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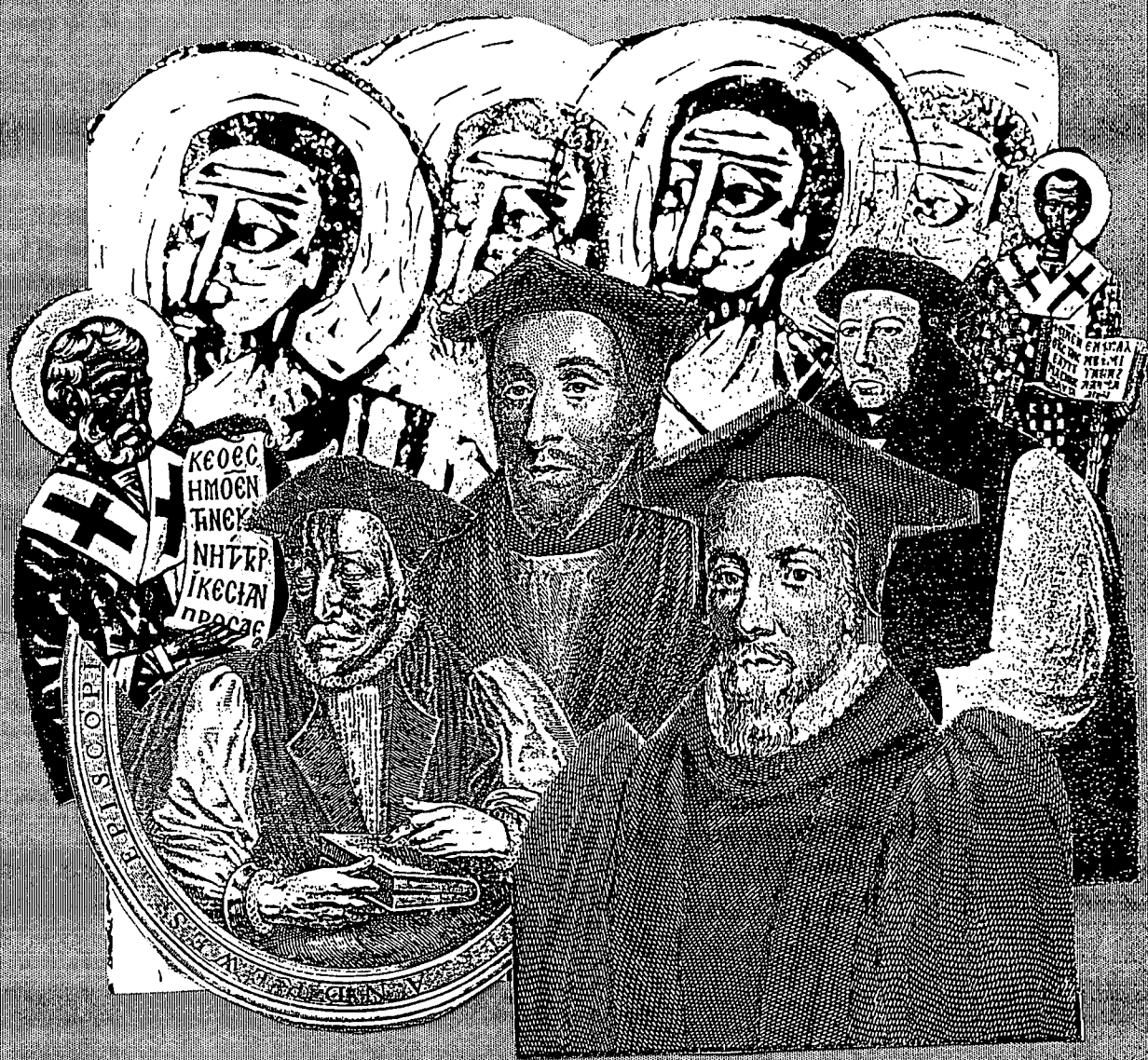
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THE STUDY OF THE FATHERS IN THE ANGLICAN TRADITION 16TH-19TH CENTURIES



