); in the Prophets (e.g. Isa.61.1, 8 and Joel 2.28).

The hierarchical nature of the Church is indicated in the Old Testament. Commenting on I Cor.12.4-7, Andrewes explains that St.Paul has three sorts of minister: “teachers”, “helpers”, and “governors”. He reveals that even the heathens had their ‘ἱεροφάντας, ‘ἱεροδούλους and ‘ἱερομνήμονας . [N.B. Given correctly in the Accusative, after “had”!] Now comes the support from the Old Testament. “The very same prescribed by God to His people: 1. their ‘teachers’, the Priests; 2. their ‘helpers’, the Levites; 3. their ‘governors’, the sons of Aaron, called *nesiim* [margin: נשיאים] as true and proper Hebrew for prelates as *praelati* is in Latin.” Andrewes can then very smoothly go on to claim that “...this division obtained in the Church throughout antiquity as *Presbyteri*, *Diaconi*, and *Episcopi*. “And never any other.” It is no problem – rather, a splendid teaching point – that in this verse in the Greek, all these are called Διακονοι , or “administration”, because all are servants, whatever their office or rank. There are hints that Andrewes was beginning to think of bishops in terms of Divine Right, an idea developed into doctrine by later Carolines, such as Cosin and Laud.

Despite his own excellence in the art, Andrewes is anxious to teach his people that, *pace* the Puritans, the sermon is not the most important part of ‘worship’, and adduces Ps.29.9 and Isa.56.7 in support: “...a chief end of our meeting there should be not to make it a public school of divinity and instruction, but to pour out our prayers to God.”¹¹⁶ (His friend Buckeridge put it more colourfully: “True religion is no way a gargleism only.”[!]) For Andrewes and

¹¹⁶ LACT V, p.357.

his ilk, the Eucharist is the central act of Christian worship: all other forms are unqualifiedly secondary. Even on this point, he can find something in the Old Testament. The Passover became the Christian Easter, and thus every Sunday, when the Eucharist has taken the place of the Jewish feast.¹¹⁷ Andrewes gains another clue from the Jewish sacrificial system, in that the Eucharist is a 'peace-offering': "...he that offers it must take his part of it, eat of it, or it doth him no good."¹¹⁸ (So much for the Romans' non-communicating Masses....!)

Epilogue(s)

All Andrewes's sermons are purposeful and Bible-based, to a degree unusual (at least in the Church of England) in our times. His editor writes: "They [the sermons] are for the most part exegetical and practical....they explain and they enforce a portion of Holy Writ...."¹¹⁹ And despite his concern for linguistic niceties as seams to be mined for meaning, despite his obvious and oft-repeated delight in puns and other word-play, nevertheless Andrewes never forgets that he occupies the pulpit primarily as a pastor, not merely an orator; primarily, therefore, a communicator of the Christian gospel. He uses both *figura dictionis* and *figura sententiae*; in other words, his style has a theological basis, not just rhetorical: words are exploited mercilessly so that meanings may be exposed, which are redolent of Christian truth.¹²⁰ Commenting on the Benedictus (Lk.1.79) he quotes Augustine approvingly, and the words could apply even to himself: "He came not to whet our wits or to file our tongues, but to 'guide our feet in the way'"¹²¹

We leave the final word to a distinguished commentator, another of Andrewes's editors:

¹¹⁷ Extended treatment in sermon, LACT II, pp.290-308.

¹¹⁸ LACT II, p.251.

¹¹⁹ LACT I, Editor's Preface, p.xviii f.

¹²⁰ Hewison, op.cit., Introduction, p.xii.

¹²¹ LACT I, p.167.

“The fact that the Authorized Version is little read nowadays is part of a larger deprivation for which Andrewes is a useful corrective. The Church of England of twenty-five years ago¹²² is one that Andrewes would have recognized and (generally) approved of; the present one is neither. It is no coincidence that nothing of significance by or about Andrewes has been published in those last twenty-five years. Andrewes would have deplored the loss of Episcopal authority, of respect for tradition, of belief in basic doctrine; but most of all he might have deplored what perhaps lies at the root of all these failures, the abandonment of a specifically religious language. The language of God has to be different; and once people cannot talk about God properly, they cannot talk about God at all. To read Lancelot Andrewes, in the sermons, in the prayers, and in the Authorized Version, is to encounter a holy, learned and complex personality; to relish a lively mind and mastery of words; but most of all to be reminded of that power of language which is essential for religious writing to be of any great value. Lancelot Andrewes, we need you.”¹²³

Postscript

The above is based largely, though not exclusively, on twenty-five of Andrewes's published sermons, chosen on the arbitrary criteria, that (a) they were preached in the presence of the monarch; (b) these were the ones whose texts were taken from the Old Testament. Their dates range from 1589 to 1624 – thirty-five years, with only fifteen years missing (curiously, four from 1606), and their occasions include anniversaries of the Gowries, Gunpowder Plot and the King's Accession; Opening of Parliament; the Ten Commandments; Christmas; Ash Wednesday; Easter and Pentecost.

N.B. Adumbrations are my own, throughout all chapters.

¹²² i.e. c.1970.

¹²³ Hewison, *op.cit.*, Introduction, p.xv.

CHAPTER 3

WILLIAM LAUD

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

William Laud was born in Reading, son of a clothier and burgess, in 1573. He went up to St.John's College, Oxford, where he performed more than competently, being elected Fellow. Here he developed the religious views which he would hold for the rest of his life, in reaction to the prevailing Calvinism of the University. As President of his college from 1611 he was the acknowledged leader of the struggle against Puritanism in Oxford, already making enemies for himself, such as the Abbot brothers, who would make life difficult for him in later years. In 1616 Laud was appointed Dean of Gloucester, where he performed his first exercises in the kind of ecclesiastical administration for which, above all else, his name would go down to posterity. In 1621 he was on the Bench – only just, some would say – as Bishop of St.Davids's. However, it was a stepping-stone, for Laud began to make a name for himself at the centre of affairs – not least by drawing up and playing a major part, for such a junior bishop, in the Coronation of Charles I.¹ Very shortly afterwards, in 1626, Laud went to Bath and Wells, a more lucrative and influential position, from which he was translated after only two years to London. He was now very much at the centre of power, ecclesiastical and temporal, and began to find his true *métier*. He was able to practise his preaching properly when made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633.

¹ Carlton, C.: Archbishop William Laud (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987)

As Primate he worked closely with the King and with Strafford. Charles had now two chief executives – the one civil, the other spiritual – who were completely in accord with his views on all matters of importance to the realm. Moreover, and more rarely, these two liked and respected each other, and could work together extremely effectively. This they did through a large part of the Personal Rule, attempting to put into practice throughout the Kingdom the policy of ‘Thorough’, involving the recognition and obedience to the royal prerogative, and loyal membership of the Church of England – expressed mainly by outwardly conforming with certain liturgical and other prescriptions. There is some evidence that this Personal Rule was not unwelcome to many of the King’s ‘ordinary’ subjects, but it certainly offended and even outraged the rapidly increasing middle class of merchants, minor gentry and professional men, some educated, some wealthy, some both, who demanded a say in their own governance. To them the Personal Rule was an affront to the dignity and rights of Englishmen; their reaction was one of righteous indignation, whereas to Charles, Laud and Strafford it was nothing short of disloyalty to the Crown, presumptuous, rebellious, and mistakenly proud. The fact that the political opposition was strongly allied to the Puritan interpretation of Christianity would only serve to condemn itself further in the eyes of the triumvirate.

In 1640 Laud was arrested on the orders of Parliament, kept in the Tower for five years, and eventually impeached. After a travesty of a trial, during which Laud met every allegation with convincing rebuttal, and bore himself with almost incredible dignity and composure, and when no case had been proven by the prosecution, the Commons resorted to a Bill of Attainder, securing Laud’s condemnation on a simple majority opinion of the House, without need of

argument or evidence. He was executed in January, 1645, a few weeks after Strafford, and four years before Charles. The circumstances surrounding his demise proved eventually to be his making as the great influence on Anglicanism during and after the Interregnum, for along with his King he assumed martyr status in the eyes of sympathisers – and probably of others too who did not share his religious views, for “...his enemies did all that could be done to vindicate his policy to mankind, by illustrating in his execution the malignant spirit that always haunted and sometimes possessed the temple of English Puritanism.”² And, “In a mean spirit of revenge they had brought the old man Laud to the block, after a trial that made as little show of legal justice as any in the century.”³

The disciple of Andrewes

On learning of Andrewes’s death, Laud wrote in his diary, that Andrewes had been “the light of the Christian world”⁴ Like all others of his generation who shared his views, Laud was always a fervent disciple of Andrewes; indeed, with Buckeridge, he edited the publication of Andrewes’s 96 Sermons in 1628, at the King’s command. Unlike the others, of course, he was to attain a unique position which enabled him to attempt to put their master’s teachings into practice throughout the realm, both in Church and State, despite differing from Andrewes as much in personality and public practice as he did in countenance and physique: “....Laud, that bundle of contradictions, who carried on Andrewes’s work in the Church, but failed so utterly to emulate his Christian serenity.”⁵ According to

² Trevelyan, op.cit., p.165.

³ Ibid., p.227.

⁴ Nicolson, op.cit., p.144.

⁵ Higham: Lancelot Andrewes, op.cit., p.88.

Fuller, Andrewes was “content with the enjoying without the enjoining”.⁶ A modern commentator puts it thus: “...he [Andrewes] did not trust in administration and power as Laud did.”⁷ Many view Laud’s acting upon Andrewes’s teachings more positively, in view of his lasting influence: “The quiet work of Andrewes would have been robbed of half its best effect if it had not been carried on after his death by the bustling energy of Laud.”⁸ And: “Laud, Neile and Wren, who took the bolder step of implementing by statute and edict practices that Andrewes was content to display but not promulgate or enforce.....”⁹ McCulloch goes on to comment: “As a result, in the seventeenth century, he was perhaps more influential in public matters after his death than before.”

This is something very important about Laud (as, indeed, it is about Andrewes), something all too often hidden from the view of secular historians, who tend to look only at the achievements of a lifetime, something which moved no less a personage than the poet William Wordsworth to write: “I am persuaded that most of his aims to restore ritual practices which had been abandoned were good and wise, whatever errors he might commit in the manner he sometimes attempted to enforce them. I further believe that, had not he, and others who shared his opinions and felt as he did, stood up in opposition to the reformers of that period, it is questionable whether the Church would ever have recovered its lost ground [presumably after the Interregnum: my adumbration].”¹⁰

At risk of repetition, it has to be stressed that it was Laud’s (good?) fortune to be the servant of a monarch who so utterly concurred with him in

⁶ Quoted in DNB 1898, p.403.

⁷ Dean Church, quoted by Brightman in Burn (ed): *The Preces Privatae of Lancelot Andrewes* (Methuen, 4th edition, 1949)

⁸ Frere, W.: *The English Church of Elizabeth I and James I*, p.388.

⁹ McCulloch, P.E., in DNB 2004.

¹⁰ Wordsworth, W.: Preface to *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*; quoted by Osmond, in *John Cosin: Life*, p.359f.

virtually all matters of Church and State. In public utterance, Laud was even stronger on Divine Right than Andrewes had been, as we shall see below, and this stance was hugely valued by a king who was fundamentally unsure of himself and needed support: “Conscious as a youth of physical handicap and insecure in his personal relationships, Charles found a framework of order and formality, a strength and reassurance, and the Anglican way, as Laud preached it, gave him the sense of balance and certainty he required.”¹¹

His relationship with the King lies at the heart of Laud’s archiepiscopate, and divining of its nature at the heart of assessment of that career. The Archbishop’s close partnership with the King, each harnessing the other’s power, influence and energy to his own ends, is the key to their apparent success in the 1630s as well as their ultimate downfall and apparent failure in the 1640s. “Without the backing of Charles I Laudianism would have remained as it was under Andrewes: a movement enriching the sacramental life of the Church, while advancing a healthy, if socially disturbing, criticism of the Erastian Reformation, combined with an unfortunate reluctance to preach from the pulpit, if not from the table.”¹² The penultimate clause is contestable, given the evidence of a massive amount of careful, but enthusiastic and energetic preaching which the Carolines actually undertook. Indeed, in the eyes of many historians Charles is seen as very much the senior partner, leaving them feeling that Laud has ‘carried the can’ for Charles in traditional historiography, being until recently portrayed as the villain of the piece (Lake, Tyacke et al), those vices traditionally attributed to him being

¹¹ Higham, op.cit., p.106.

¹² Davies, J: The Caroline Captivity of the Church (Clarendon, 1992), p.302.

seen as actually more applicable to his royal master. "If Charles is a historical enigma it is because Laud has carried his mark for too long."¹³

It is interesting to note that to such an upholder of Divine Right as was Laud, Charles was apparently something of a disappointment, for his diary reads that Strafford's misfortune was that he served "a mild and gracious prince, who knew not to be or to be made great".¹⁴

SERMONS

Style and texts

Laud's academic formation left its mark on his style, as it did on everyone else's. The type of education offered by Oxford in the late Fifteenth Century encouraged pedantry, excellent memory, acquisition and retention of knowledge, attention to detail. Also, "...a relish for plays on words that may be forgiven in the undergraduate but become tiresome in middle age. His education taught Laud how to find the correct classical, biblical or patristic text rather than the truth¹⁵ The footnotes counted as much as the text, if not more. Correct citations and precise details were valued more than the right conclusions. His education taught him to worry about the small things: if they were right then the whole world would automatically be correct learning a game of erudition, with truth on the side of the biggest battalions of citations, that somehow grew into an Armageddon between the forces of right and wrong."¹⁶

This much can be said of Andrewes, too, of course. But our impression is that Laud is not an Andrewes, whom he imitates closely; his examination of

¹³ Ibid, also p.302.

¹⁴ Quoted in Trevor-Roper, H: Catholics, Anglican & Puritans in the Seventeenth Century (Secker & Warburg, 1987), p.102.

¹⁵ Adumbrations, as elsewhere, are mine.

¹⁶ Carlton, C.: Archbishop William Laud (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987).

words and phrases does not draw out so many ‘solid’ meanings, nor have the same impact on the reader. (We do not know of his pulpit manner, as we have some hints of Andrewes’s excellence “like an angel in the pulpit”.) Unfortunately, our judgement is based on all too little evidence. Only seven of Laud’s sermons are extant, probably all that were published, and in them we see Laud as very much the disciple and imitator of his master, in both style and content; he includes very little doctrinal material, but much on society, monarchy and, by implication, Church government and liturgy.¹⁷ The sermons are as follows:

	YEAR	PREACHED BEFORE:	BY LAUD AS:
1.	1621 (Jan.)	James I	Dean of Gloucester
2.	1621 (Mar.)	James I	Bishop of St. David’s
3.	1625	[Opening of Parliament]	Bishop of St. David’s
4.	1625	Charles I	Bishop of St. David’s
5.	1626	Charles I	Bishop of St. David’s
6.	1628	[Opening of Parliament]	Bishop of Bath & Wells
7.	1631	[At Paul’s Cross]	Bishop of London

[The King would be present at the Opening of Parliament, and quite possibly at Paul’s Cross.]

Laud was, if anything, more direct than Andrewes, less diplomatic. Like Andrewes, for instance, he refers to Shimei as the stereotypical rebel. Unlike Andrewes, he pointedly mentions his eventual fate....!¹⁸ This is an indication of the difference between the two men’s personalities. An example of the directness

¹⁷ See LACT I, Preface, p.vii.

N.B. In this Chapter, ‘LACT’ refers to the volumes of Laud’s *Works* in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology produced in the 1830s.

¹⁸ LACT I, p.189.

is, “Take heed....that no sin of unthankfulness, no base, detracting, murmuring sin, possess your souls, or whet your tongues, or sour your breasts, ‘against the Lord, and against his anointed’ (Psalm 2.2); but remember in that these two things:-

First, remember, that it is as easy for God to take away any blessing, even the great blessing of a good king, as to give it, - remember that:-

And secondly, remember, that unthankfulness to God for so gracious a king, is the very ready way to do it – remember that too;” Then the barb in the tail: “....therefore look to these things in time.”¹⁹ This, to welcome the Members to their new Parliament!

“His was a practical, not an exegetical mind.”²⁰ This comment may shed light on how far Laud could follow Andrewes in the pulpit, and how far he could not. He certainly tries many Andrewesian tricks, such as using a Latin word or phrase as if it is an English one, e.g. “I will go to *dedisti eum*, him whom God hath given.”²¹ - though his Latin quotations are far fewer than Andrewes’s. All his sermons are divided and subdivided, more or less in Andrewes’s fashion, and he sometimes displays imagination in finding and mining seams in a text. He is no slave, however, and manages his own touches, particularly the habit of ending a sermon with a call to prayer, a prayer in which he mentions all the points of his sermon in a neat summary (the precursor of the ‘homiletic’ style of some modern intercessors?!) He can indulge in sarcasm, which Andrewes occasionally employed, as in his attack on Gouge’s theory of the Lost Tribes of Israel: “I cannot tell here, whether it be Balaam that prophesieth, or the beast he rode on.” –

¹⁹ LACT I, p.195.

²⁰ Trevor-Roper, H.R. op.cit., p.307

²¹ LACT I, p.36.

followed by: “Good God, what a fine people have we here? Men in the moon.” This, however, is the limit of his sense of humour, the lack of which was often noted by contemporaries. There are few jokes in these sermons, whereas Andrewes’s are peppered with them (as, we gather, was his everyday conversation). Even his plays on Latin words, e.g. “*spes* is *quasi pes*”, are not meant to be at all funny, nor are they. Thus he is quite unlike Andrewes in this important stylistic respect. Similarly, Andrewes could rarely be described as boring and uninformative, at least by a Jacobean used to listening and enjoying what to us are long and involved sermons, but Laud can be tediously repetitive at times, with patches including more words than substance – again, unlike Andrewes.²²

All Carolines were devoted to the Fathers. Laud refers to them far more than Andrewes does, as he does to pagan classical writers. He has not Andrewes’s wide acquaintance with oriental languages – though, as Trevor-Roper has pointed out, he was supportive of their study, as his acquisitions for Oxford libraries demonstrate, as well as his persuasion of the King in 1634 to give orders to the Turkey Company to the effect that every ship returning from the Near East should bring one Arabic or Persian manuscript, other than the Qur’an. And it must be remembered who endowed the Laudian Chair of Arabic in the University of Oxford in 1636.²³ And, though conversant with the Old Testament and its tongues, as he was, Laud doesn’t range anything like so widely in it (or in the New Testament, for that matter) as does Andrewes. Bearing in mind that the number of sermons used as evidence is necessarily tiny, it seems that Laud preferred quotes from the Psalter to dominate his citations: he quotes from them

²² See LACT I, pp.121-147.

²³ Trevor-Roper, op.cit., p.274 and p.281ff.

more than from the rest of the Old Testament put together. Very little attention is paid to the Pentateuch; of other Books, Judges and Isaiah are the most favoured. He seems, too, to have his favourite few among the Fathers – Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Basil and Euthymius, and, among mediaevals, Bernard and Thomas. Again, it must be repeated that these select sources may not be surprising, in view of the size of the statistical population we are forced to examine.

That said, six of the seven sermons take their texts from the Old Testament – indeed, all are from the Psalter, with two from the same Psalm (though not the same verses!) A breakdown of the total citations in the seven sermons follows:

<u>Old Testament:</u>	204
<u>New Testament:</u>	87
<u>Fathers:</u>	132
<u>Pagans:</u>	21
<u>Mediaeval/contemporary:</u>	54
<u>Apocrypha:</u>	1
<u>LXX:</u>	2
<u>Rabbis:</u>	0

Divine Right of Kings

Virtually all these sermons were preached in the presence of the monarch, in royal chapels on various regal anniversaries, or on state occasions, which explains Laud's apparent obsession with the doctrine of Divine Right. To him it would be the appropriate subject in such circumstances.

At the Opening of Charles I's first Parliament, in 1625, Laud refers to Hezekiah's age when he ascended the throne – twenty-five, exactly Charles's age then. So MPs are told that "One of his [i.e. Hezekiah's] first works was he gathered the princes of the city" – there was the 'receiving of the congregation' [his text is Ps.75.2,3] – and so 'went up to the house of the Lord' and thus is our Hezekiah come this day to 'receive' this 'congregation', in the name of the Lord."²⁴ The King is a 'pillar' – here Laud finds support from St.Gregory. He also quotes Gregory's 'explanation' of the term - Βασιλευς *quasi* Βασις λαου – but without attribution.²⁵

The Psalms provide ammunition; dealing with Ps.75, he writes, "...in the Psalms one and the same action [is] applied to God and the King. And the reason for this is plain; for the King is God's immediate lieutenant upon earth; and therefore one and the same action is God's by ordinance, and the King's by execution. And the power which resides in the King is not any assuming to himself, nor any gift from the people, but God's power, as well in, as over, him."²⁶ So in Ps.75 it could be God speaking (either of judgement in the here and now or in the Last Judgement) – or it could be the author, David, speaking ("I receive the congregation...." etc.)²⁷ To Laud, it is clear from this and other texts that the King is God's "immediate Vicegerent"²⁸

There comes a caveat: the King reigns only, as we saw above, by God's permission (Prov.8.15 is quoted in this respect), and Laud constantly stresses this.²⁹ It is God who has the initial part in the King's authority, which is very

²⁴ LACT I, p.116f.

²⁵ LACT I, p.106.

²⁶ LACT I, p.94.

²⁷ LACT I, p.102f.

²⁸ LACT I, p.36.

²⁹ e.g. LACT I, p.107.

much by divine right, not any kind of 'royal right' per se. This is very much a theological rather than purely political position of Laud's: God isn't brought into the argument merely to justify it. He is very much the prime mover, the King's existence and lawful power the consequence of the divine action. It follows, as Andrewes also preached, that God can withhold his favour, in his wisdom: it is not unconditionally bestowed.³⁰

The King is seen as blessing upon his people – a blessing of God. As with David, the contemporary monarch's blessings are threefold: (i) "true worship of God"; (ii) "Preservation from foreign enemies"; (iii) Life and vigour of justice and judgment among the people".³¹ But the King's 'blessings' are not literally 'for ever' (only Christ's are), but for the duration of his reign. So Laud can pray for his King in his reign, and " 'his Solomon' after him" in "an 'ever of succession' " (reading LXX εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος "that implies 'succession' "³²)

Thus the King is a blessing because God made him so. Ergo, Kings are divinely appointed.³³ 'Policy' may be much vaunted, but will not avail without God's approval and assistance: No policy can promise itself success; there it must needs wait and stay for *tu dabis*. Wise counsels on their own avail little, and will lead to disaster: "...then Ahitophel himself will confess this." Laud is nothing if not the experienced observer of the obduracy of men and their refusal to admit error unless faced with incontrovertible evidence, so he is moved to add: "...though perhaps not till he 'go home to hang himself' " (!)³⁴

Such preaching gained Laud gradual acceptance at Court. In a sermon preached in 1616, when he was President of St. John's, he stated that Miriam's

³⁰ See LACT I, p.42f.

³¹ LACT I, p.39.

³² LACT I, p.40.

³³ LACT I, p.40.

³⁴ LACT I, p.41.

sudden leprosy was punishment for “detraction from princes’ government” (i.e. rejection of divine right).³⁵ Just as the King is *benedictio*, a ‘blessing’ to his people – that is his function – so the people offer a ‘blessing’ too, when they honour and praise their King. In Ps.21 – a very understandable choice of text for the arch-proponent (and exponent) of Divine Right – Laud sees the awful consequences of disobedience.³⁶ James made him Dean of Gloucester three months later.....

Naturally, Laud would use his powers to enshrine his teaching in the doctrine of the Church of England. Convocation started framing extra Canons in 1640, to confirm Laudian measures, including, “The most high and sacred order of Kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God Himself, founded in the pure laws of human nature, and clearly established by express texts both of the Old and New Testaments. A supreme power is given to this most excellent order by God Himself in the Scriptures.”³⁷

The regal powers can be delegated, of course – but only delegated, not handed over or abdicated. This delegation to such as magistrates, ministers of the Crown, and military commanders - not forgetting prelates! – is justified and encouraged by Moses’s acceptance of Jethro’s counsel in Exod.18.³⁸ It follows that governance of the realm or parts of it is not to be exercised without this proper regal delegation, however indirectly that delegation may be made. Thus Laud inveighs against both aristocracy and democracy, the former surprising, the latter not. “The factions of an aristocracy how often have they divided the city [Jerusalem – he is dealing with Ps.122] into civil wars, and made that city which

³⁵ Carlton, op.cit., p.22.

³⁶ LACT I, p.33.

³⁷ Quoted by Higham, op.cit., p.137; also by Bourne, op.cit., p.136.

³⁸ LACT I, p.89.

was ‘at unity in itself’ wade in her own blood? And for a democracy, or popular government, *fluctus populi fluctus maris*, the waves and gulfs of both are alike. None but God can ‘rule the raging of the sea, and the madness of the people’. And no safety or settledness, till there be a return *in domum David*, to a monarchy, and a King again.”³⁹ Doubtless many breathed those words, or similar ones, with sighs of relief, in 1660.