ARTHUR MIDDLETON

**The Study of the Fathers
in
The Anglican Tradition
16th-19th Centuries**

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By
The Revd. Thomas Arthur Middleton
Rector of Boldon

1995
M.Litt., Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of Arts



1 MAY 1996

University of Durham
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**The Study of the Fathers
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The Study of the Fathers in the Anglican Tradition

16th - 19th Centuries

by

Arthur Middleton

Abstract

The Anglican study of the Fathers was primarily in relation to controversies that Anglicanism had to face in the aftermath of the Reformation and the struggle for Anglican identity, rather than for their own sake. Throughout these controversies it is the Fathers who speak, not only in the defence of Anglicanism, but in defence of themselves and an improper *use* of their writings. In this sense there is a kinship with the Fathers and the search for Anglican identity, in that, it was the controversies of their own times that gave birth to their writings

The thesis divides into three parts. The first part, *The Fathers in the English Reformation*, examines the way in which the Reformers used the Fathers chiefly as a means of proving what had and what had not been primitive doctrine and practice and as a valuable authority secondary to the Bible. They used the Fathers in two ways, negatively, to prove the absence of Roman doctrines, and positively, to promote a right interpretation of Scripture and demonstrate a Scriptural way of life for the Church. This is demonstrated in relation to two Reformers, Thomas Cranmer and John Jewel, and then in relation to Anglican foundation documents.

The second part, *Fathers and Carolines*, demonstrates how the Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, building on the scriptural and patristic foundation laid by the Reformers, go farther and use the thought and piety of the Fathers within the structure of their own theological vision. Their theology finds its centre in the Incarnation, a kinship shared with the Nicene Fathers, and characterised by a vision of the Church that embraces East and West, a consequence of their immersion in Greek and Latin divinity. Again it is a theological vision that is wrought in controversy, in relation to Puritanism and Calvinism on the one side, and Roman Catholicism on the other.

Part Three, *Objections and Responses*, examines the Anglican response to objections brought against the Fathers. The first series are *Direct Objections*, and came from such people as John Daillé, the controversy surrounding the authenticity of the *Ignatian Epistles*, and John Barbeyrac. These were attempts to discredit the reputation and authority of the Fathers as having any relevance for the contemporary Church. A second series, *Indirect Objections*, came in the form of a new Arianism, its associations with Socinianism and its English expression in Unitarianism. It attacked the catholic doctrines of *Incarnation and Trinity*, some of its advocates using the Fathers to justify their attacks upon orthodoxy. An Appendix has been added to include *The Tew Circle*, a group of individuals, who were not so much directly attacking the Fathers, but questioning the appeal to antiquity in their search for a simplification of theological method.

The presence and voice of the Fathers at the heart of Anglicanism gives to the Church of England what Dr. Jebb, the Bishop of Limerick described as *The Peculiar Character of the Church of England*. The Oxford Movement has been omitted, since this would need a thesis in itself. Certain nineteenth century theologians equally concerned with the renewal of patristic study, are considered. The names of such people include Henry Cary, John Collinson, J.J.Blunt, their concern being to free the Fathers from the misrepresentations of Daillé and Barbeyrac, encourage young divines to read the Fathers and discover the *peculiar* character of the Church of England, and thereby free themselves from the *ruts of modern theology*. J.B.Lightfoot is included in relation to the *The Ignatian Controversy*.

Part One : The Fathers in the English Reformation

1

Introduction

*

An Ecclesiastical Mind

(i). Oxford and Patristic Studies

The number of participants in their variety of nationality and ecclesiastical denomination, is always impressive to one regularly attending the International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford. It confirms what Henri Irenée-Marrou said at the First International Conference in 1951, that there exists an extraordinary vitality in patristic studies. Speaking of the international scene, what he said has particular relevance for the convening of such a conference in Oxford ever since and is therefore significant.

Oxford has always been a centre for patristic studies, and though the lamp may have dimmed or brightened from one time to another it never went out. When William Warham became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1503, Oxford University became the centre of a remarkable revival of ancient literature, which greatly assisted decisions upon ecclesiastical affairs that demanded reform. The movement which began in Italy through researches among pagan classics, soon led to studies in the original works of the early Latin Fathers of the Church, and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which brought many Greek scholars westward, in the writings of the Greek Christian Fathers also. Warham was a great patron of what came to be known as the *New*

Learning, which was transplanted from its cradle in Italy to its new home in Oxford. Arthur C. Lane describes the influence of John Colet, the future dean of St. Paul's, on the young Thomas More and Erasmus, and convinced of the need for Church reform, telling scholars to "Keep to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, and let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest."¹ From that time the watchword of English Reformers was Scripture and the primitive Fathers *versus* medieval tradition. During the Oxford Movement in the nineteenth century there was a revival of patristic studies, which gave impetus to the pursuit of such study as a basic subject in the theological syllabuses and research programmes of Theological Faculties in English Universities. It is not surprising that there have always been Anglican divines, parish priests as well as academics, whose theology was formed by the mind of the Fathers, and who were ready to vindicate the patristic dimension as essential to Anglican divinity. The roots of this patristic orientation are traceable to the Anglican reformers of the 16th century who were the first to make the appeal to the Fathers a foundation stone of their divinity, building their theology on patristic dogma, belief and practice. This appeal to antiquity continued as part of Anglican theological method and has always been present in the historical development of Anglican theology, though there have been variations in the precise nature of this appeal in different ages and people.

(ii).The Ecclesiastical Mind

The fundamental thesis of this essay is that Anglican theological method has from its beginning, if it had a beginning at the Reformation and was not merely an inheritance, always included as integral, a concern for Church history and the 'proper', historical setting or context of the Bible, the living apostolic community, the catholic Church of the Fathers, which ensures authoritatively, normatively, and critically, the historic continuity of the apostolic community and her apostolic faith and praxis. This ecclesial dimension, the patristic and catholic *ekklesiastikon phronema*, was appropriated by Anglicanism and made the basis of Christian living, the context of Christian thinking. Ecclesiastical understanding does not attempt to add anything to Scripture, but to ascertain and to disclose fully the true meaning of Scripture. As Hanson put it, "The life of Christianity depends upon the Church dancing with the Bible, and the Bible with the Church. The Church may indeed be lost without the Bible, but the Bible without the Church is dead, a collection of ancient documents and no more."² The Jesuit theologian Fr. George Tavard claimed that, in making Scripture the self-evident basis of Anglicanism but alongside Tradition as mutually inclusive, a consistency with the patristic spirit is maintained.

The Anglican Church ... tried to maintain the Catholic notion of perfect union between Church and Scripture. The statement of Johann Gropper, that the Church's authority is not distinct from that of Scripture, but rather that they are one, corresponds to the Anglican view of the Early Church, as it corresponds to the catholic conception of the Church at all times.³

Tavard pointed out that most theologians of the Counter-Reformation separated Scripture and Tradition, at different times making one or the other a partial source of faith. Tavard went on to say that "In both cases the theology of the catholic eras, patristic and medieval, was better represented by the Anglican view than by many Catholic writers in the Counter-Reformation period."⁴

This ecclesial context of Anglican divinity understands the Church as bearing witness to the truth not by reminiscence or from the words of others, but from its own living, unceasing experience, from its catholic fullness that has its roots in continuity with the Primitive Church. This is what constitutes that "tradition of truth" in which the apostolic teaching is not so much an unchangeable example to be repeated or imitated as an eternally living and inexhaustible source of life and inspiration. Tradition is the constant abiding Spirit, not only the memory of words, and is, therefore, a charismatic, not a historical principle, but together with Scripture contains the truth of divine revelation, a truth that lives in the Church.

The experience of the Church has not been exhausted either in Scripture or Tradition; it is only reflected in them. Therefore only within the Church does Scripture live and become vivified, only within the Church is it revealed as a whole and not broken up into separate texts, commandments and aphorisms. This means that Scripture has been given in tradition, but not in the sense that it can be understood only according to the dictates of tradition, or that it is the written record of historical tradition or oral teaching. Scripture needs to be explained. It is revealed in theology. This is possible only through the medium of the living experience of the Church.⁵

This is the *ekklestiastikon phronema*, and it has been one of the outstanding characteristics of the English Church in all the principal periods of its life, and is what distinguished it from Continental Protestantism.