Church and State: the King Supreme Governor of both

To the Carolines, Church and State were two sides of the same coin, the spiritual and the temporal entities which together formed the nation. Laud develops this theme in the style of Andrewes in the sermon of 1621 on Ps.122.6,7: the essential link between Church and State, which are totally interdependent.⁴⁰ Published by royal command, it was Laud’s first book. “When you sit down to consult, you must not forget the Church; - and when we kneel down to pray, we must not forget the State: both are but one Jerusalem.”⁴¹ It is interesting that Sermon V is about this Church-State relationship, rather than about Divine Right (though the latter is inevitably involved, as we see below.)⁴² On Ps.122, Laud comments that Jeroboam destroyed the unity of Jerusalem; then followed religious disunity, “the calves of Dan and Bethel as good as that God that brought them out of the land of Egypt”. (Here Laud blames Rome for destroying the Church’s unity by its accretions since the days of the early Fathers.)⁴³

Then we are back to the ‘pillars’. By delegation, not only is the King a ‘pillar’, but there are ‘pillars’ of the State – peers, judges, magistrates, et al., and

³⁹ LACT I, p.85.

⁴⁰ Carlton, C., op.cit., p.26.

⁴¹ LACT I, p.6.

⁴² LACT I, pp.155-182.

⁴³ LACT I, p.78.

‘pillars’ of the Church – Christ, the Apostles, the Fathers; now bishops and priests. “And so soon as Emperors and Kings were converted to the faith, they presently came into the nature of ‘pillars’ to the Church too.”⁴⁴ It was James who had famously declared at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604 “No bishop, no King”. Two decades later, his son’s Parliament would hear Laud warning them that those who would overthrow “*sedes Ecclesiae*” [i.e. bishoprics] “will not spare, if ever they get the power, to have a pluck at the ‘throne of David’ ”⁴⁵ (as, twenty years later, they indeed did). It is illogical to want “parity” in the Church, but not in the State, if one takes Ps.122 seriously, Laud maintains – a very dangerous seed to sow in the minds of the MPs, many of whom were inclined to agree with him on the point, though not reaching the logical conclusion which would please him. Whilst on Ps.122, it is worth noting that Laud held it to be composed by David for the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem – thus making Jerusalem the seat of both religious and civil authority, the two being intimately connected.⁴⁶

Ps.75, according to Laud, was composed when David was about to be crowned King over Israel as well as Judah. “That kingdom was then filled with civil combustions; and the Church, as it uses to be in a troubled State, was out of order too.”⁴⁷ The remedy for such an unfortunate state of affairs he finds in Ps.122: “One and the same city honoured by God, His Church, and the King. And it must needs be so. For these three, God, the Church, and the King, that is, God, His Spouse, and His Lieutenant upon earth, are so near allied, - God and the Church in love, God and the King in power, the King and the Church in mutual

⁴⁴ LACT I, p.104f.

⁴⁵ LACT I, p.83.

⁴⁶ LACT I, p.3.

⁴⁷ LACT I, p.93.

dependence upon God, and subordination to Him, - that no man can serve any one of them truly, but he serves all three.”⁴⁸ (This at the Opening of the 1625 Parliament: how many deaf ears were there even then?) Ps.122 reminds him of a favourite illustration of the Carolines, that Solomon’s Temple and Solomon’s royal palace were adjoining premises, and leads him to remark that, “The King’s power is God’s ordinance, and the King’s command must be God’s glory; and the honour of the subject is obedience to both.”⁴⁹ Like Andrewes, Laud had no doubts about what subjects should be doing.....

So – neither Church nor State can flourish without the other. But the Church is not subordinate: the King presides over both. The Carolines were definitely not Erastian! That development was to be left to the Latitudinarians and others in the next century.

Order – and obedience

From Genesis and the mentions of chaos in the Psalms, the Carolines had a highly developed sense of God’s having established an **orderly** universe. Thus they entertained a lively horror of any semblance of **disorder**, and a fervent belief in the duty of civil and religious authorities to prevent such. Andrewes had often articulated this feeling. Laud shared it fully, pointing out the sin of overreaching oneself, of private judgement challenging the stability of commonwealth or Church: “Nay, so good it [unity] is, that the very worst men pretend best when they break it. It is so in the Church: never heretic yet rent her bowels, but he pretended he raked them for truth. It is so in the State; seldom any unquiet spirit divides her union, but he pretends some great abuses, which his integrity would

⁴⁸ LACT I, p.79.

⁴⁹ LACT I, p.79.

remedy.”⁵⁰ This is firmly based on the presumption of Absalom in II Sam.15.4: “Oh that I were made a judge in the land, that every man which hath a controversy might come to me, that I might do him justice”.⁵¹ Disunity is therefore manifestly displeasing to God. Laud looks at Isa.9.21: “...it was a grevous rent among the Jews, when ‘Manasses devoured Ephraim, Ephraim Manasses, and both fell upon Judah’. What followed? Was God pleased with this, or were the tribes in safety that were thus divided? No, sure. For it follows: ‘the wrath of the Lord was not turned away, but his hand was stretched out still’.”⁵² Like Andrewes, Laud was terrified of anarchy, a terror which strengthened his hand in his attempts to impose uniformity of practice on the Church.⁵³ Church unity was absolutely essential: “Doctrine and discipline are the walls and the towers thereof.” And: “It was miserable when Saint Basil laboured the cure of it: for distracted it was then, as Saint Gregory Nazianzus witnesseth, into six hundred divers opinions and errors. And it is miserable at this day; the Lord in His time shew it mercy.”⁵⁴ Unity (he’s still on Ps.122) is necessary in both Church and State – or they will be weakened and fall: it is as simple as that. This is a great plank in Laud’s platform, and his main endeavour was to achieve what he firmly believed God had clearly laid down in the Old Testament about human society; to achieve it by outward uniformity, which he and Charles thought they could enforce (doubtless neither imagined that they could win every English heart and mind, but that didn’t matter

⁵⁰ Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose!

⁵¹ LACT I, p.158.

⁵² LACT I, p.160.

⁵³ Reventlow, op.cit., p.153.

⁵⁴ LACT I, p.70.

so long as all men could agree on certain formal arrangements – the beginnings of a very ‘Anglican’ attitude.)⁵⁵

Laud’s belief, based on what he held were Old Testament precedents, is outlined by Trevor-Roper: “...all authority ought to come from above, from a government which he regarded as impersonal, conscientious, and efficient, while election and representation merely gave authoritative expression to obstructive personal interests.”⁵⁶ The alternative is anarchy. He makes much of the earth (i.e. the realm) ‘melting’, the inevitable result of not having God bearing up its ‘pillars’ (the King and his officers) so that they bear up the commonwealth. Also the Church of his day, in a passage which could be echoed by many Christians of the Twenty-first Century: “This very time is a time of Church division. What follows upon it? What? Why, the Church is become *terra liquefacta*, there is ‘melting’ in all places, but not at the same ‘fire’. For in one place truth ‘melts’ away from the doctrine of the Church. In another, devotion and good alike ‘melt’ away from the practice of the Church. In a third, all external means and necessary supply ‘melts’ away from the maintenance of the Church. And but that I know ‘hell gates cannot prevail against it’, it ‘melts’ so fast sometimes, that I should think it is, as the world takes it for, a house of butter against the sun.”⁵⁷ This sorry tale of disunity in Britain, so unlike his vision of Ps.122, he traces in history, stating (as had Andrewes before him) that the Romans, then the Normans had taken advantage of such disunity,⁵⁸ so he must constantly be on his guard against it and do what he can to prevent it, lest some new ‘Romans’ or ‘Normans’ come along – and he was not so foolish as not to know that these invaders’

⁵⁵ Or perhaps not the very beginnings: Elizabeth had wisely not wished to view ‘mirrors into men’s souls’

⁵⁶ Trevor-Roper, op.cit., p.280.

⁵⁷ LACT I, p.111.

⁵⁸ LACT I, p.67ff.

reincarnations could easily be some of his fellow countrymen [as indeed they proved to be]. The troubles that came to a head in the '40s were a long time a-brewing. In February 1626 Laud preached at the Opening of Parliament to a House of Commons which he would know to be restive already, as the 1625 Parliament had been. He urged unity above all, from Ps.122.2,3.⁵⁹ Only five months later the King adjourned Parliament in order to prevent the impeachment of Buckingham. Shortly afterwards, Laud preached from Ps.74.22, seeming to identify God and the King in his defence of the royal prerogative.⁶⁰

Laud's message on Divine Right was not all one-sided. The King had definite duties as well as prerogatives and privileges. Even Laud can remind the King directly upon this matter. Towards the end of the sermon mentioned above, at the Opening of Charles I's second Parliament in 1626 - a sermon entirely devoted to encouraging the Lords and Commons to utter loyalty to the King - he says: "And now, my dread Sovereign, upon you it lies to make good the thoughts of your most devoted servant."⁶¹

Provided that the monarch fulfilled his God-given duties, God would be favourably inclined towards him. He has always favoured princes who trusted him, from David onwards, as Laud preached to the Court in 1622, taking Ps.21.6-7 as his text.⁶² The rub lies in the 'provided that': the preacher, reading in I Sam.15, warns that the King must be careful to walk in the ways of the Lord, lest he incur "...the disobedience of Saul, which can cast even Kings out of God's favour..."⁶³ God can take away the light of the candle": Jer.25.10 is an example

⁵⁹ Carlton,C., op.cit., p.59.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.61.

⁶¹ LACT I, p.87.

⁶² Carlton,C., op.cit., p.35.

⁶³ LACT I, p.86.

of how he does this, says Laud.⁶⁴ Preaching on Ps.122, he avers that, “God will not bless the State, if kings and magistrates do not execute judgment, if the widow or the fatherless have cause to cry out against the ‘thrones of justice’ ”⁶⁵ In sum, as mentioned above, Laud’s position was a theological and biblical one, not one adopted out of self-serving sycophancy, as some of his enemies wanted to believe and prove.

TEXTS AND VERSIONS.

Versions

Laud seems to have approved of the Authorised Version. He and Wren⁶⁶ were largely responsible for ‘assistance’ given to the Scottish bishops in the preparation of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, and urged successfully that “the extracts from Scripture should be printed according to the last translation of the Bible”.⁶⁷ In sermons Laud uses the AV, except for Psalm quotes as a rule, when he prefers the BCP version – though when it suits his homiletic purpose he is happy to offer alternative readings, e.g. ‘thrones’ for BCP’s ‘seat’ in Ps.122.5.⁶⁸ Interestingly, he refers several times, and with obvious approval, to Tremellius’s translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, and the New Testament from the Syriac.

⁶⁴ LACT I, p.207.

⁶⁵ LACT I, p.64.

⁶⁶ With Juxon, but the latter was too busy as Lord Treasurer to devote much time to it.

⁶⁷ Procter and Frere: History of the Book of Common Prayer (Macmillan, 1902), p.147.

⁶⁸ LACT I, p.63.

Hebrew, and the Septuagint

It is arguable that whereas Andrewes was more of a Hebrew scholar than anything else, Laud seems more inclined to the classical languages and authors. Hence his much more frequent citation of the Fathers, of pagan classical writers, and mediaeval and of contemporary or near-contemporary authorities, whom he often quotes in their original Latin, and sometimes Greek. Likewise, he goes comfortably to the LXX to make homiletic points, where he deems that Version helpful. He does so four times in one sermon⁶⁹, three in another. Thus, on Ps.21.7, ‘miscarry’/‘be moved’, he notes the LXX σαλευθῇ and can therefrom observe that the sceptre in his hand be not just a “shaken reed” - κάλαμος σαλευόμενος. On Ps.122.6, LXX ἐρωτήσατε gives rise to the exhortation, “Ask, and inquire after the good of Jerusalem; labour it.” He says it is more than mere *orate*. The burden is that one should work for the good of the commonwealth as well as praying for it. Laud claims that some Fathers agree the Latin should be *quaerite* here; he admits that others prefer *orate* – but dismisses these!⁷⁰ On Ps.21.6 he reads the LXX εὐφρανεῖς ἐν χαρᾷ⁷¹ in order to emphasise the joy.⁷²

A rare instance of Laud’s actually referring to the Hebrew in a sermon is his comment on Ps.75.3. The AV and BCP have, ‘when I shall receive the congregation’, but Laud points out that there are other readings in English Bibles of the Hebrew מועד. Moderns prefer ‘set/appointed time’ rather than ‘congregation’: either is possible.⁷³ Andrewes would have made much of these

⁶⁹ LACT I, pp.33-59.

⁷⁰ LACT I, p.7.

⁷¹ It will be noticed that my computer does not allow for Iota subscripts, nor smooth/rough breathings!

⁷² LACT I, p.45.

⁷³ Anderson, A.A.: Psalms (New Century Bible, Eerdmans 1972), pp.540,548.

alternatives, one suspects. His disciple picks it up – “And the best is, there is warrantable authority for both” – then drops it!⁷⁴

This is not to say that Laud was not at home in the Old Testament – far from it, but he makes little parade of his knowledge in sermons, preferring a homiletic rather than a detailed exegetical approach. So on Ps.75 he declares it a dialogue between God and “the Prophet” [i.e. David]. On Verses 2 & 3, the text of the sermon, he says that opinion is divided as to whether God or David is speaking. No matter – there are lessons for us either way! The preacher, rather than the scholar, is rubbing his hands at the prospect of mining homiletic riches.....⁷⁵ And Ps.72.1 may refer to David or to Solomon. Laud says that some hold that this Psalm was composed when David handed over royal power to his son some years before his death.⁷⁶

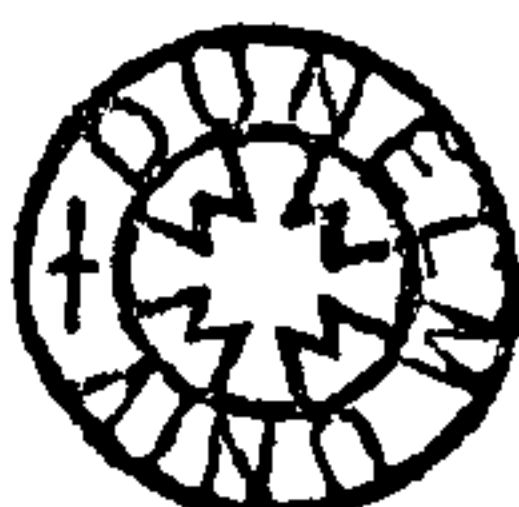
As we have noted above, Laud, like Andrewes, relies more on the Old Testament than the New in his sermons. We have also seen how, unlike Andrewes, he hardly ever quotes the Hebrew at his audience, nor enlists philological investigation as a homiletic tool. When he does display his knowledge, he can come a cropper occasionally – though his character suggests that this is likely to be due to haste and consequent carelessness. On Ps.122, for example, he mentions the “sanhedrin” as meeting in David’s Jerusalem, which is anachronistic, and suggesting a Hebrew word, whereas ‘sanhedrin’ is Greek.⁷⁷ There is no way that Andrewes would have perpetrated such a solecism!

⁷⁴ LACT I, p.93.

⁷⁵ LACT I, p.93.

⁷⁶ LACT I, p.189f.

⁷⁷ LACT I, p.79.



The Apocrypha

Laud will use the Apocrypha, as in his *Devotions*, but gives little evidence of great enthusiasm for it. The Carolines from Andrewes onwards were never quite sure of its place in the Christian scheme of things. This uncertainty is perhaps demonstrated by Laud's advice to the Scottish bishops while preparing their Prayer Book, viz. that the Apocrypha be discontinued for ordinary reading, but that Wisdom 1-6 and Eccclus. 1,2,5,8,35 and 49 be kept for certain Saints' days.

Verbal inspiration of Scripture

There was no doubt in Andrewes's mind of the Davidic authorship of the Psalms, excepting those specifically attributed to Asaph. In an egregious departure from his usual veneration of Andrewes, this qualification doesn't hold for Laud, and for a (to him) very good reason. His purposes in the pulpit were always more homiletic than scholarly, and since his seven extant sermons deal with the divine right of the monarch, it suits him to have David speaking or described in the Psalms which provide his texts or allusions. Ps.75, for instance, is "of Asaph", but Laud treats of it explicitly as Davidic.⁷⁸

Because, like everyone else in his day, Laud believes the Scriptures to be the revealed Word of God, every jot and tittle of them, his Psalm texts allow immediate reference to David (see his view of their authorship in the last paragraph above). This is because he follows Andrewes's 'hero-worship' of the Hebrew king and utter identification of ancient Israel with contemporary England. It is a logical position for one of 'fundamentalist' (in the modern sense)

⁷⁸ LACT I, p.93.

convictions; as he and Andrewes explained frequently, what use is the Old Testament if it does not offer God's instructions to readers of any age? And on any matter of importance, be it doctrinal, ecclesiastical, political or social?

This belief in the divine inspiration of the original writers can assure Laud of this continued relevance to all men at all times. He states that Ps.122 would be useful to the returning exiles six centuries later, as to C17th Christians: though David himself would have no knowledge of these persons or events, the Holy Spirit was guiding his pen.....⁷⁹

Literalism is a companion of the doctrine of verbal inspiration. So the fact that there are references to "the King" in the Psalms in the Third Person (by David, of course) gives due licence to a Caroline to apply these verses to their own monarch(s).⁸⁰ Thus, too, Laud can apply Scripture directly and specifically to events, e.g. Ps.33.16 to James's accident in 1621 when thrown by his steed into a river: "He learned that 'a horse is but a vain thing to save a man'; but God can take up, take out, and deliver."⁸¹

However, Laud eschews anthropomorphisms; he is not literalist when he is persuaded that the sense is manifestly metaphorical. He says that there are many instances of this in the Old Testament, but they are "ἀνθρωποπάθως, after the manner of men; not to express any such thing in God, but to make us understand something of God"⁸² – a sentiment which no-one could contest, then or now.

⁷⁹ LACT I, p.4.

⁸⁰ LACT I, p.54.

⁸¹ LACT I, p.55.

⁸² LACT I, p.126.

TYPOLOGY

Their profound interest in the Fathers, investigated primarily for the purpose of establishing true doctrine and ecclesiastical arrangements, as prevailing before the Roman accretions, led the Carolines to a strong belief in typology. The Old Testament had been seen by the Fathers as prophetic of the Person and work of Christ, the Holy Trinity and the Christian Church. To this the Carolines added the affairs of their contemporary realm.

Laud can thus declare that Jerusalem is “the type and figure for the State, and the Church of Christ”. He bases this on the literal (albeit English!) wording of his text (Ps.122.3): it does not say “Jerusalem is a city”, but, “Jerusalem is built as a city”. Support for this reading comes from St.Hilary, and leads to the conclusion that Jerusalem is a model for Church and State.⁸³

Not that Laud neglects the important typology of Christ. In particular, David is seen as the type of Christ as well as of the Christian earthly monarch: “For usually in the Psalms, one and the same speech is of David and Christ”.⁸⁴ Genealogy can sometimes be mixed with typology, reinforcing each other. The King is a blessing ‘for ever’ (Ps.21.6). Thus David is a type of Christ, since Christ is David’s descendant as *Radix Jesse*. So later Christian kings are ‘blessings forever’ – but not unconditionally, only “...as they profess Christ, and as they imitate David”.⁸⁵

Psalm 72 is of David, about Solomon, as the title indicates. Solomon too is a type of Christ.⁸⁶ Now an interesting comment shows that, just as one must take care not to push a metaphor too far, lest it lose its usefulness, so Laud seems

⁸³ LACT I, p.63.

⁸⁴ LACT I, p.94.

⁸⁵ LACT I, p.39.

⁸⁶ LACT I, p.185.

to see limitations to traditional typology. He says, "...there are many things in this Psalm that cannot be applied to Solomon, and no type is bound to represent in all; and there are some typical propositions, as one observeth in Deut.xviii, that are applicable to the type, or to the antitype alone." So Verse 1 applies only to Solomon. Thus Laud can immediately jump to the present, and his text becomes "appliable to all godly, religious kings; for all have direction from, and share in, the prayer of Solomon". He then moves to more than a hint of Divine Right in stating that most of the Psalms refer to Christ, "and I am heartily glad to find Christ, so full in the psalm, so near the King."⁸⁷

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Fuller writes of Andrewes: "...wheresoever he was a parson, a dean, or a bishop, he never troubled parish, college, or diocess [sic] with pressing other ceremonies upon them than such which he found used there before his coming thither. And it had not been amiss, if such also would be accounted his friends and admirers had followed him in the footsteps of his moderation; content with the enjoying – without the enjoining – their private practices and opinions on others."⁸⁸ This, of course, is a thinly disguised attack upon the way Laud went about things when in power. That his earnest but heavy-handed attempts at achieving uniformity and conformity in the Church were ultimately unsuccessful in his lifetime has been judged as resulting from his inaccurate assessment of the extent and determination of the opposition. "The roots of dissidence went deep indeed, and Laud's hope of unity through surface good behaviour rested on a

⁸⁷ LACT I, p.186.

⁸⁸ Fuller, W.: *Church History*, Vol.III, p.349.

complete misconception of the forces that were abroad.”⁸⁹ In particular, Laud misjudged – or ignored – the overwhelmingly Protestant sentiment prevailing in England by the mid-C17th., at all levels of society. The ‘Puritans’ were only its ‘purest’ and most radical expression (and they themselves inhabited a wide spectrum of opinion). Much anti-Catholicism was involved, as well as positive Protestant principles; Views had become more polarised after the Synod of Dordt in 1619, which can be seen as the Calvinist equivalent of the Council of Trent, in that it “had killed moderate Protestantism just as the Council of Trent had killed moderate Catholicism”.⁹⁰ Abbot had aligned the Church of England with Dordt and made Laud’s task of recalling the Church to what he saw as her true nature and *modus operandi* extremely difficult, for, “Laud raised fears of a return to the old, now generally alien, hated and despised religion he was, tragically, a destabilizing influence, when what he sought was the opposite outcome.”⁹¹

Laud’s very methods and practical track-record did him no favours in the eyes of anyone already disposed to dislike or distrust him and his ideas. His persecution of Prynne and his associates was an important factor in his downfall. Partly this was due to public support for Prynne at the time, or at least sympathy for him over the savage treatment meted out by the Star Chamber at Laud’s instigation, partly to the fact that Prynne later became an MP, working vigorously in the Long Parliament for Laud’s trial and execution. (Ironically, the charge was treason as a supporter of Rome, whereas Laud’s only sizeable published work had been a polemic against Roman Catholicism.)⁹²

⁸⁹ Higham, F. op.cit., p.125.

⁹⁰ Trevor-Roper, H., *From Counter Reformation to Glorious Revolution*, p.138.

⁹¹ Hylson-Smith, op.cit., p.156.

⁹² Reventlow, op.cit., p.155.

It has to be noted in passing that, *pace* the popular misconception, such ideas and practices as Laud and his ilk were actively promulgating were not at all utterly in disuse, especially in cathedrals and college or royal chapels, and in many a humbler place of worship in the north country.⁹³ No, Laud was not alone in his views: Andrewes had many disciples! “Perhaps no age has afforded more conspicuous examples of men in high position, or of great literary ability, turning to the ministry of the Church for the exercise of their best energies or for the sanctification of their maturest powers. Names that stand out are those of Donne, Wotton, Hales, Ferrar, Herbert, Cosin; and all of them, it is notable, had some special connection with Archbishop Laud.”⁹⁴ Hutton precedes this comment with the proper observation that, “a selection of the greatest names must give an inadequate picture of the widespread influence of the Church, if it is not remembered that in many a village the Herbert was more conspicuous than the Hampden. In the court, the city, the country, the cross of Christ was held up before men by many a great preacher and many a humble saint.”

It is thus difficult to assess the precise significance of Laudianism, on which there are currently three views: 1) It was a restatement of traditional Christian values and consequent discipline in liturgy and conformity, often concerning ‘matters indifferent’ and the authority of Church and sovereign over these; 2) It was a liberal, rational, tolerant movement, resting on Scripture, tradition and reason, and: “On this view, Laudianism inhabited the anteroom of the Enlightenment”.⁹⁵ opposing the narrow, strict values of Puritan ‘*sola scriptura*’ fanatics; 3) It was (particularly according to recent scholars) a radical

⁹³ Hutton, W.H.: The English Church from the Accession of Charles I to the Death of Anne (1903), p.99ff.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.111.

⁹⁵ Lake, P., in Kunze-Brautigam, p.149.