(iii).The Fathers and Anglican Theology

In 1961 Michael Ramsey was writing, "The ancient Fathers were important to our Reformers because they stood near to the Holy Scriptures in time, and were witnesses to what the Church had believed before it had begun to deviate from Scriptural truth"⁶. He delineates three groups of Anglican theologians in three crucial epochs of modern Anglican history who made particular use of the Fathers. These were (i) The English Reformers, (ii) The Anglican Divines of the 17th Century, and (iii) The Tractarians in the 19th Century. The Bishop's article, to some extent, has been an inspiration behind this thesis in its attempt to delineate the patristic mind in Anglican divinity. The inclusion of three centuries needs some qualification because it has been necessary to be selective. Two of these crucial epochs have received detailed treatment, in *Part One, The Fathers in the English Reformation*, and *Part Two, Fathers and Carolines*. The Tractarian epoch is omitted in preference to *Part Three, Objections and Responses*. which

examines the Anglican response to different kinds of objection brought against the Fathers, which the Bishop did not consider. It is in relation to this particular theme that certain Anglican theologians of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries were included, as they respond to *Direct Objections* to the Fathers in such people as John Daillé, The Ignatian Controversy, and John Barbeyrac. Then came the *Indirect Objections* in the rise of a new Arianism, its associations with Socinianism and its English expression in Unitarianism, its advocates using the Fathers to support their attacks on orthodoxy while others wanted to reject the appeal to antiquity altogether. Here, rather than in Part Two, *Fathers and Carolines*, the major contribution of the Caroline divine George Bull is included, because Bull's work was a response to misrepresentations of the orthodoxy of the Fathers and prepared the way for the continuation of that work in his heir and successor Daniel Waterland. An Appendix includes *The Tew Circle*, who were not so much a party, but a group of individuals whose concern was not a direct attack on the Fathers as an attempt to dispense with the appeal to antiquity in the interests of simplifying theological method.

During this period less well known divines were found defending the Anglican appeal to the Fathers in their Bampton Lectures. George Croft in 1786 applauds Joseph Bingham for vindicating Anglican doctrine and discipline from "the practice of the primitive churches",⁷ and answers some of Gibbon's criticisms. Henry Kett in his lectures in 1790, addresses himself to *A Representation of the Conduct and Opinions of the Primitive Christians with Remarks on Certain Assertions of Mr. Gibbon and Dr. Priestley*, and in 1813 John Collinson delivered his Lectures on *A Key to the Writings of the Principal Fathers of the Christian Church [during the first three centuries]*, dealing in his first lecture with objections and responses to the appeal to antiquity. It is not surprising that a consciousness of the value of the Fathers began to emerge in England at the beginning of the 19th century.

The number of books concerned with the teaching of the Fathers which appeared in the first half of the 19th century shows how great was the interest felt in them and the anxiety of English Churchmen at that period to claim unity of principle with them. Wigan Harvey's three volumes *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Vindex Catholicus* [Cambridge 1841] is an example. Cary's *Testimonies of the Fathers of the first four centuries* [Oxford, 1835] is another. Cave's three volumes of the *Lives of the Fathers* were reprinted by Cary at Oxford in 1840.⁸

J.J. Blunt, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in Cambridge came on the scene at this time, and in 1840 the Cambridge University Press published *An Introductory Lecture* which he delivered to introduce a course of lectures on the early Fathers and which he gave in 1840 and 1843 on *The Right Use of the Early Fathers*.⁹ His purpose was to protect the Fathers from misrepresentation and misconstruction and that he may "call the attention of Churchmen to a

principle that ruled the Reformers in their revision of our Church, and succeeding divines in defence of her." This task he set himself in his lectures on *The Right Use of the Fathers*, defending the value of the Fathers against the criticisms of the French Protestant theologian Daillé, the Dutchman lawyer Barbeyrac, the English historian Gibbon, and Socinianism, influences that he maintained had depreciated their study in England. With the dominating influence of Tractarianism's concern to rejuvenate the place of the Fathers in English theology, often it was forgotten that before and outside that movement there were others equally concerned, not to mention Bishop Kaye of Lincoln (1783-1853) who when he was Regius Professor at Cambridge was the first to recall theological students to the study of the Fathers.

This provides an overview of the issues dealt with in the three centuries covered in this thesis, where some names are only mentioned while others have been given more detailed exposition.

2.

Fathers and Reform in Thomas Cranmer and John Jewel

(i).The Patristic Argument in the Reformers

With the English Reformation biblical truth was set up as an important criterion for faith, order, and life, but alongside the Church Fathers who were seen as guides to the right interpretation of Holy Scripture. For the English Reformers Scripture is the supreme standard of faith, but the Fathers represent the tradition of the Church by which Scripture has been interpreted correctly. The late Professor Greenslade makes the general point that,

... however tenacious their hold upon the principle *Sola Scriptura* the Reformers argued extensively from the Ancient Fathers of the Church who are named in the full title of the Chair which I have the honour to hold;" and the particular point, " ... that the full range of patristic literature was only gradually becoming known in the sixteenth century, that books were not always easy to procure, that many problems of text and authenticity had yet to be settled(or even to be raised); so that, in examining the influence of the Fathers upon the Reformers or the Anglican appeal to the Fathers, the historian should take account of many matters which he may sometimes be tempted to leave to the spiritual interests of the librarian and bibliographer.¹

Though some made little use of them, nobody would doubt their value and authority though they regarded them as secondary to the Bible. Such was their importance that,

Archbishop Parker at the Visitation of his Cathedral in 1559 made it an article of inquiry 'whether there be a library within this Church, and in the same S. Augustine's works, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hierome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theophylact.²

Greenslade³ makes some important points about the patristic argument in the Reformers, which can be summarised in the following way. First, although no Anglican Reformer would reject the significance, value and weight of the Fathers' testimony, and some would regard the patristic appeal as unnecessary; the authority of the Fathers is always secondary to Scripture. Secondly, the appeal was largely to the Church of the first five centuries, and though Jewel speaks of six hundred years, the designation of primitive church normally meant five hundred years as at the Westminster Conference of 1559. There are quotations from Sixth century authors, from Bede, John of Damascus and even the much later St. Bernard, who breathes the spirit of the Fathers rather than the scholastics, so that in some quarters he is regarded as the last of the Fathers. Thirdly, the particular context of the English Reformation, namely, the dispute with the Church of Rome, determined to a large extent the nature of the Anglican appeal to antiquity, so that the appeal to the Fathers relates to the particular theological and ecclesiastical points of controversy between the two Churches. This results in the Reformers using the Fathers in two ways, negatively, to prove the absence of Roman doctrines and practices from the Primitive Church, but also positively, to promote the right interpretation of Scripture and demonstrate a Scriptural way of life for the Church. Greenslade cites John Jewel as representing this twofold use of the appeal to antiquity, negative in that they are not witnesses to later erroneous innovations, and positive in that they are of greater value than later developments. Fourthly, the patristic appeal was normally focussed upon the biblical character of the Patristic witness, meaning "biblical" in both the literal and the conceptual sense. Often the biblical criterion is exalted above the Patristic, but as a rule it remained the presupposition to the development of the latter. The dividing line, however, between the Bible and the Fathers was not always clear. Fifthly, the appeal to the Fathers was hampered by a number of inevitabilities, the most important of which were the non-availability of Patristic texts, the simultaneous publication of genuine and spurious patristic literature without distinctions, and the limited historical knowledge of the Patristic period. With the publication of Patristic texts in the 16th century Patristic studies blossomed and developed. It is natural that the Anglican appeal to the Fathers in theological argument and discourse kept pace with this development. Sixthly, it is crucial to discern the fact that at this stage the Fathers were not studied for their own sake, but for the sake of providing important evidences in the Anglican disputes with Rome. Thus the quotations from



the Fathers are easily borrowed from author to author and especially from collections of *Patristic Testimonia* (an ancient custom) arranged under theological headings, such as the *Unio Dissidentium* of Hermann Bodius published in 1527.