‘Catholicising’ movement, a minority seeking dominance in the Church of England, which served only to bring about the Civil Wars and, later, to promulgate the Church’s split into ‘denominations’. One’s position on these depends on one’s time-scale. If this extends only from the early Reformation, then the third view is tenable (though see the paragraph preceding this one). However, if one is looking at the whole sweep of Christian history, the first view must prevail. The second view can be held with either of the others, and has much validity of its own. Laud himself – unexpectedly, perhaps - tended to personify it. He seems to have been a ‘liberal’ in theological matters; in marked contrast to the certainty-mongers of Puritanism (Campagnac speaks of the “all too complete theology of the Puritans”⁹⁶), he appears not to have been interested in theological disputation and speculation, a factor which adds to his complexity of character: “Within Laudian studies generally there has always existed a tension between portrayals of a man who was tolerant doctrinally (as exemplified in his friendship with Andrewes, Ussher, Selden, Grotius, Chillingworth and Hales) and of one who could be so intolerant over matters of secondary importance, rites and discipline.”⁹⁷

All that said, the fact remains that, whatever the strengths and weaknesses of the parties may have been, England was in Laud’s day a religiously divided society, and his great problem was how to impose the Caroline view of religion on such a society, whose agreed code of values included both the desire to obey the Scriptural injunction to submit to one’s political masters, yet not to do so if such submission involved disobedience to God. “When there was general agreement

⁹⁶ Campagnac, *Cambridge Platonists*, Introduction, p.xiii.

⁹⁷ Davies, J, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church* (Clarendon, 1992), p.49.

what God commanded, this was a workable pair of doctrines, but when there was not such agreement, it made the duty of disobedience alarmingly widespread.”⁹⁸

Laud genuinely believed that neglect of outward ceremonies would lead to unorthodox belief and moral behaviour – hence his concern for liturgical uniformity⁹⁹ Some at least of this belief was Biblically based. He and his followers were not content with wielding the powers of the Church to ensure conformity to their ideals, but made many appeals to the Old Testament to support their position, attempting to meet *sola scriptura* head-on and carry the fight into the enemy’s camp.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the ‘appointed time/place/assembly’ of Ps.75.3 is most especially to be understood as public worship or “when honourable and selected of the people shall be summoned, and gathered together, in the name of the Lord, for council or justice” (Opening of Charles’s first Parliament, 1625)¹⁰¹

Laud does not use the Old Testament a great deal in his apologies and instructions with regard to liturgy. There is evidence that his demands were not at all extreme by today’s standards, though obviously disturbing to those many of an anti-papist cast of mind, who were ever ready to accuse Laud of crypto- (and perhaps not so crypto-) popery. He can sometimes summon the Old Testament to his aid, however. Ps.122 he claims obliges churchgoing; furthermore, when the males ‘went up’ to Jerusalem on the three main feasts, “they might not appear before the Lord empty” (after Exod.23.15). Laud ascribes the disgracefully ruinous state of so many churches to disobedience in this respect.¹⁰² When they did reach church, people should bow towards the altar. In his speech against

⁹⁸ Russell, C: The Causes of the English Civil War (Clarendon, 1990), p.66.

⁹⁹ Reventlow, op.cit., p.153.

¹⁰⁰ Lake, in Kunze-Brautigam (eds): Court, Country & Culture (University of Rochester Press, 1992),

p.151.

¹⁰¹ LACT I, p.114.

¹⁰² LACT I, p.75ff.

Bastwick, Burton and Prynne, he adduces support from the examples of Moses (Num.20.6), Hezekiah (II Chron.29.29) and David (Ps.95.6).¹⁰³ Unfortunately, in these instances, as in so many others, "The age when an archbishop could compel unwilling men to external reverence was passing."¹⁰⁴

Much of his seeming intransigence, as his conduct in high office appeared to his opponents at the time and to perhaps the majority of historians since, stemmed from his essential personality, the cardinal aspect of which was an enormous sense of duty. He felt that he was not put on earth to enjoy himself, let alone enjoy popular acclaim or the happy association of a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. "In the height of his power, Laud remained what he had always been – an industrious and conscientious official, too busy for personal pleasures, too businesslike for megalomania, and by nature averse from that splendour and ostentation which would have made his own fall as spectacular as that of his Church."¹⁰⁵ Herein lay his strength and weakness: he was "one whom, if no opposition could instruct, no perils could terrify."¹⁰⁶ We have seen how so much of Laud's thinking derived from his study of the Old Testament. Ps.75.2,3 he interprets as justifying his own actions as a bishop as parallel with the King's obligations: "I myself will look to the administration of 'justice' which God hath entrusted me"; He adds that the same should go for all "subordinate magistrates".¹⁰⁷ And on Isa.58.3-7 he inveighs against hypocrisy in all its forms,¹⁰⁸ something he would guard against himself, literally unto the death, and hated in others. His determination and unflagging persistence stems from this

¹⁰³ LACT VI, p.56.

¹⁰⁴ Chadwick, op.cit., p.229.

¹⁰⁵ Trevor-Roper, op.cit., p.295.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.155.

¹⁰⁷ LACT I, p.99.

¹⁰⁸ LACT I, p.125.

sense of duty, to be performed honestly, openly and without hypocrisy: "The idea of putting his hand to the plough and then turning back was repellent to him, nor had there been any occasion in his career when he had done so."¹⁰⁹ A good example of all the above is his confrontation with the Scots over the proposed Scottish Prayer Book of (eventually) 1637. How he drove himself was how he drove others, too, a quality which did nothing to reduce the number of his enemies: "In no circumstances could he ever suffer a fool gladly. No allowance was made for carelessness or weakness; no attempt was made to meet people half-way; no plea of ignorance or misunderstanding was ever listened to."¹¹⁰

Rome, Puritans and Jews

Laud spent huge amounts of energy 'dealing' with the parties whom he – like other Carolines – saw as the two chief enemies of the ideal establishment of the Church of England and its *Via Media*: the Roman Catholic Church, and the large and thitherto prevalent Puritan element in the Church of England itself. The one regarded Laud's Church as invalid, Erastian, un-apostolic, no more than a semblance of a proper Church; the other holding that the English Reformation was seriously incomplete, still burdened with such items of 'popery' as episcopacy, liturgy, sacramentalism, ceremonial and a too-tolerant attitude to the defective morals of most humankind. No wonder these twin and opposite dangers were dubbed by Richard Montague. "the Scylla and Charybdis of ancient piety".¹¹¹

Laud was as anti-papist as he was anti-Puritan; the grossest unfairness of his trial was that it was mounted on charges of papism, whereas his only

¹⁰⁹ Trevor-Roper, op.cit., p.345.

¹¹⁰ Moorman, J.R.H.: A History of the Church in England (A. & C. Black, 1952), p.231.

¹¹¹ Quoted by Addleshaw, G.W.O., in: The High Church Tradition (1941), p.20. The phrase is also found in Cosin's correspondence: to whom was it original?

substantial published work was a polemic against Rome. Twice discreetly offered a cardinal's hat, he had declined without hesitation: "Something dwelt within me that would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is".¹¹² His view was that the breach with Rome was Rome's fault, not the Protestants', since Rome had over the centuries acquired a mass¹¹³ of accretions that were unbiblical, untrue to the theology and practice of the Early Church, at least unnecessary and at worst utterly superstitious. In addition, of course, and most worrying to many Englishmen, were what they regarded as the extravagant claims of the Pope to an authority both ecclesiastical and temporal. "Let them return to primitive truth," preaches Laud, "And our quarrel is ended." And: "Nor are we fallen out of the Church, but they have fallen off from verity."¹¹⁴ In other words, as Laud put it in his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*, the Church of England has the right to reform itself, when the rest of the Church Catholic won't. He sees the example of the Divided Monarchy, when Judah was reformed several times, without Israel. (Hos.4.15) The Roman Catholic Church remains in some sort a Church, just as there were true prophets, e.g. Elijah and Elisha, in Israel, and "thousands that had not bowed their knees to Baal"(I Kg.19.18).¹¹⁵

The other front Laud manned just as vigorously, if not more so, and certainly made far more and more bitter enemies thereby, eventually leading to his downfall. Fuller reports "what one satirically said of him, that 'he plucked down Puritans and property, to build up Paul's [Cathedral] and prerogative' "¹¹⁶ Laud meets the Puritan objection to a fixed liturgy with its prayers for such

¹¹² Quoted in Trevor-Roper, H: From Counter Reformation to Glorious Revolution (Secker & Warburg, 1992), p.137.

¹¹³ No joke intended!

¹¹⁴ LACT I, p.13.

¹¹⁵ LACT II, p.67.

¹¹⁶ Nicols (ed.): Fuller's Church History of Britain (London, 1842), Vol.III, p.477.

benefits as peace, or delivery from famine, persecution and plague (since it may not be God's will so to deliver the supplicants) with Ps.122.6 ('Pray for the peace of Jerusalem'): "And hath the Church of England such ill luck, that it cannot do as David and St.Paul bids it (I.Tim.2.2), but it must anger the Puritan?"¹¹⁷ Laud is certainly more direct than Andrewes! But is he fighting a more desperate battle? Yet these words were said in 1621, not 1639, and maybe give an indication of Laud's uncompromising stance (see above) vis-à-vis Puritans – a stance which itself served to make the battle desperate.

The further reaches of Puritan ideology are fair game, especially the notions of the 'chiliasts' or millenarians, pretending to knowledge which to Laud was not vouchsafed to our Lord himself. One of these was Gouge, who produced the theory of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, who conveniently became the ancestors of the English folk. There is actually doubt as to whether Gouge wrote the work that aroused Laud, and was an interpretation of Rev.20.1-5. A Jewish Church is to be established in the Holy Land out of all nations¹¹⁸. Laud says that the earthly Jerusalem is not to be rebuilt as the capital of a Jewish state, basing his claim on Jer.19.11 and Isa.25.2.¹¹⁹ and goes on to scotch the idea of the continuance of any 'Ten Lost Tribes': "...the good man should do well to tell us first, where those ten tribes have been ever since before the Babylonish captivity, or point out the story that says they remained a distinct people. No; they degenerated, and lived mixed with other nations that captivated them, till not only their tribes were confounded, but their name also utterly lost, for almost two

¹¹⁷ LACT I, p.12.

¹¹⁸ The history of the C20th may suggest that 'Gouge' was on to something!

¹¹⁹ LACT I, p.16f.

thousand years since; - 'and yet now, forsooth, we shall see them abroad again.'

„120

Sabbatarianism was a solid plank in the Puritans' platform. The Carolines generally, though not unexceptionally,¹²¹ opposed this view, arguing that the Jewish Sabbath was not to be transferred wholesale to the Christian Sunday, whereas the Puritans regarded the Fourth Commandment as part of the moral law, which must be continued and obeyed by Christians. The Laudians averred that the Commandment belonged only in part to the moral law, as being, in general terms, the good and god-given idea that one day a week should be set apart for worship, rest and leisure activities – and it was this last, of course, that provided the rub. So whilst there must be due provision for public worship, the fact that the Commandment was also part of the ceremonial law, now no longer obtaining, meant that the detailed observance was not incumbent upon Christians, and that the whole day need not be taken up with pious exercises. Fuller explains, with reference to Dan.2.41, that “The clay part, and ceremonial moiety of that commandment, (namely, that seventh day or Jewish sabbath,) is mouldered away, and buried in Christ's grave. The iron part thereof, namely, a mixture of morality therein, ‘one day in seven’, is perpetual and everlasting.”¹²² Laud adds: “and it was laid upon the Church and the Christian magistrate to determine what this meant in practice.”¹²³ There is no doubt that other motives may have been behind both Laud's and the Puritans' positions. Fidelity to the Commandment, as they saw it, led some Puritans to hold that the ancient Jewish division of night and day must still prevail. Fuller reports that “Some make the Sabbath to begin on

¹²⁰ LACT I, p.18.

¹²¹ e.g. Andrewes was a Sabbatarian.

¹²² Nicol(ed), opacity., p.374.

¹²³ Hylson-Smith, op.cit., p153f.

Saturday night ('the evening and the morning were the first day')".¹²⁴ It is certainly true that many contemporaries saw in the Puritan view the widely suspected kill-joy element in Puritanism, whilst Laud's own stance may have been reinforced by his fear that concentration upon the Sabbath might diminish regard for the other holy days of the Catholic calendar, which the Puritans undoubtedly neglected or abhorred.¹²⁵

Laud devoted a little thought to the question of the status of the Jews in the New Dispensation. Certainly they remained in error: preaching on Ps.72, he says, "...they received the Psalms as well as we; and here in this psalm there are many things that they cannot fasten upon Solomon, or any other but Christ."¹²⁶ Identification of England and Israel leads to an exclusive conclusion for Christians: on Ps.122 Laud says that 'Tribes of the Lord' didn't include Gentiles. So the Psalm doesn't apply to those who are not true believers. Who are these now, wonders Laud rhetorically, and we wait not for answer: "...not a recusant tribe, or person among them."¹²⁷ However, he doesn't push his analogies too far, for elsewhere he can say that the *diligentes*, the "lovers of Jerusalem" can indeed now include Gentiles as well as Jews.

¹²⁴ Nicol(ed): op.cit., p.373.

¹²⁵ Hylson-Smith, op.cit., p.153f.

¹²⁶ LACT I, p.186.

¹²⁷ LACT I, p.77.

CHAPTER 4

JOHN COSIN

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Born in Norwich in 1595, of a family of wealthy clothiers¹, John Cosin displayed early academic promise. He made his mark sufficiently during his university education at Caius College, Cambridge, to be offered assistants' posts by two of the most influential bishops, Lancelot Andrewes, then of Ely, and John Overall, of Lichfield. He accepted the latter's offer (though entertaining a regard amounting to hero-worship for Andrewes too, as we shall see below), and served him as Secretary/Chaplain for two years, before and after his translation to Norwich. Along with his admiration of Andrewes, Cosin always acknowledged his debt to Overall, for as well as being his first step on the ladder of preferment, the position afforded him, as a young graduate, the opportunity to be guided and encouraged by one of the most notable early Carolines, together with entry into the ecclesiastical corridors of power.

Then began Cosin's association with Durham, when Bishop Neile invited him to be his Chaplain. In 1624 he appointed Cosin to the Mastership of Greatham and Rectory of Elwick, near Hartlepool, which comfortable livings he almost immediately exchanged for a Durham prebend and the Rectory of Brancepeth. The following year he was made also Archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire, so that at thirty he had risen at least as high as Laud and even Andrewes at that age, and was obviously already a man to watch. It is clear that

¹ Interestingly, Laud's father was in the same trade, in Reading, whilst Andrewes's was probably a master mariner turned merchant. Many of the prominent Churchmen of the century shared similar 'humble' origins – often noted disapprovingly by their opponents.

he had indeed been marked out for advancement by the Carolines, especially by his older friend Laud, who had co-opted his detailed assistance in the coronation of Charles I (so he may have come to royal notice in his mid-twenties). He would be noticed, too, as a member of the 'Durham House group', those leading High-Church 'Anglicans' who met regularly at his bishop's London residence.

Already at Durham his predilection for Catholic ceremonial features were opposed roundly by at least one fellow-Canon – though Cosin was not the instigator of their use in the cathedral, merely an enthusiastic supporter of his Dean in this matter. The enthusiasm – now added to the opportunity for real instigation – continued when he became Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1635, when the college and its chapel rapidly assumed flagship status in the now dominant Caroline movement, a Cantabrigian counterpart to Laud's St.John's at Oxford, and established Cosin as indisputably one of the movement's leading members.

Cosin was appointed Dean of Peterborough in 1640. In 1642 came the great reverse in his fortunes, however, when the Long Parliament deprived him of all his benefices, including both the Deanery and the Mastership. In his deprivation Cosin was not, of course, alone, nor yet even uniquely targeted, despite his eminence. Deprivation affected a great number of clergymen, from those, like Cosin, in high position, to many a humble parish priest. Although most parishes were not affected by sequestration under the Commonwealth, at least a quarter were (2,425 out of 8,600 approximately); including non-parochial clergy, some 3,600 were ejected, from livings, canonries, fellowships, bishoprics and other posts.² Cosin left England for nearly eighteen years' exile, mainly in

² Higham, *op.cit.*, p.254f.

France, where King Charles appointed him Chaplain to the Anglicans of the Queen's entourage. From this position he quickly became unofficial chaplain to royalist exiles in general. As such, he struggled mightily against the efforts of the Roman Catholics to convert the English exiles in their midst.

He also built bridges between them and the French Protestants, while all the time maintaining the classical Anglican positions on such matters as episcopacy and ceremonial. Indeed, many commentators are of the opinion that it was his strenuous, intelligent and erudite efforts during his exile, expressed in his writings, preaching, pastoral work and unhypocritical piety, that 'made' him as a fit leader of the post-Restoration Church. His reputation as a stout apologist for the Church of England was confirmed, even made, in exile in France, as Fuller reports: "...he neither joined with the church of French protestants at Charenton nigh Paris, nor kept any communion with the papists therein; where, by his pious living and constant praying and preaching, he reduced some recusants to – and confirmed more doubters in – the protestant religion. Many his encounters with Jesuits and priests, defeating the suspicions of his foes, and exceeding the expectations of his friends, in the success of such disputes."³ However, he maintained cordial relations with both Protestants and the Orthodox community then present in France. Some of his steadfastness at a time when many a royalist must have despaired of any amelioration in conditions in England, stemmed from the Old Testament; he would pronounce that the exiles must follow the example of the Jews in Babylon⁴ and not be impatient to return, but longing to know when they would be able to "go into the house and honour of the Lord."

³ Fuller: *Church History*, Vol.III, p.413f.

⁴ LACT I, p.190ff.

N.B. In this Chapter, 'LACT' refers to the volumes of the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology of the 1840s consisting of Cosin's works.

In 1660, within months of the Restoration, Cosin was – unsurprisingly – appointed Bishop of the wealthy and influential see of Durham, where he remained until his death in 1672. Here he devoted himself at last to the unfettered prosecution of his liturgical, polemical, aesthetic and administrative aims. A strict disciplinarian, determined to do what he could to establish his brand of Anglicanism firmly, both in his diocese and beyond, he established a reputation for rigour, even fierceness, in his administration. [His Confirmation discipline is an example: not usually performed decently at the time – large numbers, no preparation, irregular intervals. Cosin insisted upon a testimonial from the parish priest as to a candidate's preparation and fitness for the sacrament before administering it – and woe betide the priest who issued such too easily!]⁵ Perhaps this was characteristic of his younger days, too, for which there is less evidence (though see Fuller, below). It has been suggested that one must be wary of criticising Cosin, in case his shade shares all his earthly traits: "...it is not at all unlikely that a man of Cosin's temperament and vigour did occasionally find it difficult to keep his hands off those who gainsaid him."(!)⁶ He could apparently be seen as curmudgeonly at times; the diarist John Aubrey, commenting on Seth Ward's consecration, writes, "...the old bishops (e.g. Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London; John Cosins [sic], Bishop of Durham; etc.) were exceedingly disgruntled at it, to see a brisk young bishop that could see through all their formal gravity, but only forty years old, not come in the right door but leap over the pale."⁷ . On the other hand, he seems to have had a gift of private friendship with those whose opinions differed from his own (as seen, perhaps, in his generous

⁵ Hart, A.T.: *Clergy and Society 1600-1800* (SPCK, 1968), p.56.

⁶ Osmond, op.cit., p.306.

⁷ Barber, R. (ed.): *John Aubrey's Brief Lives* (Boydell Press, 1982), p.318.

efforts to achieve agreement of the Presbyterians in the matter of the revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1661-2). That said, Cosin seems to have impressed some as mellowed with maturity and experience. Fuller disapproved of the younger Cosin of the 20s, but later reassessed his worth: “..formerly treating (in my ‘Church History’) of this cathedral, I delivered his character (to his disadvantage) very defectively”, and, “...silly folk ... have ... falsely conceited of this worthy doctor”.⁸ On the next page, he describes him variously as “the Atlas of the Protestant religion” [during his exile], “deservedly preferred” and a “worthy prelate”.⁹ Another who disapproved of Cosin in the '20s was Joseph Mede: “A most audacious fellow and I doubt scarce a strong Protestant, and takes upon him impudently to bring superstitious innovations into our Church”.¹⁰ However, in his case too their relationship improved considerably later. At the Savoy Conference, Baxter found Cosin had “a great deal of talk” [pots and kettles?!] and faulty logic, but respected and approved of his patristic knowledge, and found him more genial and approachable than most other Carolines.¹¹

He was most celebrated as liturgist in his own day and for long afterwards; now, perhaps, for his several extensive renovations and additions to the furnishings of parish churches in his diocese. However, his published works were widely read and influential. Cosin’s works include his *Collection of Private Devotions*, which some think possibly the most lastingly influential document emanating from the Carolines, produced in 1627, at Laud’s suggestion to the King, for use of the non-Roman Catholic ladies of the Court (and in reply to the Breviaries used by the Roman Catholic Queen’s co-religionist ladies). He

⁸ Fuller, *Worthies of England*, Vol. I, p.483.

⁹ Ibid., p.484.

¹⁰ Quoted by Hoffman, op.cit., p.159.

¹¹ Higham, *Catholic and Reformed*, p.307.

produced the *Regni Angliae Religio Catholica* in exile, defending the Church of England against the Roman positions. This work was undoubtedly written at least partly as a result of the pain Cosin felt at the 'defection' of several prominent exiled courtiers, including some Peterhouse men and even Cosin's own son-in-law. In 1656 he wrote *A Scholastical History of the Canon of Holy Scripture*, his longest single work, arguing against the Romans' inclusion of the Apocryphal Books in the Canon. The famous 'Durham Book' with its annotations on the BCP was useful to the revisers (the chief of whom was Cosin himself!) in 1662 (though only two thirds of its recommendations were actually incorporated into the revised book.) He wrote some of the Collects in the 1662 BCP (which also includes his *Veni Creator*) These main works will be noticed in this chapter. They remain of considerable interest, for they show the divine as Kenneth Stevenson portrays him: "He was not the theologian of the stature of Andrewes, nor a guru of souls of the style of Taylor, nor an incisive systematician of the depth of Thorndike, nor yet an engaging populariser of someone like Patrick. However, he had something of all of these within him...."¹²

THE SERMONS

Only seventeen of Cosin's sermons are extant, mostly preached at Brancepeth during his incumbency there. Ten are based on Old Testament texts: two on the First Commandment, three on the Fourth; three on the Fall; one each on Ps.122 and Ps.129. The Old Testament provides roughly 60% of his Biblical quotations, as against the New's 40%.

¹² In Johnson, Margot (ed.): John Cosin (Durham Turnstone Ventures, 1997), p.220f.

His debt to Andrewes

Like Laud, Cosin owes – and acknowledges – a tremendous debt to Andrewes, a debt apparent in his sermons, which closely resemble Andrewes's in tone and style. (“We have dealt with *habebis*; now *me*”). There are the Andrewesian divisions, though generally Cosin is more restrained, simpler and briefer. Even the wording can be strikingly similar. Cosin actually refers to Andrewes's words several times in one sermon of December 1626, three months after Andrewes's death.¹³ At least five other sermons contain material very similar to passages in Andrewes's published sermons, as the LACT Editor points out.¹⁴ Cosin would certainly have a copy of Andrewes's sermons, edited in 1628 by Laud and Buckeridge at the King's command. So he permits himself use of Andrewes's words on occasion, or a near-paraphrase, e.g. “....kings are taken into so near a society and conjunction with God in Sion, that the league is so firm and the knot so straight between them, as one cannot have ill will to the one but he must have it to the other also. So they that are enemies to David or the king, are enemies to God and to Sion.”¹⁵ And a happy metaphor can be repeated, as when he mentions the desirability of being slow up Mt.Ebal (i.e. to curse) and quick up Mt.Gerizim (i.e. to bless).¹⁶

Like Andrewes – but more rarely – Cosin can be colloquial, e.g. “.....what his nature and his drift was....”¹⁷ However, he lacks Andrewes's sense of humour. Admittedly addressing a rural congregation of ordinary folk, and not a royal Court, he can be extremely direct (if not directive), e.g. (inveighing against what he considers the “relics of heathenish as of Romish superstition”) he can say

¹³ LACT I, pp.103,104.

¹⁴ LACT I, Preface, p.vii. Note h.

¹⁵ LACT I, p.201 [and see Ch.2, p.51 *supra*]

¹⁶ LACT I, p.198; cf.Andrewes in Ch.1, p.15 *supra*.

¹⁷ LACT I, p.231.

that they are, “....left still in our corrupt and depraved affections, specially in the affections of common people, such as some of you are, who be most rude and ignorant, and, as ye say, will needs do as your fore-elders did, though they deified their own fancies, and made more account of an old beldame’s [= ‘grandmother’s’] charm and a wizard’s divining of things to come, than of all the oracles and laws of God whatsoever.”¹⁸ Yet in almost the next breath, he is feeding his hapless, “most rude and ignorant” parishioners an untranslated morsel of Euripides!¹⁹

Cosin’s sermons are considerably shorter than Andrewes’s, ranging in the LACT edition from 11-16 pp, as opposed to Andrewes’s 18-28 pp. He is far less given to direct quotations, or even allusions (and there are many more of the latter than the former) to any source. Of what there are, as mentioned above, most are from the Old Testament, and most of those from the Psalms. He never quotes the Hebrew, though he refers to it. He does quote Greek and Latin, though again not so much as Andrewes. Perhaps this is the explanation:²⁰ “It is an adage of the Hebrew writers, and they repeat it often, *Lex loquitur linguam filiorum hominum*, ‘that God speaks the language of men’, that is, that the Scriptures of God descend to the capacity and understanding of men.”²¹ (This is about God’s apparently walking and talking physically with Adam and Eve. He didn’t, of course, but caused it to be put like that in the Scripture so that we might get the point. Interesting: perhaps the Carolines weren’t quite so literalist as we generally think them.....)

¹⁸ LACT I, p.144.

¹⁹ LACT I, p.145.

²⁰ LACT I, p.213.

²¹ In good C17th.Latin, it seems!

There is a fair bit of classical and some rabbinic reference. Unlike Andrewes and some others, Cosin does not use these for doctrinal support, but for illustration and decoration. He is attracted by the felicitous phrase rather than its theological truth (which he can himself supply in his own words). Sometimes his images seem unnecessary, adding nothing of consequence (again, unlike Andrewes).²² There is a hint that he liked the sound of his own voice uttering these sublimities; as we have seen, although preaching in a rural parish church, Cosin can quote Latin without translating it (and can do likewise with Greek).²³ Not even Andrewes, addressing the sophisticates of the Court, permits himself such licence!

This is not to suggest that Cosin did not know his flock. For his day and his already burgeoning eminence, he was a conscientious Rector, residing often and for lengthy periods in his parish between his duties in London, Durham and Yorkshire. He reflected upon what he found, as in his magnificent description of the innate tendency of folk religion: “....they would have no director, no lawgiver, no commander, no God at all; or if they had, he should be such a one as would take care to provide only for their case, and not for his own honour; and that would exact no service from their hands, nor no works from their hands, but specially and above all, no tribute from their purses; one that would fill their bellies and clothe their bodies, and not be too curious about their souls, or their religion howsoever; in sum, one that would command them nothing which is displeasing, nor forbid them anything which they have a mind to follow.”²⁴

Another example of Cosin’s awareness of his flock’s propensities is clothed in his directness of language. It seems that – wonder of wonders! – his

²² See Mitchell, *op.cit.*, p.250ff.

²³ LACT I, p.142.

²⁴ LACT I, p.139.

Brancepeth parishioners were not over-keen on attending church. "The truth is, all are ill-disposed, or else they would never make such poor pretences as they usually do. The rawness of the weather, the hardness of the way, the length of the journey, the least indisposition of the body, are with most of you now thought to be reasons sufficient enough to affront this law and commandment of God; [he is expounding the Fourth Commandment] and yet your own affairs, your own pleasures and customs, they shall not affront. The day before was a day for your market; perhaps the weather worse, the journey longer, yet that you could bear. This day is a market for your souls, and this place, hither you cannot come, could not, no by no means; you had endangered your health, and yet you would venture it for a less matter by far. So comes God's church, His market-place, to be the emptiest [sic] always of the two, to the shame of your pretended religion."²⁵

Each sermon begins with an introductory section, in which Cosin sets out the main points he will explore after the Office is said. This introduction acts almost as a bidding, leading up to the Lord's Prayer and the rest of the Morning or Evening Prayer. Only then comes the sermon proper. There is a handful of examples of this practice among other Carolines, including Andrewes, Heylyn and Basire (Cosin's son-in-law).²⁶

There is some evidence that Cosin kept his sermons and reworked them, sometimes inserting passages from previous sermons *verbatim*, as on Ps.122 in 1629 and 1630.²⁷ Of course, such repetition could be explained by his preaching often and again on the same topics.

²⁵ LACT I, p.164.

²⁶ See LACT, Andrewes's Works, Vol.II, pp.39,107; Vol.III, pp.131, 203.

²⁷ LACT I, pp.106-116, and pp.339-342.

The Ten Commandments

Five of Cosin's extant sermons deal with the Ten Commandments – or, rather, with two of them, the First and the Fourth. He offers some general comments on the Commandments. Like Andrewes earlier, he notes that the Commandments are couched in the Second Person Singular, and that all but two are negative commands.²⁸ He explains that the Person of the verb indicates that these commands are directed to every man: no-one is excepted. With regard to the negative aspect, he follows Andrewes in quoting the logical principle *qui prohibet impedimentum praecipit adjumentum* and *qui negat prohibens iubet promovens*. On this basis, Christ could reduce them to two great affirmations. Again following Andrewes, he emphasises that our fallen nature responds more readily to negative commands than to positive ones. In addition, Cosin points out that the Commandments are in the Future Tense, showing that they are for all time. Thus they are to be obeyed – together with their positive corollaries – by all men in all ages.

The First Commandment²⁹

This is the subject of two sermons, preached at Brancepeth in 1632. The burden of this Commandment, he says, is that we must worship God (thus no atheism to be allowed); not only that, but we must make sure that we worship the true God, not any other; furthermore, that we must worship him alone, not along with others we may hold to be gods. Here he quotes the LXX *deos alios*, rather than *deos alienos*, i.e. no other gods – very strongly put. “ ‘None but Me’, as the Greek and Chaldee translate it” He goes on to say that the Hebrew is *coram*

²⁸ See Ch.5, p.158 *infra*.

²⁹ Cosin's treatment of the Fourth will be dealt with in the section on the Sabbath, *infra*, p.184.

faciebus meis, the plural suggesting that God must in a sense ‘outface’ the many gods we create and worship.³⁰ And having the right God automatically entails having the right religion. Whilst the Second Commandment prohibits outward idolatry, the First is opposed to inward idolatry: “The heart makes the idol as well as the hand.”³¹

The Fall

Exposition of the First Commandment leads Cosin to treat of the Fall, which is the subject of three later sermons, and to offer some interesting insights and speculations. On this First Commandment, he says that Adam and Eve, by doing their own will, “were gods to themselves” (as the serpent had suggested). Cosin calls this a denial of God, for which he uses the term “profaneness”, rather than ‘atheism’ – since there is a God, though men may deny this; they deny it for the same reason as Adam and Eve munched the apple – because they want to do just as they like. Like Andrewes,³² Cosin makes reference to the later chapters of Judges to show how everyone did “what they had a lust to do themselves,” adding tellingly (see below), “when there was no king in Israel to rule them,”³³

Proceeding to Sermons XV, XVI and XVII (LACT enumeration), all on the Fall, we find further comment. In Sermon XV, Cosin points to God’s forbearance in not judging Eve until she had tempted Adam; also to his not judging without a fair hearing.³⁴ The prohibition was God’s testing Adam and Eve, so by disregarding it they rejected his dominion over them.³⁵ Was the

³⁰ LACT I, p.136.

³¹ LACT I, p.136.

³² See Ch.2, p.64 *supra*.

³³ LACT I, p.139.

³⁴ LACT I, p.210f.

³⁵ LACT I, p.214.

serpent “unreasonable and brute”? (after Josephus and other Jewish writers, he says)³⁶ Or is he to be allegorised (after Philo, Origen *et al?*)³⁷ Cosin comments that it is odd that the serpent managed to beguile even Eve, since she was “the wisest and most knowing [woman] that ever was.”³⁸ Lastly in this sermon, Cosin tells us that the best lesson of this story is to keep asking ourselves *Quid est hoc quod fecisti?* ³⁹

The following sermon consists mainly in a stout defence of the literal truth of the Genesis story of the Fall.⁴⁰ The serpent is the devil – since ordinary snakes can’t talk! Eve is all-knowing, so must have been aware of the serpent’s identity, yet still allowed herself to be beguiled by him. This was possibly because she was taken in by the serpent’s reputation for wiliness and subtlety, so that she deemed him “a very subtle and sagacious spirit, likely enough to search further into God’s meaning and to know more of it by his own experience, than she yet did.”⁴¹ [One wonders precisely who was asking awkward questions about the veracity of the Biblical account as early as the 1630s.....] The lesson to be drawn from all this sorry tale is to beware the apparent wit and sagacity of men, if they advise anything not to be in accord with the commands of God.

The third ‘Fall’ sermon contains a recapitulation of the ‘serpent = devil’ argument, backed up by “the authority of the Prophets, and Apostles, and of Christ Himself”, in several quotes from both Testaments (II Cor.11.3; Ps.58.4; Mt.23.33; Isa.27.1; Amos 9.3; Ezek.2.6; Rev.20.2;12.9).⁴² He stresses the guile

³⁶ LACT Editor’s note recommends consulting Buddel: Hist. Eccl.Vet.Testamenti, tom.i, p.96, edit.1726.

³⁷ LACT I, p.217.

³⁸ LACT I, p.217.

³⁹ LACT I, p.218.

⁴⁰ LACT I, p.225ff.

⁴¹ LACT I, p.234.

⁴² LACT I, p.239.

of the serpent, repeating his earlier warning that we must beware of heeding seemingly good advice which yet leads to evil result. Evil ends can be presented as good, and/or evil means, likewise.

In a later sermon Cosin moves to consider the resulting doctrine of 'Original Sin'. Basing his comments on Ezek.18.4,20 and Gen.18.25; 6.12, he says: "The soul that sinneth, that soul must die, die here and die eternally; Adam, and all his posterity after him; that if the judge of all the earth would do right, it might not be otherwise; all flesh was corrupted and the nature of man universally disobedient." But then he refers us to Ps.85.11, and gives hope of reconciliation due to God's mercy, a passage which Andrewes has also expounded, and to the same end. This leads on to proclamation of the Atonement.⁴³

USE OF THE BIBLE

Like (nearly) all Christians of his day, Cosin accepted the verbal inspiration of Scripture as the very Word of God. We have seen this in relation to Genesis (p.150 below), and other examples abound in his writings, e.g. his identification of the 'enemies of Sion' in Ps.129 as specifically denoting Edomites. He accepts the Biblical view unquestioningly: they are "the wickedest natural people under the sun".⁴⁴ The prophets really did exist to foretell the future, rather than forthtell the evils of their present. Isa.49.7, for instance, Isa.63.3,10, and Ps.72.10,11 all foretell the visit of the Magi to the infant Christ.⁴⁵ Speaking of the relationship between the Testaments, he says, "....Christ neither did nor taught anything in the one, but what was foretaught and told of him in the other," and, "....those things which we believe of Christ So plainly set forth

⁴³ LACT I, p.314f.

⁴⁴ LACT I, p.203.

⁴⁵ LACT I, p.297.

by the testimony of His prophets so many ages before they came to pass. For this can be nothing else but the power of God.” He is referring here to the Ascension Day Lessons and Psalms, including II Kg.2.1-15 (‘Elijah caught up’) and Dan.7.9,10,13,14 (the ‘Ancient of Days’ and the ‘Son of Man’).⁴⁶

However, like modern Lectionary-compilers, Cosin can be selective of Scripture, despite his ‘fundamentalism’. For instance, he approves of the substitution of Ecclus.24 for Chapter 25, on St.Bartholomew’s Day, preferring (the feminine) Wisdom’s hymn of self-praise to the misogyny of 25.16-26. “Upon St.Bartholomew’s-day the lessons appointed out of Ecclesiasticus against women have been so offensive, that they were better to be changed for others.”⁴⁷ Despite his misgivings about the place of the Apocrypha in the Church’s scheme of things (see below), he can summon its aid whenever he chooses, so that, for example, he can use Ecclus.33.7-9 to show that the Church’s Calendar is a necessity, of divine origin.⁴⁸ He is also happy to include the Benedicite in the Daily Office – probably because he likes it!⁴⁹

It must be pointed out that the early stirrings of a less literalist and more rationalist approach to the Bible were already in evidence before the Restoration, though confined to small circles mainly of academics, whose views were propounded quietly and with little intention of ‘shaking the boat’ of the Established Church. Taylor, for instance, one of the most celebrated of the later Carolines, and perhaps the school’s most accomplished writer, says that the Bible is inadequate to settle problems outside the Creeds: it is difficult to understand,

⁴⁶ LACT I, p.267f.

⁴⁷ LACT V, p.505.

⁴⁸ LACT II, p.95.

⁴⁹ Note in ‘Durham Book’.

and can be used to back up any argument. There is a multiplicity of versions, let alone of ‘interpretations’ of its texts.⁵⁰

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

Like all the Carolines, Cosin found in the Old Testament the scriptural basis for the theory of the divine right of kings, as the Lord’s anointed in their respective sovereign territories, though in his extant works there is less on this than appears in the sermons and other works by Andrewes and Laud. A sermon of 1629 seems to dwell on the matter, but only a small fragment remains. It emphasises the necessity of monarchy, as per Andrewes,⁵¹ as against those [here, “Anabaptists, libertines, and atheists”] that would have “no king nor kingdom in Israel, but everyone a king in his own cottage, ... And leave us neither God’s house nor the king’s [he explains how these buildings were adjoining in Jerusalem], neither any religion in the Church, nor any government in the state, so every man must do what seems good in his own eyes.”⁵² This closely echoes Andrewes,⁵³ though Cosin doesn’t refer to the latter chapters of Judges, he too probably had them in mind.

The Carolines’ equation of ancient Israel and contemporary England is well illustrated by the working on the hood of the cope presented by the Dean and Chapter of Durham (when Cosin was a Prebendary there) to Charles I, who was visiting en route for his coronation in Scotland. It was of David with

⁵⁰ Stranks, C.J.: The Life and Times of Jeremy Taylor (SPCK, 1952), p.78.

⁵¹ See Ch.2, p.60 *supra*.

⁵² LACT I, p.341.

⁵³ See Ch.2, p.64 *supra*.

Goliath's head. Doubtless the significance was not lost on Laud, to whom Charles handed on the cope for use in the Chapel Royal.⁵⁴

The Carolines' theological support for the monarchy was not unconditional. Cosin repeats both Andrewes's and Laud's admonitions to the monarch to walk in the ways of the Lord, lest His favour be withdrawn from king and country. Saul and Pharaoh are cited as impious men who consulted witches and soothsayers "to ask help of the devil and so make a god of him", with consequent disastrous results for them and their realms.⁵⁵ The monarch bears a heavy responsibility for his own and his subjects' moral code, as even David was reminded forcibly: "By virtue of this *non habebis* here, and *non moechaberis* afterwards, Nathan would tell David, *Tu es homo*; and John the Baptist reproved Herod with *non licet tibi* ; kings though they were, yet *Tu* here was for them both."⁵⁶ [The import of the Second Person Singular of the Commandments.]

The King Supreme over Church and State

In the English context, the divine right ideology extended into the ecclesiastical realm, to cater for the position of the monarch as 'Supreme Governor' of the Church of England. Here, too, Cosin and his ilk could find ample evidence from the Old Testament.

We have seen how a recurring motif in Cosin's work is 'Sion'; he never loses an opportunity, when mentioning Sion or Jerusalem, to, emphasise that both the 'Church' and the kingdom were centred there.⁵⁷ The sermons contain several lengthy identifications of the king with the Church, tending to arise from Ps.122.

⁵⁴ Johnson,M., in Johnson,M.(ed.), op.cit., p.25.

⁵⁵ LACT I, p.149.

⁵⁶ LACT I, p.133.

⁵⁷ e.g. LACT I, p.192.

(“The papist, that would pull down God’s house which is amongst us, and set up their own; The Anabaptist, that would pull down King David’s house clean....”)⁵⁸ It follows that those who bear ill-will towards either are condemned in Ps.129.5. Thus ‘Sion’ is mentioned so often in the Psalms, rather than ‘Jerusalem’ or ‘Israel’, to remind us that there were two summits to this sacred hill; on one stood the Temple, on the other the king’s palace. Thus Sion was the absolute epicentre of God’s ancient people. So English loyalty must be not just to nation, city or district; not just to civil polity; nor yet merely to the Church (especially not to an independent congregation!): it must be specifically to Church and state, as both under the governance of a single monarch.⁵⁹ In another sermon,⁶⁰ Cosin claims that England is characteristic of Sion, in that it contains both God’s house (C. of E., of course) and the king’s. Immediately he comments on the interdependence of both ecclesiastical and civil institutions, of both of which all Englishmen are members: that is their birthright, at once felicitous, inescapable – and irrevocable.⁶¹ Unfortunately, Cosin says, there are those whose allegiance is only to the one or the other. This will not do, for it is not Scriptural.⁶² (Laud makes the same points in his preaching on this Psalm⁶³) “To be careful for God’s house and the Church, is to be a good Christian; to be careful for the king’s house and the state, is to be a good subject; and both these are in God’s eyes most acceptable. Nay it will ever be found true likewise, the better

⁵⁸ LACT I, p.341.

⁵⁹ e.g. LACT I, Sermon XIV, p.198f.

⁶⁰ Sermon VII.

⁶¹ LACT I, p.109.

⁶² LACT I, p.109f.

⁶³ See Ch.4 *supra*, pp.128f.

Christian the better subject, the more we love God's house, the more will we love the king's also."⁶⁴

Order and obedience

Andrewes and Laud had preached and tried in their own ways to encourage, even impose, order in society, which they saw as God's will for his world, as evidenced in the Bible, particularly the story of creation and the 'model' of the united kingdom of ancient Israel. At the Restoration, their successors, Cosin and his comrades, seized an opportunity denied their spiritual forefathers; undoubtedly, dissatisfaction with the Interregnum experiment, allied to a certain amount of nostalgia for the peaceful times before it, mixed with an abiding guilt in some quarters over the execution of the monarch (who henceforth was to be regarded as a martyr) contributed to the royalist and Anglican feelings of the new establishment, especially as seen in the ranks of the 'Cavalier Parliament'. However, it was also in large measure due to the indefatigable efforts of such as Cosin, particularly those in exile. "Cosin and the other Laudians had done their work so well that in 1660 the government itself was part of a returning stream of Anglicanism which had preserved its traditions intact."⁶⁵ They tried hard to restore the organically unified society envisioned by the Carolines throughout the century.⁶⁶ Thus they continued to see the enemies of the ecclesiastical order as endangering the stability and coherence of the state.⁶⁷ Although the Declaration of Breda perturbed them, they would probably have agreed with its statement that "No man should be disquieted or called into question in matters of religion

⁶⁴ LACT I, p.111.

⁶⁵ Hoffman, op.cit., p.266 (quoting Bosher's 'Restoration Settlement').

⁶⁶ See Ch.2 *supra*, p.65f.

⁶⁷ See Hoffman, op.cit., p.366.

which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom.”⁶⁸ So the ‘single society’ idea was still strong after the Restoration, and for Anglicans, led effectively by Sheldon⁶⁹, “Schism and sedition were ‘twin sisters’, Nonconformity and rebellion shared the same dam; and the notion of ‘peaceable’ or ‘loyal’ Dissenters was nonsensical. The case for obedience to the church was constantly subsumed within the argument for subjection to the King the Restoration Church of England had rejoiced in the return of England’s David.”⁷⁰ In a sense this was Laud’s eventual triumph. Peter Heylyn is moved to compare his old master with Samson, in that “the men he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life”. The victory was qualified, however, in that it was largely confined to the ecclesiastical sphere, the Church having surrendered Laud’s political and economic aims.⁷¹

In 1660 Cosin became Bishop of the senior and wealthy see of Durham, a man of huge influence in the Church and in the realm. It is said that, “In Durham, more than anywhere else in seventeenth-century England, church and state were one.”⁷² Very appropriately, perhaps, the see of Durham was the only Prince Bishopric in the British Isles..... Years before, Cosin had compared the atheist with the rebel. The one can have no other god, of course – such do not exist. Likewise, the rebel may deny the authority of his prince – but the latter remains his prince, though the rebel hold him not so.⁷³ As with so many of the Carolines’ positions, there is a certain logic in the strong relationship between ‘pure’ theology and political attitudes. Like Andrewes, Cosin finds that even cursing is

⁶⁸ Quoted in Higham, *Catholic and Reformed*, op.cit., p.295.

⁶⁹ Rather than the ageing and inactive Archbishop Juxon.

⁷⁰ Spurr, J.: *The Restoration Church of England 1646-1689* (Yale, 1991), p.48.

⁷¹ Bosher, R.S.: *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (Dacre Press, 1951), p.1f.

⁷² Hoffman, op.cit., p.94.

⁷³ LACT I, p.137.

acceptable, when directed upon the enemies of Church and state: cf. Moses (Num.1.30); David (Ps.109.18); God's angel (Jg.5.23).⁷⁴

THE HIERARCHY

'Jacob's ladder' has angels on it "....and here are degrees and stairs made from the pinnacle to the ground.....the Angels ascending and descending to take charge of us, but yet upon this condition, that we will keep God's way with them, go up and down by degrees of the ladder....."⁷⁵ Cosin takes this to support his view of the necessity of hierarchy to the Church, and uses it to berate the Calvinists: "Now our new masters would teach us a shorter cut and make but one degree in all Christianity, as if there were but one step from the ground to the pinnacle. They teach a man to take his raise [= 'raise'] from predestination, and to give a jump into glorification without any more ado...."⁷⁶

More support, of course, comes from ancient Israelite arrangements. 'Priests' are in parallel with Jerusalem Temple officials, and there is a 'trinity' of such: bishops have succeeded the High Priest, presbyters the priests; deacons the Levites. Citing Isa.66.20, Cosin finds "the prophet speaking there of the religious service that was to be done under the New Testament."⁷⁷ The idea of the threefold ministry is historically valid, and of mystical importance too: "It is the full consent of reverend antiquity to distinguish the ministers of the Gospel into three degrees, answerable to the triple order under the Law, as servants to the same Trinity, the God both of Law and Gospel."⁷⁸

⁷⁴ LACT I, p.196.

⁷⁵ LACT I, p.78.

⁷⁶ LACT I, p.79.

⁷⁷ LACT V, p.309.

⁷⁸ LACT I, p.99.

TYPOLOGY

Types of Christ

Like nearly all Biblical commentators of his day – indeed, of all Christian periods thitherto - Cosin sees the Old Testament full of types to be realised in the New Dispensation – right up to his own time and place. Most important, of course, are the types of Christ, which abound in sometimes unlikely places, not just in such august personages as David and Solomon. The story of Isaac's potential sacrifice is paralleled with Christ's: the lamb/ram is too obvious a hint. "Mount Calvary and Mount Moriah were but one and the same place." He finds Isaac a type in his willingness to be sacrificed, and the ram offered instead as the type of Christ actually crucified. He is supported by St.Augustine: the incident, "....as St.Austin says rightly, is nothing else but a perpetual prophecy of Christ. This and all the rest which pass under the name of Moses." Ps.16.10 and Ps.118.22 are adduced in support; he adds the ending of Ps.22,⁷⁹ and also, according to St.Paul, Ps.2.7 (Acts 13.33).⁸⁰ All this in comment on Peter's sermon in Acts 2.⁸¹

Cosin turns to the prophets. He cites Dan.9.24-26, Zech.12.10, and Hosea 6.2, "But I stay upon the prophet Isaiah, the clearest of them all". He mentions the exposition of Scripture to the Ethiopian eunuch, Acts 8, referring to Isa.53.7,8. Then he cites Isa.63.1: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments of Bozrah?" This is unusual and interesting typology, for that text, with similar (but much more extensive) exposition, is the text of one of Andrewes's sermons.⁸²

⁷⁹ LACT I, p.255.

⁸⁰ LACT I, p.256.

⁸¹ LACT I, p.253ff.

⁸² See Ch.2 *supra*, p.51.

At one point we have something like an explanation of typology: “I have set my king also upon my holy hill of Sion” (Ps.2) is “mystically understood of Christ.....literally true of David.”⁸³

Other New Testament types

Many events and persons' activities, as recorded in the New Testament, are foreshadowed in the Old. Thus, for instance, David's bringing the Ark to his house is the precursor of Zacchaeus's inviting Jesus into his.⁸⁴ Cosin is as capable as any of providing long lists of Old Testament examples of types of one particular event. An example is the calling of the Gentiles at Epiphany, when he cites many figures in the Old Testament who had much to do with Gentiles, either marrying them, living among them, serving (or using) them: Solomon, Moses, Samson, Hosea⁸⁵, Esther, Joseph, *inter multos alios*.⁸⁶ So in a way these all provide types of the Epiphany. This seems to have been a specific subject dear to Cosin's heart. One type of the Epiphany is the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon (himself a regular type of Christ) – which event he had depicted on the reredos of his chapel at Auckland Castle.⁸⁷

Liturgical practices of the New Dispensation have also their types. In his notes on the BCP, probably made around 1638, he writes, “The Sacrament of the Eucharist carries the name of a sacrifice, and the table whereon it is celebrated as altar of oblation, in a far higher sense than any of their former ceremonies did, which were but the types and figures of those services that are performed in

⁸³ LACT I, p.201.

⁸⁴ LACT I, p.54.

⁸⁵ Cosin seems to take Hosea's “wife of fornications” to be a Gentile.

⁸⁶ LACT I, p.5f.

⁸⁷ Johnson, M., in Johnson, M. (ed.), op.cit., p.44.

recognition and memory of Christ's own sacrifice, once offered upon the altar of His Cross."⁸⁸

Types of Stuart England

The typology peculiar to the Carolines was the application of detailed exegesis to their own national life, leading them to a distinct polity of order, hierarchy and the divine right of kings, supreme governors of Church and State alike.