Bearing in mind these important points about the patristic argument in the English Reformers we will look at it in relation to two prominent Anglicans, Thomas Cranmer and John Jewel.

(ii) Thomas Cranmer 1489-1556

(a). A Patristic Scholar

Thomas Cranmer succeeded William Warham and became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, some claiming that it was almost by accident, and others, that God moves in mysterious ways. He was not a personally ambitious man and placed a low priority on such honours so that he came unwillingly to a bishopric. He was a student of a very thorough kind, "seldom reading without pen in hand" and leaving extensive notebooks which to this day testify to his extensive research and careful observation. A Cambridge man, who had been a Fellow of Jesus College as early as 1510, he was a man of no ordinary attainments and therefore exceptionally well versed in the learning of his day. As Canon Smyth⁴ claims,

He was also a notable Patristic scholar: but, as Dr. Bromiley has pointed out in his new book, *Thomas Cranmer, Theologian* - which is, I believe, the first serious and dispassionate study of him regarded simply as a theologian - in Cranmer's approach to all doctrinal questions, he proceeds by the three-fold rule of Scripture, the Fathers, and reason, in that order.

Smyth goes on to describe him as anticipating the defence of the Anglican position in the 17th century by Richard Hooker, in his reply to the Puritan attack,

In that great valley of decision in which the Church found itself at the Reformation, Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, felt unable to guide the destinies of the Church of England along the well-worn road of Papal and Medieval Latin Christendom, nor yet to lead it into the new pastures of Luther or Calvin. Instead he set himself to find traces of that lost thoroughfare which has been called the *Via Media*, but which to Cranmer was 'the godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers'.⁵

Attention is drawn to Cranmer's interest in the Fathers in the 19th century edition of *Cranmer's Works* published by the Parker Society. It informs us that when Cranmer visited his Cathedral Church in 1550, he made it an article of enquiry "whether there be a library within this church and in the same St. Augustine's works, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hierome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theophylact."⁶

(b). A Quest for Catholicism

Dr. J. I. Packer claims that it would be true to Cranmer's own mind to say that he was burned for being a catholic.

To him as to all the Reformers, Protestantism (unlike Anabaptistry) was precisely a quest for Catholicism - that is for solidarity with the catholic church that Jesus founded...a conscious attempt to restore to the Church of the West the catholicity that it had so long lost. To the Reformers, as to the Fathers, catholicity was a theological and historical concept before it was a geographical or statistical one; they saw the essence of catholicity as lying in faithfulness to the gospel word and sacramental usage given to the church by Christ through the apostles in the beginning. Thus catholicity was to them in the first instance a matter of apostolicity, and apostolicity was in the first instance a matter of doctrine.⁷

His concern as a reformer in the restoration of catholic doctrine and institution was for the re-establishment of biblical faith, which, he was convinced, had been preserved in the Fathers who had, on the whole, been faithful expositors of it. It is not surprising to find the title of his work on the Eucharist defining an approach in which Bible and Fathers stand together; *A defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament... grounded and stablished upon God's holy Word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church*. Packer sums it up, stating that Cranmer,

... having studied Scripture in its 'literal' (ie. natural, grammatical, intended) sense, letting one text comment on another and relating each author's statements to his overall scope, as the humanists taught all the Reformers to do, and having studied patristic theology by the same method, he had come to see that what the Fathers said coincided for substance with what the Scriptures said on each point dealt with. Thus he was able to appeal to both Scripture and the Fathers in the same breath, and to profess his entire solidarity with 'the most ancient doctors'.⁸

Packer goes on to say that this was no mere piece of polemics, but reflected the verdict of a scholar that in the Fathers we find an exposition of the essence of biblical catholicism. Therefore they deserve the recognition traditionally paid them as authoritative guides in doctrine, thus illustrating the positive side to the patristic argument.