Quite simply, ancient Israel and Stuart England are virtually synonymous to the Caroline mind. Everywhere in their works, whatever the *genre*, one meets this ideology, and Cosin is no exception. "Jerusalem, wherever we find it (and theirs was but a shadow of ours) is a body that consists of two parts; and those two parts be the Church and the kingdom the house of the Lord and the house of David."⁸⁹ Cosin is happy to explain this exegesis; preaching in 1650 on Ps.129.5, he tells his congregation of royalist exiles: the Psalmist, as his manner is, compriseth under one, the type and the truth both; by those things which befell the people of the Jews in their Sion, shadowing and setting out those things which would afterwards and otherwhiles happen to the Christians likewise in theirs; for Jury [= 'Judaea'] was the scene, or stage, whereon the estate of us all – as we are a society, either in Church or kingdom – was represented to all posterity.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ LACT V, p.348.

⁸⁹ LACT I, p.340.

⁹⁰ LACT I, p.190.

Prophecy

Closely related to typology is the Carolines' idea of prophecy, since they see it rather as foretelling the future than protesting about present conditions. Thus, speaking of the Eucharist, Cosin enlists Isaiah's support: "...the evangelical prophet, Esay, foretelling the glory and amplitude of the Christian Church, speaketh of God's altar that shall be there, upon which an acceptable offering shall be made, ch.ii.4, etc."⁹¹ Thus too the main burden of a whole sermon (XVIII) can be a survey of the Old Testament witness to the Resurrection of Christ.⁹²

HEBREW, AND JEWISH MATTERS

There is not a great deal of evidence in Cosin's writings of the precise extent and depth of his knowledge of Hebrew and its cognates, nor of rabbinic traditions in exegesis, which can lead one to suspect a certain 'shakiness' in his handling of the language. It is natural to compare him with Andrewes, but this is perhaps unfair, since the latter was such a superb practitioner of linguistic skills.

Also, it appears that Cosin, like Laud, was more at home in the classical languages, so that he sometimes 'translates' Hebrew into their terms. His insistence that the Commandments are in the 'Future' Tense may be due to this,⁹³ as, too, his pointing out that the Hebrew can often be taken as expressing an 'Optative' or Indicative Mood.⁹⁴ He deems it safer for the preacher to accept both (thus providing himself with richer material!)

⁹¹ LACT V, p.348.

⁹² LACT I, pp.248-262.

⁹³ See on p.158 *infra*.

⁹⁴ LACT I, p.191.

However, the evidence is not entirely lacking that Cosin was knowledgeable about Jewish customs of Biblical times and of later rabbinic comment. An instance of this, involving one of Cosin's rare quotations of the Hebrew, is: "The form of the bill of divorce among the Jews was this: 'Be expelled from me, and free for any body else.' To give the bill of divorce is from the Hebrew root כרת, which is to break or cut off the marriage." In his notes on the BCP in the 'Durham Book' he shows himself aware of the Essenes – "the strictest liver among the Jews" – possibly gained from Scalieri and Casaubon.⁹⁵

At one point he is discussing the idea of a 'quorum' needed for public worship. Countering the proposal that Christ's 'two or three gathered together' is some indication of a need for a quorum, he says that the Jewish synagogue required ten adult males before public worship was possible, and that our Lord's words simply freed his followers from any such obligation. There follows this information: "The Jews have an opinion that the prayers of their congregations are always heard, not so the prayers of particular persons in private. Maim. Of Prayer, c.8,n.1. 'Always let a man go morning and evening to the synagogue, for his prayer is not always heard but in the synagogue; and he that dwelleth in a city where there is a synagogue, and goeth not thither to pray with the congregation, this is he that is called a bad neighbour.'"⁹⁶

Two sayings are claimed to be traditional Jewish: (i) The devil would be an Edomite if he had to live on earth;⁹⁷ (ii) Be slow to Ebal [to curse] and quick to Gerizim [to bless].⁹⁸ And an interesting bit of numerology: the rabbis used the Ten Commandments to produce 248 affirmative commands, and 365 negatives.

⁹⁵ LACT V, p.60.

⁹⁶ LACT V, p.455.

⁹⁷ LACT I, p.203.

⁹⁸ LACT I, p.198.

248 is the number of joints and “members” of the human body; 365 the days of the year; added together, they equal the number of letters in the Decalogue,⁹⁹ “and thereby teaching us (through a mystical yet in a good sense) that all the members of the body and all the days of our life are to be employed and spent in the diligent study and observation of the holy commandments of God.”¹⁰⁰ In such respectful comments, Cosin reflects the constant ambiguity of Christian attitudes towards the Jews; we can see it in Andrewes and others.

POLEMIC

Against Rome

Though they were much criticised for their ‘Romanising’ tendencies, the Carolines were actually in the forefront of anti-Roman polemic. They protested that Rome was indeed a Church, but a Church gone far into error; if she would reform herself, they would gladly be reconciled to her. Devotion to Saints is a particular target; preaching on the Commandments, Cosin condemns veneration of the Saints as lesser gods, albeit acknowledging God’s supremacy. He likens the Roman attitude to the polytheism of the ancient world. Nor does he except those held locally in great reverence, e.g. Cuthbert, at Durham, and Brendan, at his own parish of Brancepeth, named after him. He is particularly horrified by the use of verses of the Psalms, with *dominus* changed to *domina*, addressed to the Virgin Mary. However, he emphasises the rightness of properly honouring the Saints as exemplars.

⁹⁹ In which language? Presumably Hebrew, though we haven’t counted them: it matters not to the argument.

¹⁰⁰ LACT I, p.134.

There are various preambles to his *Collection of Private Devotions*, followed by brief notes on the Ten Commandments.¹⁰¹ These include strictures upon Papists, who are offenders against the Commandments, as follows: [Commandments indicated in Roman (!) numerals]:

- I. "To fear and call upon Him without giving any share of His honour to angels or saints...."
- II.(a) "They that are worshippers of saints' images, and out of a false opinion of demeriting the protection of the blessed Virgin, or any other saint of God, do give a religious adoration to the usual representments which be made of them."
- (b) "They that make any other images or the likeness of any thing whatsoever, (be it of Christ, His Cross, or be it of His blessed Angels,) with an intent to fall down and worship them."
- III. "They that make curious and wanton questions concerning the nature, the actions, and the secret decrees of God, not contenting themselves with that which He hath revealed in His word."

Against Puritans

Cosin is supposed to have become less intolerant of Reformed Protestantism after his Paris experience (his very 'Catholic' notes on the BCP were possibly mainly made before his exile). In his subsequent flexibility he was unusual among the triumphant Laudians – but most saw him as remaining pretty intolerant as a diocesan bishop. Still, both Mede and Fuller (not really Carolines) changed their minds about Cosin's Protestant credentials, which they felt were more respectable than they had earlier thought. Yet he was capable of frequent

¹⁰¹ LACT II, pp.113-120.

and direct attacks upon the Puritans, with little care for temperate language, and avoidance of mockery. In a sermon on Mt.4.6 (1625) he says that the devil misquotes Scripture, just as Calvinists do to support predestination. Cosin quotes Augustine and Chrysostom at them in refutation – *omne peccatum voluntarium est*.¹⁰² When defending the Church's Calendar, with its observance of 'Catholic' seasons, he finds support in Eccles.3, and its 'times' for all activities. Thus the Church has "times of mirth" and "times to mourn".¹⁰³ On the same subject – and with a sideswipe at predestination - his humour is shown to be sarcastic and rough, as opposed to Andrewes's more gentle and donnish style, as he preached at Epiphany 1622: "I'll warrant you every tradesman will tell you that all these observations of times are but popish customs the day of the Gentiles' calling, what is that to them? They have a tribe and a calling by themselves, that was marked out for heaven sure long before either Jews or Gentiles were stirring."¹⁰⁴

In mid-century, the Roman 'threat' became less as the Puritan factions flexed their muscles and gained the ascendance for nearly two decades. The Carolines devoted as much if not more time and energy in opposing them than they had in polemic against Rome. So, in the notes on the Ten Commandments prefacing the 1628 *Devotions*, Cosin has somewhat to say to the Puritans:

II (a) "They also that are no due worshippers of God Himself, that fall not lowly down before His presence, religiously to adore Him as well with their bodies as their souls."

(b) "They that rudely refuse, or carelessly neglect to kneel, bow, and prostrate themselves, to uncover their heads, or to stand with

¹⁰² See Hoffman, op.cit., p.13.

¹⁰³ LACT I, p.50.

¹⁰⁴ LACT IV, p.4.

seemly awe and reverence before the presence of His Majesty, as at all times of His service, so chiefly at the times, and in the places, of His public worship.”

III. “They that contemn His saints, that profane His temples, that slight His Sacraments, that regard not His service, that use and speak of these as of common things, whereas they have God’s mark upon them, being set apart and dedicated to the service of His most holy and fearful Name.”

IV. “They that under a pretence of serving God more strictly than others (especially of hearing and meditating of sermons), do by their fasts, and certain judaizing observations, condemn the joyful festivity of this high and holy day, which the Church allows, as well for the necessary recreation of the body in due time, as for spiritual exercises of the soul.”¹⁰⁵

V.(a) “They that murmur, mutiny, rebel, and dishonour the king, either by denying reverence to his person, or obedience to his laws, or due maintenance to his state.”

V.(b) “They that neither reverence the persons, nor obey the precepts, nor care for the authority of their ecclesiastical governors.”

This last stricture recalls a passage from a sermon on Ps.122, attacking the Puritans by name, who “pray not for the peace of Jerusalem [i.e. the Church mainly, but also the state] They are all for contentions and brabbles, both at home and abroad.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ More on the Sabbath in the next section..

¹⁰⁶ LACT I, p.115f.

More seriously, Cosin deals with the principle of '*Sola Scriptura*' which he declares insufficient. His sermon on the Temptations of Jesus is entirely taken up by a discussion of this matter. The devil quotes Scripture, as do the heterodox in Cosin's day, "against Christ, or against His Church, as you know there are, that so use them [the Scriptures]"¹⁰⁷ So, "...to be cunning in the Scriptures is no such mark of the child of God as some men would bear us in hand [= 'persuade'] withal."¹⁰⁸ The devil is selective in his quotation of Ps.91.11,12, in that he omits verse 11a ("in all Thy ways") Everything in Scripture has a meaning for Cosin. So why did the devil miss this phrase out? Because it would have nullified this temptation: God's angels are charged with assisting only those who act according to God's "ways". Such actions as throwing oneself from a tower are not so in accord we must not expect the angels to rescue us when we act foolishly. "God has appointed ordinary means for us to stand and preserve ourselves in the ways of His commandments; and He will not have His providence tempted by our wilful falling into sin and danger; if we will keep us in His ways, so it is; if not, He is not bound to keep us in ours."¹⁰⁹ Cosin criticises the Calvinists' 'diabolic' use of Scripture: "...as the devil brought Scripture here for his way, so do they for theirs." No matter how foolish or sinful their behaviour, their heavenly destination is unaffected.

By the Restoration, changes were afoot in the various religious positions and 'camps' in England. The old 'Puritan' had become a 'Presbyterian': not at all a full-blown Presbyterian, but more of a 'Low Churchman' in modern terms,¹¹⁰ who would probably have been willing to minister in a national episcopal Church,

¹⁰⁷ LACT I, p.74.

¹⁰⁸ LACT I, p.76.

¹⁰⁹ LACT I, p.77f.

¹¹⁰ See Durston & Eales, op.cit., p.236.

provided that his main objections, stated at the Savoy Conference, could have been met. The chief stumbling-block was, as we have seen, the BCP itself, to be the sole liturgical form used in the re-Established Church. Others were the demands for: non-episcopally ordained ministers (i.e. those ordained in the Interregnum) to be re-ordained; for assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, including those concerning church government, together with the oath of canonical obedience (deemed to be taking episcopacy too far); the renunciation of the Solemn League and Covenant.¹¹¹ On none of these points could the Laudians permit deviation.

Baxter was the chief presbyterian protagonist, as Cosin, with Sheldon, led the Laudians. They did not get on well personally. Baxter did not care for Cosin (though he respected his patristic knowledge)¹¹², while Cosin was typically unafraid to reprove Baxter rather rudely: "Truly it is high time he should hold his peace, for I think he hath tired both himself and many others with his much speaking."¹¹³

In the ecclesiastical sphere, the 1662 Act exceeded Laud's aims, let alone his achievements, but at great cost to the nation's religious life.¹¹⁴ The moderate 'parish Puritans', who supported the idea of a national church, were to be dismissed in large numbers, just as the Laudians had been a generation before. Everyone other than the Laudians and their fellow-travellers was in the same case. The alignment of 'parish puritans' with 'dissenters' eventually became self-alignment: 1662 made them bedfellows and 1689 consummated the

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.237.

¹¹² Higham, op.cit., p.307.

¹¹³ Bosher, op.cit., p.229.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.241f.

relationship.”¹¹⁵ Some struggled to come to a sensible arrangement with their parish church, like the deprived Rector of Rostherne, in Cheshire, Mr. Martindale, who attended the parish church in the morning, then repeated the incumbent’s sermon to his own congregation, “adding a discourse of mine own”¹¹⁶, but they grew fewer and fewer until soon the non-Roman Catholics divided into ‘denominations’ that persist to this day.

On the Sabbath

One of the most persistent differences between the Carolines and the Puritans, and between their later manifestations as Laudians and Presbyterians, was in their respective attitudes towards the one day in seven they agreed should be the chief day for public worship, in particular what else might be permitted on that day. As the preceding sentence suggests, they could not even agree on the name of the day. Cosin actually sided with the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference in recommending ‘Lord’s Day’ rather than ‘Sunday’ (advice not taken by the Committee). Most people were uncomfortable with ‘sabbath’: those who knew about these things were aware that the Christian day was not the seventh in the week, and most people felt that in some ways there should be a resemblance, according to the details of the Fourth Commandment, but that, as with other Commandments, there should be some difference under the New Covenant.¹¹⁷ Cosin’s view is that the Fourth Commandment is in its detailed prescriptions part of the ceremonial law, so abrogated for Christians. The kernel of the Commandment – the moral law – is that there must be a ‘Lord’s Day’ –

¹¹⁵ Spurr, quoted in Durston & Eyles, op.cit., p.244.

¹¹⁶ Savage, Pam: Seventeenth Century Knutsford (Intec Publishing, 2003)

¹¹⁷ The C17th didn’t invent the problem of how far the New Covenant abrogated the Old, and how far it fulfilled it: it had started with St. Paul and the Evangelists, and continues to this day.

“*Dominicus Dies*” – a weekly feast day set apart for worship and recreation, the true fulfilment of the Sabbath, as argued by St.Paul when he describes the Sabbath as, “a figure and shadow of somewhat to come.” (Col.2.17)¹¹⁸ He maintains, “with the general assent of the Fathers”, that Ps.118.22-24 is “a prophecy of the Lord’s Day”.¹¹⁹ Isa.58.13 supports, it seems, since it was held to do so by *Concilium Forojuliense* “about 840 years since in Charlemagne’s time.”¹²⁰ [Here follows a massive compilation of supportive Fathers.]

“This I say against them [Puritans].

1. The observance of the Sunday in every week is not commanded us by the fourth commandment, as they say it is.
2. Nor is our Sunday to be observed according to the rule of the fourth commandment, as they say it is.
3. Nor hath it the qualities and conditions of the Sabbath annexed to it, as they say it hath.

They [the Apostles] abrogated the Sabbath, and the ceremonies thereunto belonging, and proper to the Jews as Jews Christ was Lord of it [the Sabbath] because He had power to change it.”¹²¹

This was obviously a subject of great concern to Cosin. Three of his few extant sermons are devoted to it (Nos.XI, XII, XIII), preached a series at Brancepeth in 1633. Each sermon follows Cosin’s usual format of precept, illustration and reasons. Sermon XI¹²² begins with a stress on ‘remember’, for this Commandment is the only one to start thus: this indicates that this Commandment is very special, possibly more important than some of the others.

¹¹⁸ LACT IV, p.452.

¹¹⁹ LACT IV, p.453.

¹²⁰ LACT IV, p.454.

¹²¹ LACT IV, p.460f.

¹²² LACT I, pp.155ff.

He says that זכור is “emphatically delivered in the original”. Yet it is the Commandment most susceptible to neglect.¹²³ It is not the 7th day for Christians; this is not part of the moral law of the Old Testament - but that there must be something like a Sabbath is. He is already explaining the distinction between the ordinances which must obtain under the gospel and those which should not, and points out that the term ‘sabbath’ has not been used by Christians for 1500 years, “...though in a few late writers, I know not why, it be again taken up.”¹²⁴

Rather imaginatively, he compares the ‘sabbath’ and other days of the week with human society, wherein is God-ordained inequality.¹²⁵ Use of things set apart for God is restricted to worship; so with the holy day: it doesn’t belong to us, and we mustn’t use it just as we will. Those who wouldn’t dream of desecrating a church building by mundane activities within or around it are quite prepared to sully the holy day in such a way.¹²⁶

On the ‘Sabbath’ we must worship communally. This is based not on the example of early Christians, but on Lev.23.3 (much paraphrased): “But in the day of rest (that is, as is there expressed, upon every festival) shall be an holy convocation to the Lord.” Interesting that Cosin uses Deuteronomy, Exodus, Leviticus, the Psalms and Jeremiah to deal with the matter of the Sabbath - hardly at all the New Testament or the Fathers.

Sermon XII¹²⁷ begins with Exod.9.10. Cosin is now turning to the reasons for the Commandment (having failed to squeeze this section into his previous

¹²³ LACT I, p.155.

¹²⁴ LACT I, p.159.

¹²⁵ LACT I, p.159. Not an argument for today’s congregations.....!

¹²⁶ LACT I, p.160. Yet another argument inappropriate for today’s Church, with its concerts and multi-purpose worship-centres, etc.....!

¹²⁷ LACT I, p.167ff.

sermon)¹²⁸ We have six days for ourselves - but only by God's grace, for all the days are actually His). He draws a parallel with tithing: nine tenths are given to us (they aren't ours by right), and another parallel with Adam, who had all the fruits but one available to him).¹²⁹

Allied to the Sabbath are the Jewish feasts, all hallowed by God, on which Sabbath restriction obtained. The Church has substituted her own feasts, which must be regarded as Sundays, to be used primarily for worship.¹³⁰

There follows a whole paragraph repeated from the previous sermon, re "Some days are exalted above others, as are some people".¹³¹

On the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday: "As the one did continually bring to mind the former world finished by creation, so the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better world begun by Christ, That came to restore all things, and to make heaven and earth anew again." There is New Testament evidence for 'first day of the week' from Jn.20; Acts 2,20; I Cor.16; Rev.1., "besides the manifest and express places of Scripture, both in the Old and New Testament, that the Sabbath was to cease."¹³²

In the third sermon on this subject, Sermon XIII,¹³³ Cosin emphasises that the Christians' 'Sabbath' replaces the Jewish one, "....though not with the same ceremonies, yet with the same substance that the other was". The Sabbath, as the seventh day, like its ceremonies, was binding only on Jews, not Christians. Following St.Augustine, he teaches that Christians celebrate the first day as the Day of Resurrection. This is why the proper term for Christians is 'Lord's

¹²⁸ Having compassion on his 'rude' congregation, no doubt – a virtue conspicuously lacking in the preachers of the day!

¹²⁹ LACT I, p.167.

¹³⁰ LACT I, p.171.

¹³¹ LACT I, p.172f.; cf.p.159f. (See p.186 *supra*)

¹³² LACT I, p.175.

¹³³ LACT I, p.179ff.

Day'.¹³⁴ He enjoins church attendance and private devotions in detail, as the major part of 'keeping holy' the Lord's Day – 'rest' is not to be idleness! But the Lord's Day is a festival, so we may also enjoy ourselves during it. He finds support in Ps.118.24 ("In your solemn feasts ye shall take of the goodly fruits, and branches of the trees, and you shall eat your bread with joy, and rejoice before the Lord"). "Fasting, then, and sitting all day pensive and still upon Sundays, as the use of some is, is no good Christianity, is unnatural and in no way suitable to the honour of the day, nor no way decent in itself, neither; because while the mind hath just occasion to adorn and deck herself with gladness, as upon the apprehension and mediation of Christ's benefits this day it hath, the need of sorrow and pensiveness becometh her not."¹³⁵ This liberal view is qualified, however, and in two respects: "To joy and cheerfulness we add bounty and liberality" – those who can afford it should give alms to the poor and offerings to the church¹³⁶; no unlawful pursuits nor unseemly carnal pleasures are appropriate – no dancing, for example, nor "other such wantonness".¹³⁷

Cosin follows Andrewes closely in these arguments, though Andrewes is stricter, being rather more of a sabbatarian than other Carolines.¹³⁸ Laud is much in agreement with Cosin.¹³⁹

EPILOGUE

"The story of the generation that grew old between the Restoration and 1688 was confused and darkened by the intermingling of politics and religion."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ LACT I, p.179f.

¹³⁵ LACT I, p.186f.

¹³⁶ LACT I, p.187.

¹³⁷ LACT I, p.188.

¹³⁸ *Vide* Ch.5 *infra*, p.159f.

¹³⁹ *Vide* Ch.3 *supra*, p.114f.

The process started immediately in 1660 (though arguably the Seventeenth Century was never free of it) with the royalist and Caroline party utterly triumphant, or so it seemed, both to them and to others. They appeared unstoppable in re-establishing a civil and ecclesiastical England which would be the apotheosis of Laud's and Charles I's ideals. "A new Parliament was elected, dominated by former Royalists who wanted to assert their victory over their enemies on the most divisive issue of all: the nature of the established Church. An Act of Uniformity was passed (stricter than the old Elizabethan one) and a series of laws imposed severe restrictions on "dissenters" of all kinds – including moderate Presbyterians, who had hoped to remain within the Church. England became a more polarised society, and the ground was prepared for renewed political conflict."¹⁴¹ Despite the Savoy Conference, with both Presbyterians and Laudians seeking common ground, but unable to find it without discarding principle, some two thousand clergy were ejected in 1662 from the parishes and the Universities.¹⁴² It was more of a pity than the ejections of Cosin and his ilk twenty years before, since in many ways Puritans and Carolines had moved closer together, especially in theology, their approach to the Bible, and style of preaching. As early as Hales, Anglicans were beginning to be concerned to use individual reason, and Puritans (if one includes the Cambridge Platonists) to develop the Latitudinarian views which were to be the most characteristic tendency of the late C17th Church of England.¹⁴³ New movements, new labels – but perhaps scarcely more accurate than the old ones: "...it may be suggested that, like 'Arminianism' earlier in the century, 'Latitudinarianism' existed mainly

¹⁴⁰ Higham, *op.cit.*, p.325.

¹⁴¹ Malcolm, N., in a review of Harris.T.: The Restoration in 'The Sunday Telegraph', 27.iii.05.

¹⁴² Higham, *op.cit.*, p.313.

¹⁴³ Reventlow, *op.cit.*, p.152f.

in the eye of the beholder.”¹⁴⁴ As the century wore on, both predestination and millenarianism faded in importance in Nonconformist thought and preaching, while the latter exercise, in both church and chapel, became very different from the art as practised by Andrewes, now quite out of fashion. The “plain style” was now favoured, with the emphasis on an appeal to reason rather than ancient ‘authorities’, even Scriptural ones. Influenced especially by Tillotson, preaching became more practical, relevant to congregations’ life experiences rather than high theological doctrine, which to many minds towards the end of a turbulent century had caused trouble a-plenty. They would have no more “word-crumbling”, no more plentiful Latin quotations, no more minute dissection of the text.¹⁴⁵ It could be argued that both Laud and Cosin had themselves contributed to the process, for their sermons are already inclining to be considerably less intricate – as well as briefer – than their master’s. However, we cannot pronounce more confidently, due to the relative lack of extant material.

Let an eminent commentator end this chapter. “In the England of 1660, the word *Reformation* had acquired an ill odour. For two centuries or more it had been a glorious or wistful word, a word of hope and idealism. The word enshrined the high endeavours of mediaeval sanctity, gazing backwards towards a golden and simple age. Now at last the word lost its halo of idealism. It was associated with zealotry, with destruction, with discontent. It had begun to be a harassing word, encouraging the captious who would not leave good alone, stimulating the fanatical critic. We begin to hear of a world worried by reformation, reformed and ruined, reformed to the ground.”¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Green, I., in Gilley, S. & Sheils, W.J. (eds.): A History of Religion in Britain (Blackwell, 1994), p.175.

¹⁴⁵ See Hewison, *op.cit.*, Introduction, p.xiii.

¹⁴⁶ Chadwick, *op.cit.*, p.445.

CHAPTER 5

PRIVATE PRAYERS AND OTHER WORKS

ANDREWES

Preces Privatae

Andrewes's piety was universally recognised and admired, even by those whose opinions differed widely from his, as testified by Fuller.¹ And in his funeral sermon for Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, Bishop of London, said, "*Vita ejus vita orationis.*"² From 7a.m. until noon he would be at prayer or study, and as often as not return to these in the evenings, as Isaacson commented.³ This is where we get to the real heart of Andrewes's faith, the solid spiritual base upon which all else is built.⁴ This is probably what aroused interest in this collection when first published, but so many people found these devotions useful in their own spiritual discipline that they became by far Andrewes's best-known (to most people *only-known*) work.⁵ Andrewes's collection "...has had an influence on later generations comparable to that of his sermons on his own."⁶

Because Andrewes did not intend these prayers for other than his own and, we believe, a few intimates' use, the collection was not published until 1648,⁷

¹ *Lives and Deaths of the Moderne Divines* (London, 1651), p.435.

² LACT V, p.296.

³ Isaacson, H.: *An exact Narration of the Life and Death of the late reverend and learned Prelate, and painfull Divine, Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester* (London, 1650), p.xxv.

⁴ Ottley, op.cit., p.177.

⁵ Chadwick, op.cit., p.227.

⁶ McAdoo, op.cit., p.327.

⁷ The original MS of *Preces Privatae* is in Pembroke College, Oxford – and contains more Hebrew passages than the transcript used by Drake. This 'original' was edited in 1892 (SPCK). However, the version in LACT (1846) while missing these items, being based on Drake, actually

The *Preces Privatae* have become models of Anglican devotion. Dean Church said that they “...bring the spirit of the Book of Common Prayer from the Church to the closet.”⁸ All English editions are translations: the author invariably used the prayers in the original languages, including some prayers from the Sephardic synagogue liturgy; for the Psalms, he seems to prefer the LXX, but with some ‘corrections’ towards MT.

Before the daily prayers comes a preparatory section, comprising seventy verses of Scripture.. Of these, 36 are from the Psalms, 15 from elsewhere in the Old Testament, and 1 from the Apocrypha: 52 in all, some 75% of the whole.⁹ Praise, penitence, petitions for guidance and protection are all there, but not in separate sections.

The prayer-pattern is: praise – penitence – petitions, and throughout the *Preces* is evidence that to a remarkable degree the Old Testament informed not only Andrewes’s ecclesiastical, political and social ideas, but also his heartfelt devotional discipline. All but a few of the many quotations in the week’s praise sections are from Genesis or Psalms.

In the *Preces* the penitential note is dominant, unlike the sermons, which are characterised more than anything by joy – in the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ Again, Confession consists almost entirely of Old Testament quotations. Sunday’s lengthy section includes Josh.7.19; Ps.141.4; Josh.7.19,20; Jer.8.6; Job 33.37; Neh.9.33.¹¹ The section ends with pleas for mercy and

contains some material not in the Pembroke ‘original’. The probable explanation is that Andrewes produced several MSS which differed slightly one from another.

⁸ Quoted in Hewison, op.cit., Introduction, p.xv.

⁹ LACT XX, pp.243-249

¹⁰ Story, op.cit., Introduction, p.xxx.

¹¹ LACT XX, p.251f.

forgiveness, together with statements of confidence in the same by virtue of God's promises. Again, on Sunday this is a huge collection of 24 verses.

[In Wednesday's¹² Confession, incidentally but interestingly, Andrewes displays more knowledge than most moderns dare, about the original 'inhabitants of the land', Andrewes ascribes to himself the seven deadly sins as an 'Amorite' (pride), 'Hittite' (envy), 'Perizzite' (anger), 'Girgashite' (gluttony), 'Hivite' (wantonness), 'Canaanite' ("worldly carakings")¹³ and 'Jebusite' ("lukewarm carelessness")¹⁴!]

On Saturday, the Confession includes "K.Manasses"¹⁵ – Andrewes uses the Apocrypha infrequently; here is his longest quotation, chosen simply because it is a powerful statement of penitence.

Petitions, both for himself and for others, are chiefly for the acquisition, preservation and increase of virtues. Some are staccato, one short phrase after another, but some are extended into compositions at once lyrical and realist, which echo the sermon style more than faintly. The wording of the petitions is Andrewes's own composition, though as allusive to Scripture as ever with him. Except on Friday and Saturday, each Petition section ends with verses of the Old Testament. Biblical allusions abound, even when there is no direct citation, e.g. "[Deliver me from....] the indifferences of Saul, contempt of Michal, fleshhook of Hophni, demolition of Athaliah, priesthood of Micah, fraternity of Simon and Judas....."¹⁶ The Old Testament, as much as anything else, informed Andrewes's spiritual life.

¹² LACT XX, pp.281-284.

¹³ i.e. covetousness.

¹⁴ i.e. sloth.

¹⁵ Pride goeth before a fall, as we immediately encounter an exception to his rule of using customary English forms of Biblical names in sermons, but more 'correct' forms in private and in theological works.

Exposition of the Decalogue, from *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine and Other Minor Works*¹⁷

This is a massive commentary,¹⁸ both profound and wide-ranging; it displays that imagination, so evident in the sermons, which permits Andrewes to expound many hidden applications. He notes that the Commandments are all in the 2nd. Person Singular – applicable, therefore, to each and every one of us. They are in the Future Tense, and thus always to apply (with some modification under the New Dispensation, as we shall see). They are (mostly) negative, so Andrewes needs to propound his “rules” of “extension” and “limitation”. He explains that while a Commandment may be one of ‘limitation’ (i.e. negative), the “rule of extension” includes the affirmative, for, “*qui prohibet impedimentum praecipit adjumentum*, ‘he that forbiddeth what hindereth doth command what furthereth.’”¹⁹ Also, “...that we are more fit by nature to receive a countermand than a commandment, because we are by nature full of weeds which must be rooted out before any good thing can be planted in us.”²⁰ Logical, if not comfortably worded for our own generation.....

On the second Commandment, Andrewes considers ceremonies, and observes a disagreement 'twixt Roman Catholics and Anglicans on εἰκών / εἰδωλον , but he says that the Hebrew is לִפְנֵי - “more than both these cannot be well expressed either in greek or latin, and signifieth any kind of

¹⁶ Partridge, E. & Potter, S.: English Biblical Translation (André Deutsch, 1973), p.152.

¹⁷ As in LACT Edition, 1846; hereinafter called ‘MW’.

¹⁸ Well over 200 pages, from MW, p.75.

¹⁹ It is interesting that both Laud and Cosin follow this principle too, and that nearly a century later one of the last Carolines, the Non-juring Thomas Ken, in *An Exposition of the Church Catechism*, wrote: “O my God, when in any of thy commands a duty is enjoined, love tells me the contrary evil is forbidden; when any evil is forbidden, love tells me the contrary duty is enjoined.”

²⁰ MW, p.81.

conception or imagination which may arise.”²¹ In his treatment of ceremonial in worship²² he begins with prayer, adducing from the Old Testament support for his recommendations. Bowing is desirable (II Chron.vi.13,14; 29.29), as is kneeling (Gen.18.2; 24.26; Exod.12.27; I Kg.8.54), “....but the word in Hebrew for kneeling signifieth service; and service may be also standing.” Thus Abraham, in Gen.18.22 and ‘all the people’ in Exod.33.10. Prostration (in private prayer) is acceptable on occasion, following the examples of Moses (Dt.9.18), Moses and Aaron (Num.20.6) – and our Lord himself (Mt.26.39). Eyes may be lifted up (Ps.121.1) and hands outstretched (Exod.17.11; Ps.88.9), both attitudes of hopeful petition. When attending to a sermon, one may either sit (Ezek.33.31) or stand (Neh.8.5).²³

On the third Commandment,²⁴ Andrewes suggests that ‘taking’ the name of God implies entering into some enterprise or relationship with him, explaining that the Hebrew ‘take’ [נָשָׂא] can be used metaphorically, as in bearing a standard, or literally, when it would have the sense of lifting up a burden.²⁵ So this isn’t just a matter of a few naughty words..... He further explains that the Hebrew שָׁבַע ‘swear’ also means ‘satisfy’ (which is actually שָׁבַע with Sin, not Shin), indicating that if and when we swear, it should be in such circumstances, in such a manner, and in such serious and righteous intention that God will be satisfied with our oath.²⁶ The Old Testament shows that swearing is acceptable in certain circumstances (Dt.6.13; II Chron.6.22,23; Neh.10.29; Ps.63.11 [*inter multa alia*]).

²¹ MW, p.128.

²² MW, p.134ff.

²³ MW, p.136.

²⁴ MW, p.143ff.

²⁵ MW, p.145.

²⁶ MW, p.146.

On the fourth Commandment, Andrewes explains why the Sabbath continues unabrogated by Christ. “....law came immediately from God, the ceremonies were introduced by Moses.” So the specific ceremonies were indeed abrogated, whilst the ‘non-ceremonies’ remained, though significantly changed, as in the case of the priesthood. Also, the Sabbath was transferred to the first day of the week, in honour of the Resurrection (Rev.1.10). So, “The day may give place, but sanctification never.”²⁷ It is interesting to find Andrewes a sabbatarian like the Puritans – and unlike most of his own school - and to produce an apologia for his view. God lets us have six days to ourselves, so we mustn’t try to steal the seventh! If we do, then we shall be no better than Adam, who could eat of “all trees but one” – and still couldn’t stop himself from picking the fruit of that one.²⁸

The reason for keeping the Sabbath is the divine example: God’s having rested on the seventh day of Creation. This antedates the Mosaic Law and therefore is immutable. Andrewes works on the principle that ‘*ratio immutabilis facit praeceptum immutabile*’. He produces many Old Testament texts in support, e.g. Exod.16.6 (no manna to be collected); Neh.13.15 (no buying/selling); Jer.17.22 (no transport of goods); Exod.24.21 (no work, even at harvest-time); Exod.16.29 (no travelling); Exod.31.15 (no work, even on God’s house).²⁹ ‘Rest’ is not absolute, though, as it is with the Jews. The above provisions apart, we may be active for our immediate welfare or sanctification – so we may attend church and enjoy our Sunday dinner. But two abuses must be avoided: we must not indulge in an idle Sabbath, - “the Sabbath of oxen and asses”, nor, on the other

²⁷ MW, p.156.

²⁸ He would not have approved of English C21st practice....!

²⁹ MW, p.157f.

hand, may we engage in any revelling – “the Sabbath of the golden calf” (“Satan’s Sabbath”).³⁰

[There is a lengthy two-part exposition of this Commandment in the *Apospasmata Sacra*.³¹]

The fifth Commandment³² affords Andrewes opportunity to expand upon social relations. ‘Parents’ becomes a metaphor, leading to concentration on social rank, and consequent duty, from deference to *noblesse oblige*. אבא, (“abba”)³³ indicates “he that hath a care or desire to do good”, implying immediately the mutual relations involved. He attacks the egalitarian view that holds all men equal -and therefore unable to recognise or oppose lawful authority. He cites the example of Korah (Num.16.3) as a prime ‘opposer’.³⁴ Even outward expressions of deference can be justified from the Old Testament - particularly true of English custom: “....every country hath not the same fashion; for ourselves, we may reduce it to these heads....” In the presence of a superior, one should stand up (Job 29.8; I Kg.2.9); maybe bow the knee (Gen.41.43); if already standing, one should remain standing (Exod.18.13; II Kg.5.25); one speaks only when spoken to (Job.29.9,10) and, when speaking, use “words of submission”, as in Gen.18.12 (to a husband), Gen.31.35 (to a father) or Gen.43.28 (to a prince).³⁵

Gen.22.9 (Isaac and Abraham), Gen.31.6 (Jacob and Laban), and Josh.1.16 (the people and Joshua)³⁶ provide examples of obedience. The

³⁰ MW, p.160.

³¹ *Apospasmata*, pp.122-141.

³² MW, p.175ff.

³³ Properly (in Aramaic) אבא – though אבא does appear sometimes in Targum, and rabbis.

³⁴ MW, p.176.

³⁵ MW, p.177.

³⁶ MW, p.178.

importance of such obedience is underlined by this Commandment's position: first in the Second Table.³⁷

Privilege entails responsibility, so superiors are subject to certain obligations towards their inferiors. Andrewes allows himself some word-play here, the sense of 'heaviness' or 'honour' in כבד; 'heaviness' is a 'burden', so he switches to Latin, to point out the close resemblance between *onero* and *honoro*!³⁸ Superiors are acting for the Lord, not for themselves (II Chron.19.6); they act as fathers: David was not taken from feeding sheep for his own glorification, but to feed Israel (Ps.78.71). Those in authority, therefore, ".....must nourish and cherish those that are under them, as their own flesh", as Moses "nursing the people" (Num.11.12).³⁹

Rank in society is divinely ordained, "....this order is established by God, and must by men be retained....". Superiors must not abase themselves from their God-given position, as Eli did by entreating his sons rather than commanding them (I Sam.2.29).⁴⁰ On the contrary, superiors must set good examples, and "walk uprightly" themselves, as David did (Ps.101.2). They must treat inferiors fairly and use moderation, unlike the bad governor in Zeph.3.3. The duties of superiors are laid down in Ps.82.3,4, the treatment of the poor. Superiors must always remember that God is above them – and will remove them from positions of power if he thinks it fit; he remains the great Judge.⁴¹

Honour is owed even to wicked superiors, since their position is ordained of God. Comparison is made with Hagar and Sarah, David and Saul – loyalty despite ill-treatment. Even evil rulers are God's instruments, as were

³⁷ MW, p.178.

³⁸ MW, p.179.

³⁹ MW, p.179.

⁴⁰ MW, p.180.

⁴¹ MW, p.181.

Nebuchadnezzar (Jer.27.7) and the Assyrian kings (Isa.10.5).⁴² This insistence is partly due to Andrewes's horror of anarchy, mentioned in Chapter 2: "...be a government never so bad, yet it is better than none at all."⁴³ The honour due to wicked rulers is in fact due to God, who has placed them in their positions, not to them as men. So they are not to be obeyed if their orders conflict with God's, e.g. Nebuchadnezzar (Dan.3.18), Darius (Dan.6.9) and Asa's deposition of his idolatrous mother (II Chron.15,16). One cannot plead 'just obeying orders': see Joab's implication in Uriah's death (II Sam.11.16).⁴⁴

The fifth Commandment extends to marital relations!⁴⁵ Odd, since Andrewes actually preaches equality and complementarity, rather than male dominance. Naturally, he cites Prov.31.29,30 as the great Biblical example of uxorial perfection. Typical of his imaginative talent, he emphasises that married folk must honour and respect each other's elders, as did Moses his father-in-law (Exod.18.7,12) and Ruth her mother-in-law (Ruth1.16).⁴⁶

The duties of parents are generation, nourishment and financial provision. They must teach Christianity (Gen.18.19; Dt.4.9) - and must pray for their children (Gen.49.28). They must show their children a good example of adult behaviour, as well as willingness to correct them (Prov.22.15; 19.18; 29.15; 13.24). Over lenient parents should keep in mind David's error in his dealing with Adonijah (I Kg.1.6). Children must do as they are told, heed parental advice, and take punishment justly meted out to them (Prov.10.1; Num.30.4).⁴⁷

⁴² MW, p.182.

⁴³ MW, p.183.

⁴⁴ MW, p.183.

⁴⁵ MW, p.185f.

⁴⁶ MW, p.186.

⁴⁷ MW, p.186f.

Andrewes deals with relations between master and servant. Commands should be lawful (Gen.39.9) and possible (Gen.24.5). A master must not be “sharp or bitter” (Lev.25.43), and must provide decent food, clothing and wages (Prov.27.27; 31.19-27). Servants must be faithful, not working ‘on the side’ for themselves, having their ‘fingers in the till’, or lying to their masters (cf. Gehazi, in II Kg.5.22, and Ziba, in II Sam.16.3); not idling (Jacob a good example in Gen.31.40), working grudgingly, grumbling, nor working only when closely supervised.⁴⁸

Another extension is to “teacher and hearer”.⁴⁹ It is obvious that Andrewes is thinking of ordained ‘teachers’ The good teacher is a man of prayer (Ps.119.66), who obeys the Commandments in his own life (Ps.19.8). He must speak clearly, methodically, and at the level of his hearers. He is to teach by precept (Ps.119.12), and personal example (Prov.24.32). The ‘hearer’ (pupil? Student? Parishioner? Inferior clergy?) must pay careful attention and ask sensible questions (Exod.13.14; Dt.6.20).

Magistrates are to look after (“feed”) the people, as did Joseph (Gen.49.24), David (Ps.78.71) and Joshua (Num.27.17). Magistrates exist as the King’s “under-officers”, after the example of Moses and the Israelite officials (Exod.18.13); accordingly, they enjoy divine approval (Num.11.16).⁵⁰

Now Andrewes turns to the duties of the monarch.⁵¹ Firstly, the king – and his subjects – must acknowledge that his power is from God (I Sam.10.26.); therefore, he may not command against men’s consciences. He must “feed the people”, sometimes literally (cf. Joshua, Jos.41.49) and metaphorically, like

⁴⁸ MW, p.188ff.

⁴⁹ MW, p.190ff.

⁵⁰ MW, p.198ff.

⁵¹ MW, p.200ff.

Solomon (II Chron.19.21 (trade); II Chron.17.2 (defence). The king must do justice (Prov.16.12; 11.10; 20.8; Dt.13.8) and in all things act humbly. In return his people are to be loyal (Prov.24.21); they are to fear him (Prov.16.14; 20.2) and support him (II Sam.18.3; Exod.22.8). The King's "under-officers" are now seen to include besides magistrates the erudite, the aged, the nobility and the wealthy. He supports with many Old Testament references.

There follows a long discussion of relations 'twixt rich and poor;⁵² the duty of the wealthy is to give to the poor, while the latter must be suitably grateful.

Andrewes closes with an ingenious exposition of the promise⁵³. On the face of it, this simply doesn't happen, in that many wicked people live long, whilst many good people don't. However, eternal life is better than mere long life in this world – and eternal life is precisely what the "dutiful children" will get.⁵⁴ Furthermore, no man knows what lies in store for him and his world, so an early death may well be a mercy. Dt.5.6 says that days may be prolonged "so long as it may go well with thee"; thus Josiah was cut off "because he should not see the evil days that were to come upon the land" (II Kg.22.20).⁵⁵ And Enoch was taken up, lest he be corrupted by "the wicked and unworthy world".⁵⁶ Long life for a wicked person could have any or all of three purposes, *namely: to allow him time for repentance; so that he might beget and raise good progeny, as with Amon and Josiah (II Kg.21.24) or Ahaz and Hezekiah (II Kg.16.20); in order to have "rods*

⁵² MW, p.204ff.

⁵³ MW, p.210ff.

⁵⁴ MW, p.211.

⁵⁵ Applicable, even at 70, to Andrewes himself, surely?

⁵⁶ MW, p.211.

of His wrath” to punish the disobedient, like the Assyrian (Isa.10.5) and thus make us patient and longsuffering.⁵⁷

The sixth Commandment⁵⁸ causes Cain and Abel to come to Andrewes’s mind. The cause of murder is anger, and it defaces the image of God borne by the victim.⁵⁹ He points out that suicide is forbidden by the Commandment; he will, of course, know that only one suicide is recorded in the Old Testament – that of Ahithophel (II Sam.17.23).⁶⁰

The state may take life: this is not murder (which, rather than all killing, is the subject of this prohibition); “....as in the natural body, so in the civil body or the commonwealth, if any one part be so corrupt that it endangereth the whole, it is no cruelty to cut it off....”. The magistrate is God’s officer: through him, therefore, God is shedding the blood of evildoers (Rom.13.4). Thus, too, warfare is allowed (Dt.20), provided that (a) it is properly authorised, as in Jg.1.1 (war authorised by God) and I Sam.17.37 (David permitted to fight Goliath), and (b) if the cause is just (Josh.22.11,12). Killing in self-defence is no murder, either (Exod.22.2): the establishment of sanctuaries (Dt.19.1; Exod.21.13) shows that God does not regard as sinful killing without desire to kill. Lastly, blood must be satisfied by blood. If not, God will be angry, and others will be tempted to commit murder (Gen.9.6).

On the seventh Commandment,⁶¹ there is analysis of how we make ourselves susceptible to this temptation (by idleness, for instance), followed by a detailed examination of reasons for this Commandment (gluttony and drink, as well as idleness), with many Old Testament references.

⁵⁷ MW, p.212.

⁵⁸ MW, p.214ff.

⁵⁹ MW, p.219.

⁶⁰ MW, p.218.

⁶¹ MW, p.230ff.

The eighth Commandment⁶² inspires a detailed preamble, on “rights and propriety”; the getting of wealth, good and evil; honest trade; contracts. He deals with “spiritual theft”, which, like lust, starts in the heart, and enunciates two rules: (a) one should be content with what one has; (b) one must ensure that expenditure does not exceed income – Mr.Micawber’s advice, two centuries early.

On the ninth Commandment,⁶³ Andrewes quotes Lev.19.11,16 and Zech.8.16,17 as comment on this Commandment. There are to be no ‘white lies’, not even to save another’s life or goods.⁶⁴ – though it is acceptable to be ‘economical with the truth’ in a good cause, like the midwives of Exod.1. He then begs an interesting question on ברעך - “beregneka” [sic]. He says that this is “.... best translated *super proximum tuum* which may be either ‘for’ him or ‘against’ him.”⁶⁵ This is at first disconcerting to the traditional English version, learned at mother’s knee; upon reflection, however, it matters little to the substance of the prohibition whether the falsehood is uttered ‘for’ or ‘against’: it is still perjury.

This ninth Commandment was added to rectify breaches of the first eight, for such breaches nearly always involve deceit and untruths.⁶⁶ Willingness to listen to lies precedes lying, if only because lying needs willing ears.⁶⁷ Andrewes notes the very widespread temptation to break this Commandment, which many people privately regard as less serious than the others. Judges, court officials, lawyers, plaintiffs, defendants and witnesses can all be tempted to break it. Many

⁶² MW, p.247ff.

⁶³ MW, p.264ff.

⁶⁴ MW, p.266.

⁶⁵ Andrewes clearly assumes that all likely readers will have Latin.

⁶⁶ MW, p.267.

⁶⁷ MW, p.269.

aspects of life can be reached by “Extension of the Commandment”: flattery, for instance, breaks it.⁶⁸

The last Commandment⁶⁹ is supported by Dt.5.21; Isa.55.7; Jer.18.12. Andrewes distinguishes between “good concupiscence”, e.g. hunger, and “evil concupiscence”, of material things, the lust of flesh against spirit, the harbouring and nursing of evil desires.

These commentaries contain comprehensive and detailed coverage of virtually all possible import of the Ten Commandments in early C17th England. However, there remain the uncertainty and controversy about the eternal validity of their every part. The problem begged by the dichotomy between the ‘moral’ and ‘ceremonial’ aspects of the Commandments was that of deciding which aspects were which. Andrewes illustrates it elsewhere by his rhetorical questions when dealing with the Fourth Commandment: “...Papists, which say, Seeing the fourth Precept is ceremonial, why is not the second also? And of the Anabaptists who reason even so against the third precept touching Oaths, saying, Why should not it be ceremonial as well as that?”⁷⁰ Neither Andrewes nor anyone else answers these questions conclusively.

*A Summary View of the Government both of the Old and New Testament: Whereby the Episcopal Government of Christ's Church is Vindicated*⁷¹

This work is compiled and edited posthumously “out of the rude draughts of Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester”. Only some of its matter is based on the Old Testament, particularly that concerning *secular affairs*. *The*

⁶⁸ One wonders how seriously this comment was taken at Court – even, perhaps, by the good bishop himself!

⁶⁹ MW, p.281ff.

⁷⁰ *Apospasmata*, p.136.

⁷¹ MW, p.339ff.

whole nation (“estate”) had always only one governor, be it Moses, Joshua, Judge or king; even under foreign dominion, it had a ‘Tirshatha’⁷² (“viceroy”). Each tribe had a “prince”, or “phylarcha”⁷³ (נשיא), and each city a ruler. However, there were checks and balances to autocracy, seen in frequent references to rulers’ consulting councils of advisors: seventy elders for the “estate”; ראשי אבות for the tribe; elders for cities.

The judiciary had its own organisation. The “estate” was served by “the seventy” who, according to Gen.46, formed Jacob’s family as it went down to Egypt, though Andrewes’s deduction of their judicial function is unclear to us. He is on rather firmer ground with Exod.24.1,9; “inferior benches” are developed on Jethro’s advice (Exod.18.21,25). The later cities had seven judges, with fourteen Levites assisting them (this according to Josephus).

Andrewes is concerned by the question of rich and poor, in a society whose masses lived at subsistence level, when the tiny minority that really counted in public affairs tended to include members egregiously rich. Andrewes was noted for his own austere lifestyle (though did not inflict it upon guests) and generosity to the poor, both as individuals and via charitable institutions. Yet he is not discomforted by the inequalities of wealth around him – for he knows that such is God’s design: “The poor are always with us” - for they must exist in order to be the object of philanthropy, as urged in his commentary on the fifth Commandment.⁷⁴ Andrewes loses few opportunities to encourage *noblesse oblige* among his exalted congregants. On Dt.15, he emphasises that the ‘poor brother’ is repeatedly called ‘thy poor brother’. “We must think of the poor; and thus

⁷² A Persian word, applied in the Bible to Zerubbabel and Nehemiah (Ezr.2.63; Neh.7.65,70; 8.9; 10.1) AV and RV retain the term, but modern Versions usually prefer ‘governor’.

⁷³ Military officer (II Macc.8.32). The AV takes it as a proper noun – ‘Phylarches’; maybe that is why Andrewes adds an ‘a’. (The Apocrypha was not the work of his committee, after all!)

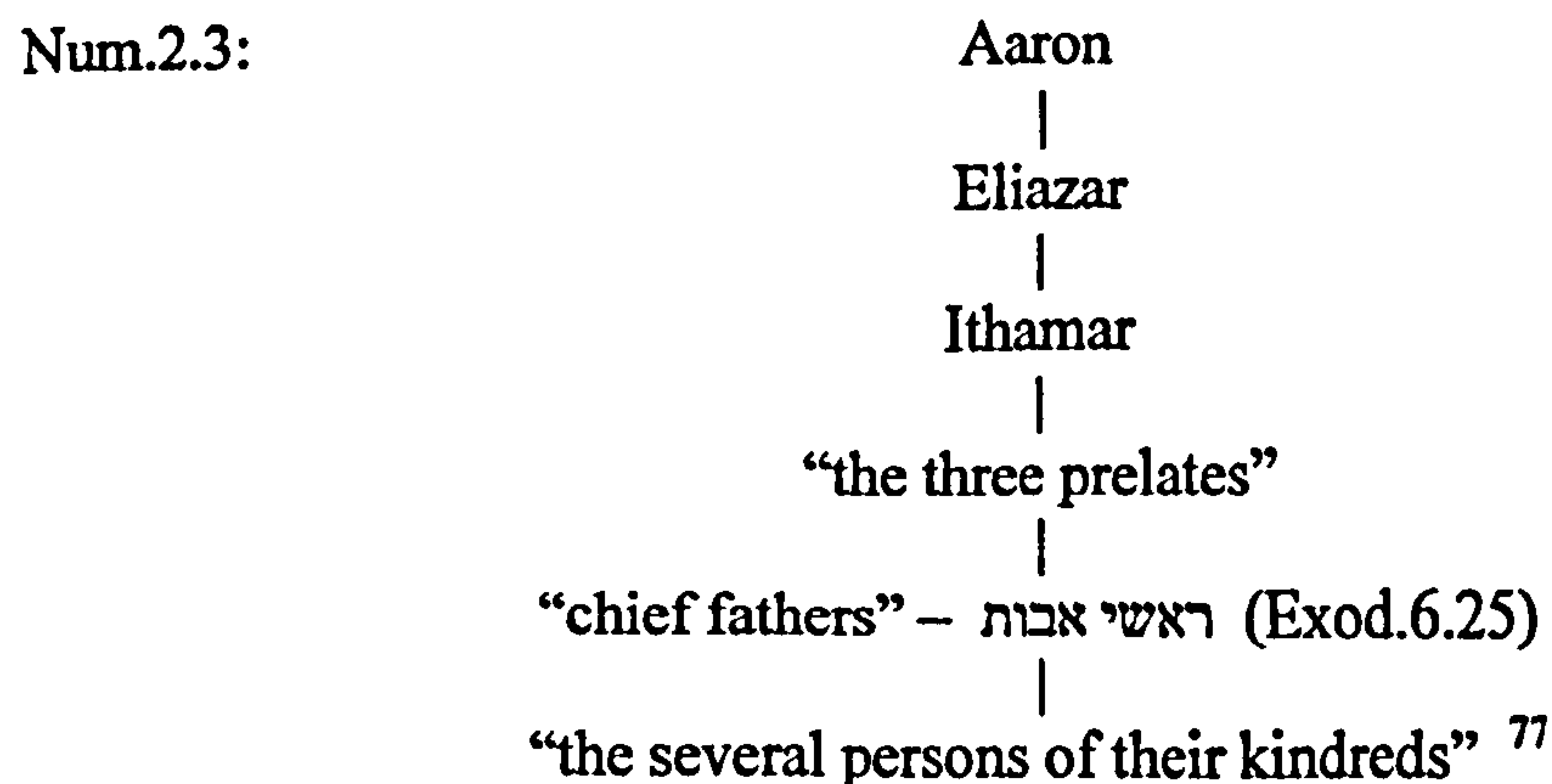
⁷⁴ p.160ff. above.

know, the poor we must always have, and those poor we must relieve, according to their necessities and our abilities.”⁷⁵

Andrewes draws heavily on Old Testament ‘parallels’ with contemporary English society – in contradistinction to the Puritans’ approach, which tends to eschew the Old Testament in this area, though they can use it on occasion. [Milton, for instance, has recourse to it on the matter of divorce, to get round Christ’s apparently specific condemnation in Matthew and Mark, by going back to Dt.24.1-2.]

In dealings with the Puritans, it is church organisation rather than doctrine that dominates the arguments on both sides. The huge stumbling-block is episcopacy, which almost monopolises the debate. “.....in the sphere of doctrine the common ground between the Conformists and the Nonconformists is considerable even as late as the time of Laud;”⁷⁶

In his *Summarie*, Andrewes explicitly uses typology to defend the Anglican hierarchical structure. Under Moses, there was a strict hierarchy of priesthood:

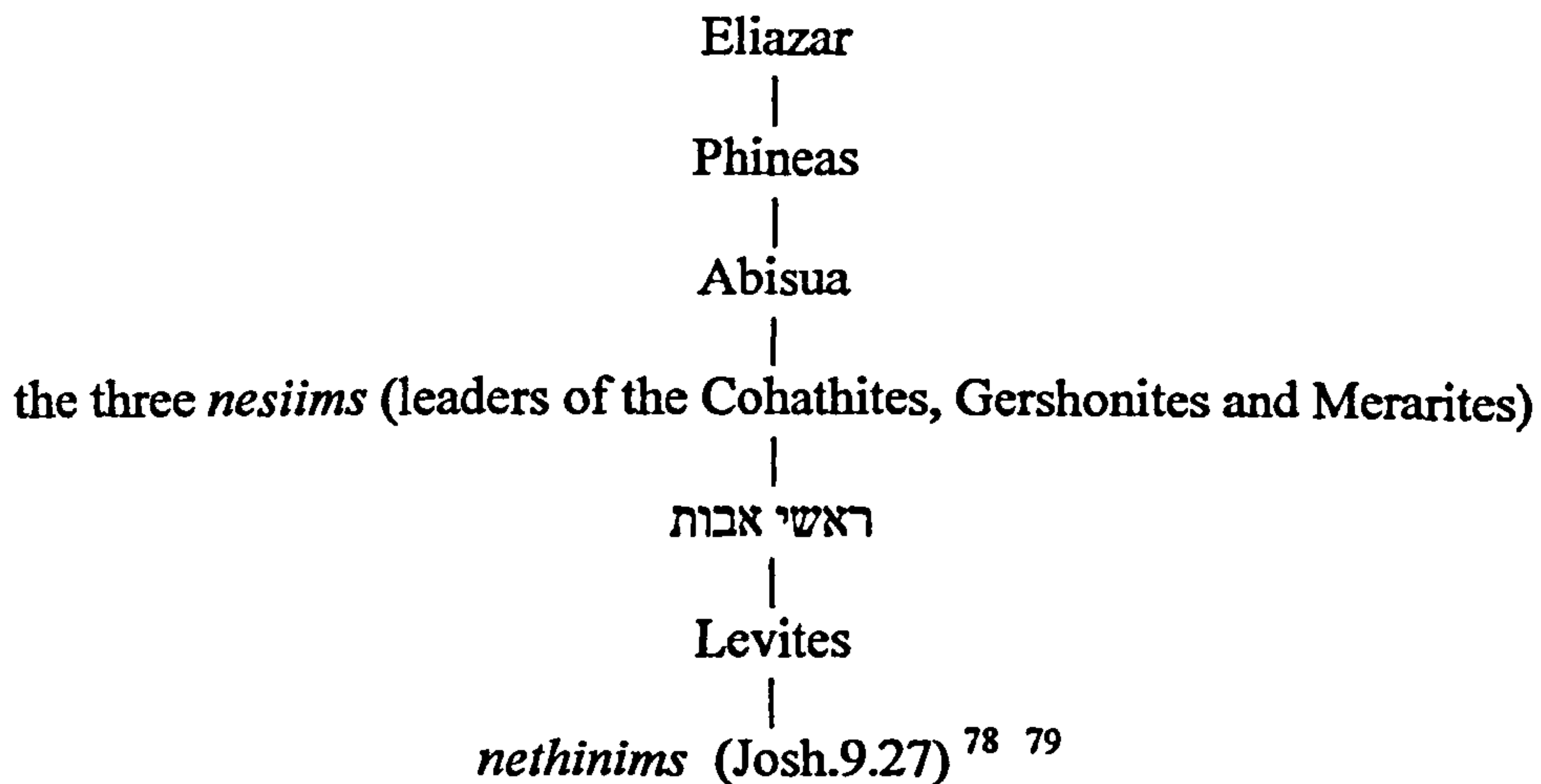


⁷⁵ MW, p.261f.

⁷⁶ Reventlow, op.cit., p.91.

⁷⁷ MW, p.341f.

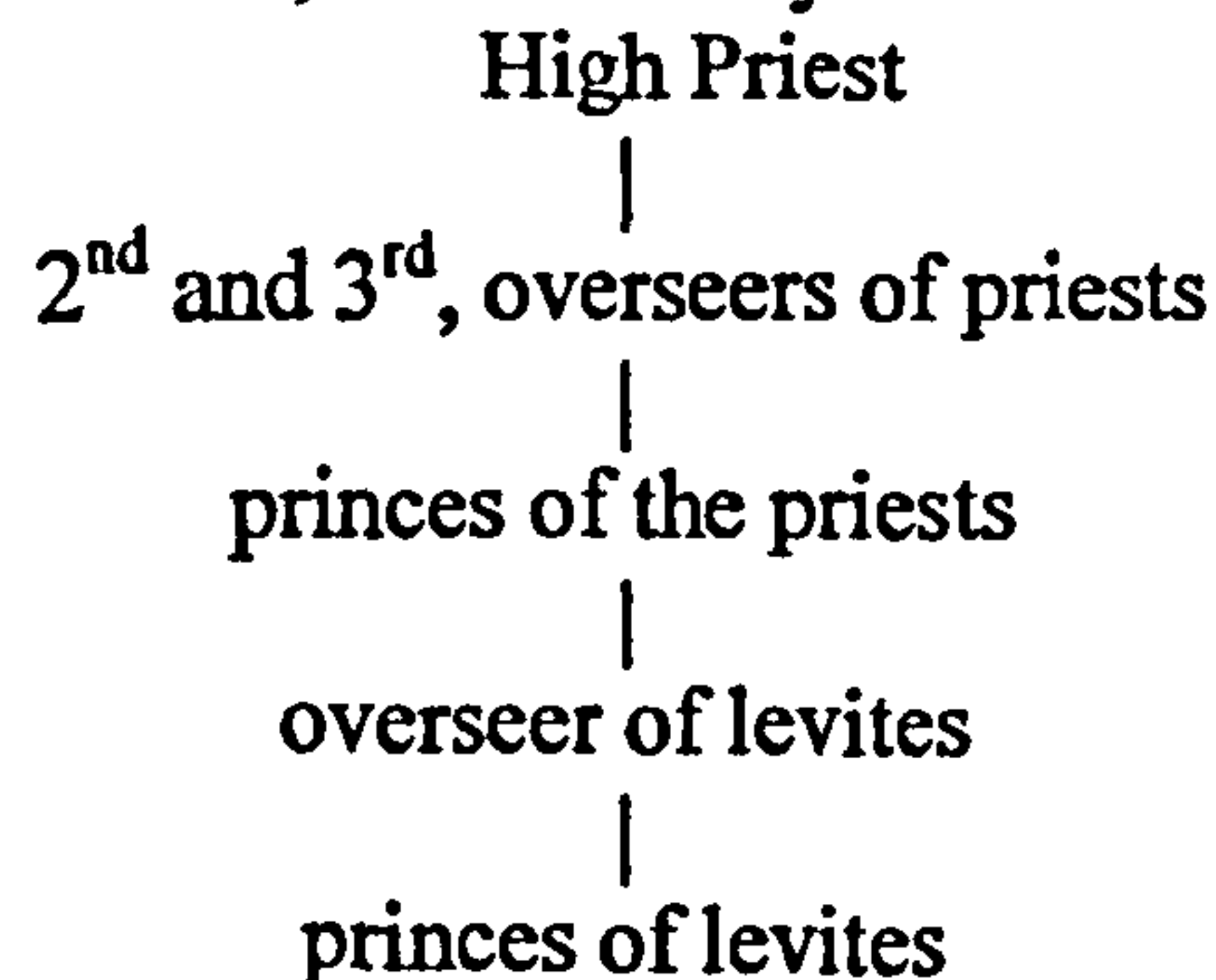
Under Joshua, things had developed. Levites were allotted to forty-eight cities, in their four main ‘families’ of Aaron, Cohath, Gershon and Merari (descendants of sons of Levi). Thus the hierarchy becomes:



Directed by Samuel, David established a new order (I Chron.9.22):

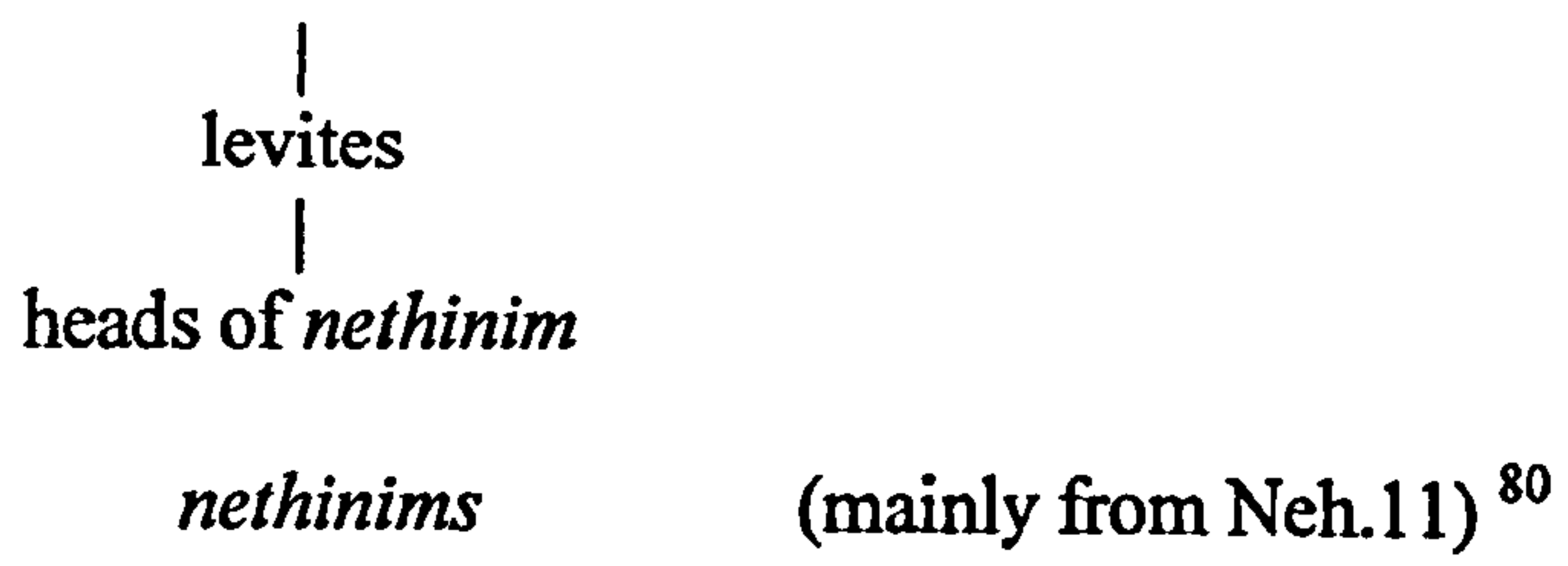
Six orders:	priests כהנים	}	24,000	
	ministers of priests	}		
	judges שפטים	}	6,000	
	officers שטרים	}		
	singers מהללים	}	4,000	
	porters שערים	}	4,000	(I Chron.23.4,5)

Under Nehemiah, after the Exile, the hierarchy is:

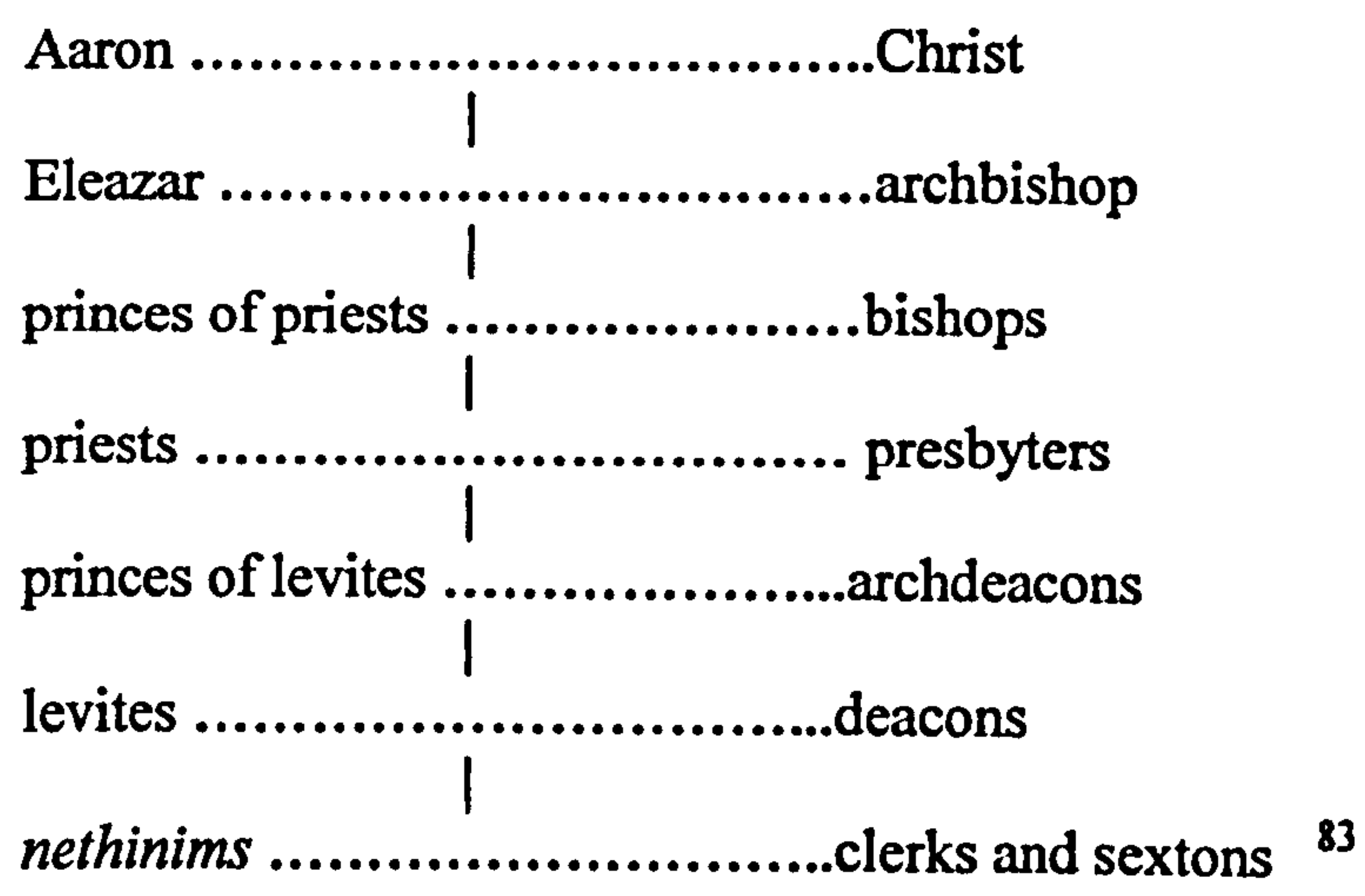


⁷⁸ MW, pp.341,343.

⁷⁹ NB English plural endings added to the Hebrew transliterations.



“It is not only requisite that things be done, and that they be diligently done (against sloth) but that they be done continually, and constantly.”⁸¹ Thus Andrewes moves directly to analogy with the Church’s hierarchy [no New Testament nor Fathers intervening, N.B.] The typological list starts with Aaron, who is generally accepted, Andrewes says, as a type of Christ.⁸² So we have:



There follows an examination of New Testament titles and duties of Church office-holders, an examination which confirms the Old Testament hierarchy (e.g. ἐπίσκοποι are more or less equivalent to פקדים), and thus justifies the Church of England hierarchy from detailed analysis of Biblical texts, not just from Church tradition – not even from the Fathers.

⁸⁰ MW, pp.343-346.

⁸¹ MW, p.348.

⁸² MW, p.342.

⁸³ MW, p.350.

Such an approach is a powerful weapon at Andrewes's disposal in his struggle to defend the Anglican ecclesiology against the Puritans; he is meeting them on their chosen ground: the Bible, and demonstrating that theirs are not the only possible interpretations, nor even (arguably) valid. Andrewes argues his case thus in his *Response to Peter Moulin*⁸⁴ and in his *Response to SMECTYMNUUS*⁸⁵ (1618). Moulin has argued that 'bishops' and 'presbyters' in the New Testament being interchangeable terms, they are not distinct orders; thus episcopacy is not divinely appointed, but an ecclesiastical convenience. Andrewes naturally uses the Fathers as well as the New Testament in his defence, but is happy that Moulin has entered Andrewes's favoured ground of the Old Testament, with a discussion of 'pastor', citing Isa.56.11, Jer.10.21 and Ezek.34.2 to try to show that all priests, Levites, and prophets were the 'pastors', not just the chief among them.⁸⁶ Andrewes enlists Jerome to claim that the apostolic traditions were taken from the Old Testament: "What Aaron, his sons, and Levites were in the Temple, so are bishops, presbyters and deacons in the Church." The priests' families had heads, each a נשיא ("i.e. a Prelate") or a פקיד ("i.e. a Bishop") (Num.3.24, 30, 35).⁸⁷ Eleazar was even נשיא נשיאים ("Prelate of Prelates") (Num.3.32).

Against SMECTYMNUUS, Andrewes argues that Paul's 'pastor' is a bishop. "....the *Syriack* Interpreter himself reteins [sic] the *Greek* word אפיסקופא

⁸⁴ A French Protestant, who questioned the Anglican hierarchy.

⁸⁵ Published in 1641 by Thos. Underhill, London. SMECTYMNUUS is an anagram of the initials of the group of Puritan clergymen who wrote this attack upon Anglican hierarchy, in response to J. Hall's *Remonstrance* defending episcopacy. They were: Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen and William Spurstow.

⁸⁶ *Response*, p.41.

⁸⁷ *Response*, p.53f.

when the *Syriack wants* not a word of her own, by which to express *such as have the cure of.*"⁸⁸

Use of the Bible

In the works considered in this chapter, Andrewes quotes the Old and New Testaments about equally.⁸⁹ Occasional quotes are from the Apocrypha, including Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, I and II Maccabees; some 34 altogether. Direct quotations are legion, but to a remarkable extent Andrewes's language generally bears the Biblical imprint. "It is sometimes impossible to disentangle his individual composition from biblical and other citation."⁹⁰ Not all is taken literally: metaphor and figure of speech are accepted by Andrewes, as he shows in commenting on Jg.9.8: "*vox ficta* 'a figurative speech', as Christ often used the like."⁹¹ Nevertheless, Scripture remains utterly sufficient in matters of essential Christian faith, and as it is written – even when it seems to contradict experience.⁹² Two good examples are how he explains apparent breaches of the Ninth Commandment: (a) the midwives in Exod.1.19 being 'economical with the truth' rather than positively lying; (b) Rahab (Josh.2.4,5) – guilty merely of "*occultatio veritatis* 'hiding of the truth'"⁹³ And it is all right to break a vow if it should never have been made; David broke his vow to kill Nabal (I Sam.25.22)⁹⁴ However, Scripture does not always suffice, for there are many questions to which its answers are ambiguous, vague or non-existent. For this very sensible reason, Andrewes and his school, with Hooker, cannot accept the *sola scriptura* principle

⁸⁸ *Response*, p.59.

⁸⁹ See LACT Index, Vol.XX.

⁹⁰ Partridge & Potter, *op.cit.*, p.150.

⁹¹ MW, p.280.

⁹² e.g. his treatment of the promise of long life in Commandment IV.

⁹³ MW, p.280.

⁹⁴ MW, p.105.[The only OT instance given among several Scriptural ones.]

of the extreme Protestant. They must needs attend to the Fathers and the Church traditions which accord with Scripture and the Councils. "In giving life and shape to the Elizabethan *Via Media*, Hooker and Andrewes had found in the history of the early Church a valuable touchstone in matters to which neither Scripture nor human reason gave a clear reply."⁹⁵

LAUD

*A Summarie of Devotions*⁹⁶

A sermon on Ps.72.1⁹⁷ is mainly about David praying for himself and his son Solomon. Solomon too was a great pray-er.⁹⁸ The advice to the monarch and his heir is clear. Like Andrewes, Laud was convinced of the power of prayer, and, like his master, devoted much time – and, indeed, energy – to its practice. Ps.122.7 moves him to insist upon prayer as the first act of any Council, Parliament or other solemn body, just as it had been the first act of pilgrims upon reaching Jerusalem.⁹⁹

His "Summarie of Devotions", published in 1667, is based on the mediaeval Hours, with much borrowing from the Book of Common Prayer. An "Officium Quotidianum" precedes each day's prayers.¹⁰⁰ This consists of a greatly amplified version of the General Confession at Morning and Evening Prayers in the BCP., followed by prayers for: the Church; the sovereign and

⁹⁵ Higham, op.cit., p.329.

⁹⁶ LACT III, pp.5-85.

⁹⁷ LACT I, pp.185-212.

⁹⁸ LACT I, p.205.

⁹⁹ LACT I, p.9.

¹⁰⁰ LACT III, pp.5-43.

nation; places and persons connected with him [Laud]; his servants; the sick (including specific personal intercessions); his enemies¹⁰¹; then, in Latin, a prayer in expectation of the Second Coming, and a prayer for his own death to be in all ways a Christian one. The 'Officium' ends with the Lord's Prayer.

Each day there are seven 'Hours', beginning with verses from the Psalms, together with a few from other Books, paraphrased into prayer-form in the First Person. It is striking that the overwhelming majority of the verses is from the Psalms (165 out of 191 – 86%). This fits well with reliance upon the Old Testament both for its perceived typology of the Christian gospel and for its detailed guidance on the affairs of men. There follow prayers based mainly on quotations from the Psalms, or paraphrases thereof.

After the 'Hours' comes a long section of "Prayers for Particular Purposes"¹⁰², to be used at the suppliant's discretion according to his present circumstances. Again, these are mainly paraphrased verses of the Psalter (118 altogether), plus seven verses from other Old Testament Books, six from the New Testament, and two from the Apocrypha.

Church and politics; statement of 1641

Most of Laud's voluminous output of correspondence, edicts, notes and apologia is concerned with administrative matters; it contains little theology and less of the Old Testament. One passage deserves notice, however. The most telling statement of Laud's belief in Old Testament guidance stems from his imprisonment in the Tower, when he learnt of the ejection of the bishops from the

¹⁰¹ ...who were many and bitter; an interesting and attractive item, this.

¹⁰² LACT III, pp.44-85.

Lords in 1641. In defending the bishops' right and duty to be politically active, he surveys the Old Testament record.¹⁰³

"It will appear, for the two thousand years before the Law, and for two thousand years more under the Law of Moses, that the priests, especially the high and chief priests, did meddle¹⁰⁴ in all the great and temporal affairs which fell out in their times." He claims that before the Law, the firstborn were priests (following Thomas Aquinas here), who were unlikely to leave mundane matters "in the hands of younger and weaker men". Noah sacrificed (Gen.8.20) yet engaged in practical and temporal action; Abraham was a priest, who administered the sacrament of circumcision (Gen.17.23), yet directed his extensive following, even in war; Melchizedek was both priest and king (Gen.14.18)

Moses was *sacerdos sacerdotum*, since he it was who consecrated Aaron (Exod.40.13; Lev.8.1) and is coupled with Aaron as a priest in Ps.99.6. "Yet the whole princely jurisdiction resided in him all his days." Aaron himself had political power, e.g. in numbering the people for war (Num.1.3,17,44) and in directing other temporal activities (Num.2.1,2). The 'two trumpets' [echoes of Andrewes's seminal sermon here] were Moses's, but the sons of Aaron were to sound them at his command (Num.10.8,9,11). The people, upset by the spies' report on the Promised Land, murmured against both Aaron and Moses (Num.14.2,5).

Eleazar the priest, not Joshua, sorted the allotment of land after the Conquest (Num.32.2,28; 34.17), even after Moses's death, when Joshua was the undisputed leader (Josh.19.51). "All these great particulars in Aaron's lifetime; as

¹⁰³ LACT VI, p.150ff.

¹⁰⁴ The verb did not then carry its modern pejorative sense.

if God would give a pattern in the first high priest under the Law, what his successors in some cases might, and in some must do in great and civil affairs.”

Eleazar sat in judgement with Moses and other leading men (Num.26.1,3):

“Eleazar had a vote in that judicature with Moses and the princes. (Josh.17.4)

[Laud thus neatly justifies his own very active membership of the Privy Council,

Star Chamber and Court of High Commission, as well as his promotion of, e.g.

Bishop Juxon of London to high Government office.¹⁰⁵] Joshua, the temporal

leader, was commanded of God to seek Eleazar’s counsel.

Laud infers priestly participation in secular justice from Deut.17.8,9,12.

The Law, after all, had been delivered by Moses to the priests, the sons of Levi

(Deut.31.9). Eli “judged over Israel” for forty years, Samuel likewise after him.

For five hundred years after the Exile the priesthood “had the greatest stroke in

the government”. He infers from II Sam.15.27,32,35 that “Zadoc and Abiathar

were formerly trusted with David’s counsels”. Jehoshaphat restored priests to the

judicature (according to the law of Deut.17.8,9), while Jehoiadah protected Joash

and installed him with force of arms. “In all the conduct of this people out of

Egypt, in which many temporal businesses did occur, Aaron was joined with

Moses in and through all. ‘Thou leddest thy people like sheep’, saith the prophet,

Psal.lxxvii, ‘by’ or ‘in the hand of Moses and Aaron’.”

Laud finishes this section of his defence with a verbal nod to the hallowed

memory of his master, Andrewes, by quoting him: “Jeroboam’s sin it was, and a

great one, to make the lowest of the people priests (I Kings xiii.13) and I pray God

it be not the sin of this age to make the priests the lowest of the people”.

¹⁰⁵ As Lord Treasurer.

He then expresses the suspicion he entertains that some at least of the Puritans would deny that the Old Testament could be a model for contemporary affairs, enlisting several Fathers in support. "For aught I know of this Lord's¹⁰⁶ religion, he may brand all the Old Testament as deeply as the Manichees did of old, or go very near it, if it can give no rule, or so be of no use to Christians. Saint Augustine was of another mind...." Clement and Jerome are cited as maintaining the parallel between the Christian hierarchy and the Old Testament one. So other practices are justified by the Old Testament, such as tithing, the financial support of the clergy, the monarch as Supreme Governor of the Church of England – and the evil of short hair! [a dart in the direction of the 'Roundheads'] He ends with a discussion of whether the Law is abrogated by the Gospel: no – it is fulfilled, but remains useful as giving rules for nations and individuals.

Surely, Laud's own testimony here is more revelatory of his and the Carolines' attitude to and use of the Old Testament than any secondary comment can be.....

COSIN

A Collection of Private Devotions

Unquestionably Cosin's best-loved and longest-lasting work, this collection of private prayers – unlike Andrewes's and Laud's – was intended for publication, being produced at the King's request for the use of the Protestant ladies in the Queen's entourage. (The Roman Catholics already used breviaries.)

¹⁰⁶ Viscount Say and Seal, a leading Parliamentary Puritan, who successfully proposed its ejection of the bishops in 1641.

Undoubtedly this was a measure designed to counter the Romanism centred upon the Court.¹⁰⁷ Cosin threw himself into the project with verve; it almost looks as if he is trying to outdo the papists by offering a routine based on monastic use, albeit a routine which would have been difficult for any normal layperson to follow fully. The *Devotions* are arranged in 'Hours' (unlike Andrewes's, who arranged his in days of the week).¹⁰⁸ In this, Cosin's work resembles Laud's *Devotions*, and it may well be that they were aware of each other's work. They both used much material from the Book of Common Prayer, especially from Morning and Evening Prayer, and were reviving a tradition of 'primers' popular among the laity in late mediaeval times and well into the Sixteenth Century.¹⁰⁹ Cosin's was the first such for more than fifty years.

There are eight 'Hours' during the day, each preceded by a note indicating its traditional use, backed up by quotations from several Fathers. Matins is BCP, much expanded; Evensong/Vespers, BCP abbreviated. The other 'Hours' are also brief, yet each includes a hymn, several Psalms, a short Lesson and a couple of prayers. Appendices follow: the Seven Penitential Psalms, Litany, Collects for the whole year, prayers before and after Communion, forms of confession, prayers for the King and Queen, for Ember Weeks, for the sick and dying, with special Sunday prayers and thanksgivings.¹¹⁰

The *Devotions* read very differently from Andrewes's *Preces*. They lack the passion – which can not be said of Laud's *Summarie*. There is nothing like the penitential note, nor any evidence of Cosin's own personal use of these

¹⁰⁷ Trevor-Roper, H., op.cit., p.309

¹⁰⁸ Though copies of Andrewes's *Preces* were possessed by friends of his before his death, it is doubtful whether Cosin would have been among them, so would be unlikely to have seen the *Preces* before producing his own work.

¹⁰⁹ See Hoffman, J.G.: *John Cosin 1595-1672, Bishop of Durham and Champion of the Caroline Church* (UMI Dissertation Services, 1997), p.40f. for a survey of these 'primers'.

¹¹⁰ See O'Connor, D., in Johnson (ed.), op.cit., p.196f.

devotions. One gets the impression of the earnest young scholar saying, “This is a Good Thing to do, ladies,” – rather different from the reports of Andrewes’s staining his pages with his tears.

The Appendices include a number of prayers for the King, which abound in Old Testament allusion, e.g.. (Prayer V) “...that he, being strengthened with the faith of *Abraham*, endued with the mildness [sic] of *Moses*, armed with the magnanimity of *Joshua*, exalted with the humility of *David*, beautified with the wisdom of *Salomon*, replenished with the goodness and holinesse of them al.....”;¹¹¹ Similarly, in Prayer I for the Queen, we have, “.....may be holy and devout as *Hester*, loving to the King as *Rachel*, fruitfull as *Leah*, wise as *Rebecca*, faithfull and obedient as *Sarah*.....”¹¹²

These prayers are based on the Coronation Service of Charles I, supervised by Cosin, including, “[God]...who didst call thy faithful servant Abraham to triumph over his enemies, didst give many victories to Moses and Joshua the governors of thy people; didst exalt thy lowly servant David unto the height of a Kingdome, didst enrich Solomon with the unspeakable gift of wisdom and peace” and continues, “.....we consecrate our King, that he being strengthened with the faith of Abraham, endued with the mildness of Moses, armed with the fortitude of Joshua, exalted with the humility of David, beautiful with the wisdom of Solomon....”

The Puritans launched an immediate onslaught on the *Devotions*, not unexpectedly in view of their highly liturgical and ‘Catholic’ character, and the controversy eventually led to his being the first Laudian victim of the Long

¹¹¹ Stanwood, P.G. & O’Connor, D.: John Cosin: a Collection of Private Devotions (Oxford, 1967), p.248f.

¹¹² Ibid., p.249.

Parliament (having been severely censured for this work by the short-lived Parliaments of 1628 and 1629).

Others have taken a more positive view. Laud's devoted disciple and fervent 'Anglican', Peter Heylyn, called the *Devotions* a "Jewel of great Price and Value". A later writer¹¹³: "Next to the various versions of the Prayer Book itself.....the most important Anglican liturgical compilation since the Reformation." Another maintains that "Cosin's book remains pre-eminent as the classical Anglican version of the canonical hours."¹¹⁴

The Apocrypha

Cosin was particularly concerned about the Apocryphal Books. This came about during his "retirement" in Paris. The Carolines at Court in exile were much occupied in preventing conversions to Roman Catholicism among the royal entourages and other exiles. A defence of the non-Roman Canon of Scripture was part of that effort, and to this end Cosin wrote his longest single work, *A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Scriptures*, in 1657.¹¹⁵ He concedes happily that the Apocrypha is edifying in itself, and helps us to understand the Old Testament; it may be preached upon, and bound with the two Testaments in Bibles – but it is not "simply Divine Scripture" as the Testaments are.

He starts with "The Testimony of the Ancient Judaical Church", and an ingenious theory. Aware of the threefold division of the Hebrew Bible, he lists twenty-two Books.¹¹⁶ This total is highly significant, for it is also the number of

¹¹³ H.B.Porter, in 'Cosin's Hours of Prayer' in *Theology*, Feb.1953; quoted by O'Connor in Johnson (ed.) op.cit., p.194., where is also the Heylyn quotation.

¹¹⁴ Hoffman, J.G., op.cit., p.44.

¹¹⁵ It occupies the whole of Vol.III in the LACT edition of Cosin's *Works*.

¹¹⁶ Counting as one Book in each case: I & II Sam; I & II Kg; 12 Minor Prophets, minus Daniel; Ezra & Nehemiah; I & II Chron.

letters in the Hebrew alphabet, “...fully comprehending all that was then needful to be known and believed, as the number of their letters did all that was requisite to be said or written.....the number of them was never augmented during the time of the Old Testament”. After the Exile, Ezra revised all the Books and put them in order. Since that time there were no more prophets until John the Baptist.¹¹⁷ He cites Josephus in support, on the authority of Eusebius.¹¹⁸

If the Jews had had their own way, they would “rather have rejected Esay and Daniel, than Tobit and Judith. In one Psalm of David, in one chapter of Esay, there is more said concerning our Saviour against the Jews, than in all these controverted books put together; and it cannot be well imagined, that they would reject these books *which did them no hurt*, and retain those which made most against them, but that the one was true Scripture which they durst not reject, and the other was none, which they had never received”. Another ‘Jewish’ argument is that unlike the Old Testament, the Apocryphal Books were originally written in Greek, for the benefit of non-Palestinian Jews – who never read them in their synagogues.¹¹⁹

Cosin rather deftly meets Cardinal Perron’s assertion that Job was not in the ancient Hebrew Canon, since Josephus never mentions the book: Josephus was writing the history of his own people – and Job was “of another country”!¹²⁰

Our Lord confirmed the arrangement of the Hebrew Bible (Lk.24.27,44,45)¹²¹ and there are similar references in New Testament writers. Three hundred passages of the Old Testament are cited in the New – but not a

¹¹⁷ LACT III, p.13.

¹¹⁸ LACT III, p.16.

¹¹⁹ LACT III, p.18.

¹²⁰ LACT III, p.19.

¹²¹ Understanding ‘Psalms’ as approximating to ‘writings’.

single one from the Apocrypha.¹²² Thus, St.Paul (Rom.11.34) is not citing Wisdom 9.13, but Isa.40.13. Similarly, Heb.1.3 is not from Wisd.7.6, but repeating many such phrases in the Old Testament.¹²³ Wisdom was probably not even written before Paul's time: Cosin attributes its authorship to Philo.¹²⁴ Heb.11.5 is not Wisdom: in Genesis "and in the translation of the Septuagint, which St.Paul followed, the words are alike".¹²⁵

References to other Books apparently quoted or echoed in the New Testament are 'shown' to be in fact to the Old Testament.¹²⁶

At this point, it may be salutary to record Westcott's comment in the Preface to his *The Bible in the Church*, "The *Scholastical History* of Bishop Cosin is essentially polemical and not historical, and must be read with the greatest caution."¹²⁷

Cosin seems somewhat 'Apocrypha-friendly' at the Savoy Conference, when he scores a debating point against one of the Nonconformists' objections: "....they would have no Apocryphal chapter read in church, but upon such a reason as would exclude all sermons as well as Apocrypha; viz. because the Holy Scriptures contain in them all things necessary, either in doctrine to be believed or in duty to be practised. If so, why so many unnecessary sermons? Why any more but reading of the Scriptures? If notwithstanding their sufficiency sermons to be necessary, there is no reason why these Apocryphal chapters should not be as useful, most of them containing excellent discourses and rules of morality." Then

¹²² LACT III, p.22.

¹²³ LACT III, p.24. (he lists eight examples)

¹²⁴ LACT III, p.25.

¹²⁵ LACT III, p.26.

¹²⁶ I Pet.1.24 and Jas.1.10 – not Ecclus., but Isa.40.6,7; I Cor.10.10 and Jas. 2.23 – not from Jud.8.25,22, but Num.14 & 16, and Gen.15 & 16 respectively (confirmed in II Chron.20.7 and Isa.41.8; II Macc. is dismissed as a source for Jn.10.22 and Heb.11.35,37.

¹²⁷ Quoted in Osmond, op.cit., p.143, and see introduction to this section, p.181 *supra*.

the sting in the tail “It is heartily to be wished that sermons were as good.....” [!]

Liturgy

It was as the foremost liturgist of the Stuart Church of England that Cosin was and is most celebrated, as the author of the *Collection of Private Devotions* and the chief architect of the 1662 BCP. This special interest and ability of his was early recognised; thus his appointment as Master of Ceremonies at Charles I’s coronation.¹²⁸

The Book of Common Prayer

For more than thirty years, Cosin concerned himself with his Church’s Prayer Book, wishing for what he considered amelioration of a too Protestant Book, not satisfying those of his temper, whilst giving encouragement to those at the other end of the ecclesiastical spectrum to pursue all manner of dubious practices.

Cosin saw and taught the correspondence of the BCP with important features of primitive liturgies.¹²⁹ Again and again, Cosin notes instances of this, e.g. that a “Rab.Maur” in his *de Inst.Cler.*, declared that “This hour of prayer [morning] is universally observed by the Church of Christ.”¹³⁰ Germane to this study, however, is that the Laudians’ defence of a common liturgy is based, *inter alia*, on the practice of the Jerusalem Temple, which included the Psalms (I.Chron.16.4,7; Ezra 3.11, “and in many places of the Old Testament besides”).

¹²⁸ And, as Bishop of Durham, he attended Charles’s son at his, three and a half decades later.

¹²⁹ McAdoo, op.cit., p.327.

¹³⁰ LACT II, p.150.

Our Lord was content to approve of this by his attendance, as did the Apostles, “and yet none of them all thought their spirits quenched or stunted by it.”¹³¹ The reading of the Scriptures during services follows the custom of reading the Law in public (Neh.8.3; 9.3) The position of the reader is important; in the synagogue, the Scriptures were read by the “priest”, “with his face turned to the people as they sat” (he cites our Lord’s practice in Lk.4.16). “But the prayers were read by him whom they called the apparitor of the synagogue, (correspondent to the deacon or minister in the Christian Church,) with his back to the people, and his face to the ark, representing the majesty and presence of God. Maimonides of *Prayer.cap.8.n.11.*” Cosin has studied Jewish exegesis, for he goes on to say that “In the Misna [sic] he is called, ‘He that cometh down before the ark.’” The Church of England, therefore, follows this extremely ancient and hallowed set of liturgical customs; as did the primitive Church.

In this study, the BCP plays little part, for although Cosin was prominent in its revision, the Old Testament figures hardly at all in his considerations and proposals. He was, after all, primarily a liturgist, rather than a Biblical scholar (though quite competent in that field).

A few of his notes use the Old Testament. Marriage is ordained of God from the very beginning of the human story (Gen.2.24).¹³² “The ceremony is taken from the blessing that God gave Adam and Eve in Paradise.”¹³³ At funerals, he approves the custom of providing refreshments, including wine, for the mourners, on the basis of Jer.16.7. Prov.31.6 commends the practice: “Give wine unto them that have grief of heart”.¹³⁴ On the controversial point of Eucharistic

¹³¹ LACT V, pp.405, 446.

¹³² LACT I, p.48.

¹³³ LACT V, p.160.

¹³⁴ LACT V, p.171.

sacrifice, the essence is the offering, not the killing. In the Old Testament only the priest may offer (though a Levite might do the killing). Thus the Christian bloodless sacrifice must be offered by a priest.¹³⁵ On the business of the offertory of money during a service – still a matter of some dispute a century after its innovation - Cosin offers ten verses of Scripture to support the practice, of which verses eight are from the Old Testament (Gen.3.4; Exod.25.2; Deut.16.16; I Chron.19.14,17; Neh.10.30; Ps.96.7,8.)¹³⁶ The wearing of vestments is also hallowed; Cosin states the Puritan objection, namely that vestments are both Romish (enough on its own to condemn them in their eyes) and Jewish – which latter have been superseded in the New Dispensation. Cosin points out that Jesus came not to destroy the Law, and that some features of pre-Christian Judaism were retained, some discarded, by the Apostles. He concludes that they did not discard¹³⁷ vestments.....¹³⁸

Psalmody and hymnody

Cosin was keen on singing in church. He was explicitly mindful of the angels' example in Isa.6.3.¹³⁹ Most contemporaries would have agreed on psalm-singing, but Cosin also advocated hymns. He claims that they were sung in ancient times, and that there is evidence for it throughout the Old Testament. "And this custom of singing hymns with instruments of music is as ancient as Moses, when he came out of Egypt with the Israelites, and was so practised till David's time, by whom they were much augmented. And after him they

¹³⁵ LACT V, p.115.

¹³⁶ LACT V, p.96f.

¹³⁷ No joke intended!

¹³⁸ LACT V, p.42.

¹³⁹ LACT V, p.54.

continued among the kings and prophets till the coming of Christ.....”¹⁴⁰ The Caroline Cosin instinctively sees Old Testament practice as applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Church of his own day, and in some detail. His was not a lone voice: even non-Carolines agreed with him in this matter. Baxter, for instance, supported church music, as divinely “set up long after *Moses’s* Ceremonial Law, by *David, Solomon, etc.*”¹⁴¹

Oddly enough, he did not feel that Psalms should be included in the Holy Communion service, despite the ancient practice of singing one as the Gradual. “Cosin declared that the Church of England had omitted Graduals as ‘neither needful nor of ancient use’; coming from so great a liturgist a strange remark.”¹⁴²

We may not leave the subject of liturgy without noting some of Cosin’s notes on the nature and duties of the priesthood. Priests are “*angeli Domini*” (Mal.2.7) who have “the angels’ office”, not only to descend and teach but also to ascend and intercede. All Christians should pray three times a day, (Ps.55.17), but clergy seven times (Ps.119.164). This is why the Temple courses were established, so that prayer could be continuous: ‘David’ refers to “night watches” (ps.119.148, 62) and Christ to the second and third watches (Lk.12.38)¹⁴³ This means that the Daily Office is more important to the priest than preparing and delivering sermons. The priest must chiefly pray for his people, as did Abraham for Abimelech (Gen.20.7), Job for his ‘comforters’ (Job 42.8), and priests making atonement for the people (Lev.5.18). Cosin adds to this last, “not so much to teach and preach to the people, (as men nowadays think all the office lays in

¹⁴⁰ LACT V, p.60.

¹⁴¹ Baxter, *Vindication of C of E*, p.21.

¹⁴² Addleshaw, op.cit., p.51.

¹⁴³ LACT V, p.11.

doing that,) but ‘to offer sacrifice and incense to the Lord,’ which was but a figure of that which the ministers of Christ were to do in the Gospel.”¹⁴⁴

EPILOGUE

The epilogue to this chapter may be left mainly to a distinguished Old Testament scholar, Brevard S. Childs:

“Can we interpret the Bible with the same theological seriousness in our post-modern era as our precursors did in theirs? Then if we have the required skills and empathy, the great Christian exegetes of the past can serve as invaluable guides to the future in countless ways.

“First, they have an unswerving concern to direct their interpretation to the subject-matter of Scripture, which afforded them a sense of the whole. There is little patience among the Fathers with the *sensus trivialis* because they come to the Biblical text to hear the voice of God.

“Secondly, the Church’s earlier interpreters had the ability to make crucial theological distinctions within the larger context of Scripture as a ‘rule of faith’, and they struggled to do justice to the ultimate theological coherence of the Scriptures rather than assuming irreconcilable diversity.

“Finally, these scholars of the Church directed their exegesis to a congregation of believers who were assembled in anticipation of a fresh word from God. This accounts for their concern that the Bible be not a word simply

¹⁴⁴ LACT V, p.10f.

from the past, but one that reflects the living voice of God working through the Spirit, and thus speaking existentially to the present condition of need.”¹⁴⁵

Finally, an Anglican would draw attention to his Book of Common Prayer, as stout witness to the dependence on the Old Testament of all his liturgical forms. Time and again, one or other of its orders of service contains what amounts to a concatenation of Old Testament allusions or quotations¹⁴⁶, whilst its Lectionary originally provided for the Old Testament to be read in its entirety every year. Although pre-dating Andrewes, Laud and Cosin in its inception, the Prayer Book’s final form¹⁴⁷, assumed in 1662, was almost entirely the product of their school, continuing and reinforcing that aforesaid dependence in a manner unsurprising to one acquainted with those of their works examined in this study.

¹⁴⁵ In Braaten & Jensen [eds]: Reclaiming the Bible for the Church (T. & T.Clark, 1996)

¹⁴⁶ E.g. the dialogue of suffrages at Morning and Evening Prayer, taken from Pss.85.7; 20.9; 132.9; 28.9; 51.10,11. See Proctor,F. and Frere,W.H.: The Book of Common Prayer (Macmillan, 3rd.dition, 1958), p.395.

¹⁴⁷ Officially, that is.....