On the negative side his purpose was to demonstrate how un-catholic the teaching had been since the 12th century in twisting not only the Scriptures but also the Fathers. In his *Appeal at His Degradation* it was to the spirit of his theological method that he could appeal in defence of his doctrine: And touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of that kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand anything contrary to the most holy Word of God, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ; but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only, which I had learned of the sacred scripture, and of the holy catholic church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the position of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the church.⁹

(c). Evidence of Patristic Learning

Greenslade¹⁰ points out that Peter Martyr assisted Cranmer in forming the excellent, but still far from complete, collection of patristic texts that he possessed and read in the 1550's. The

range of Cranmer's learning can be assessed from examining the list of his remaining books made by Edward Burbridge at the end of the last century, and printed in Bernard Quaritch's *Contributions towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*, Part I, [London, 1892].¹¹ Among these books is an almost complete set of the available writings of the Latin and Greek Fathers, several of them in various editions, as well as works of the Schoolmen, contemporary writers, and liturgy. It testifies to an immense and highly diversified erudition. Cranmer's annotations prove that he was well acquainted with these books, especially, as Burbridge points out, in his copies of Eusebius and Epiphanius.

In his manuscript *Commonplace Books* there is similar evidence of his patristic learning. The most important of these went missing and Archbishop Parker found it to be in the possession of Dr. Nevison, Canon of Canterbury from whom it was recovered. This unpublished work, which is now in the British Museum, was written in the hand of secretaries and put together in different epochs of Cranmer's life.

It contains an immense number of extracts from - Clement of Rome and Ignatius; from Irenaeus and Tertullian, Origen and Cyprian; Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine, Fulgentius, Jerome, Vincent of Lerins, Cassian, Prudentius, Gelasius, Leo, Sulpicius Severus, Gregory the Great and Bede; from Eusebius, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Socrates and Sozomen, Theophilus of Alexandria, Denys the Areopagite, John Damsacene, Nicephorus Chartophylax; from Rabanus and Haymo, Aldhelm, Bruno, Bernard, Anselm ...¹².

The list continues through the Schoolmen and contemporary writers. Though Gregory of Nyssa is not mentioned, Cranmer possessed at least one of his works. Clement of Alexandria, Didymus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Isidore of Seville and Amalarius are not mentioned though he possessed MSS of some of their writings. An annotated copy of his *Nazianzus MS* is in the Durham cathedral library.

(d). The Confutation

Cranmer's *A Confutation of Unwritten Verities*¹³ contains various extracts from his *Commonplace Books* in which he gathered a collection of authorities, biblical, patristic, and schoolmen, on various subjects. In the *Confutation* that has an introduction and concluding chapter added posthumously by 'E.P.', the editor, we find an illustration of that theological method he defended at his *Appeal*. There is a demonstration of Scriptural authority in the form of twenty-four texts to establish true and wholesome doctrine containing all things needful for salvation, which is followed by a multitude of quotations, mainly patristic, to confirm that neither Fathers nor Councils, nor anything else can establish articles of faith apart from Scripture. It illustrates his method, the establishing of that coincidence between biblical doctrine

and patristic doctrine, thereby in a positive way using the Fathers to identify what the catholic faith is, and negatively to illustrate where Rome is seen to be in error.

(e). An English Bible

One great practical reform that Cranmer longed to promote, though he was not the first English churchman to desire it, was the circulation of the Bible in English. The inspiration for this general diffusion of the Bible for 'vulgar people' in the 'vulgar tongue', came from his reading of the Fathers. Cranmer was also influenced by the fact that the Anglo-Saxons translated the Bible and read it in what was their 'vulgar tongue', Bede, being a prime example, who in the hours before he died was busy translating St. John's Gospel into the vernacular. To this end his liturgical revision was concerned to embody such biblical material in its lections. It is to the Fathers he appeals to justify an English Bible in the face of petty quibbling objections from bishops. In a *Prologue* or *Preface* which Cranmer wrote in 1539, but which was not published in the English Bible of that year, appearing in April 1540 and prefixed to the *Great Bible* appointed to be read in churches that year, he replies with a long and spirited translation from St. John Chrysostom's sermon *De Lazaro*, on the benefits "lay and vulgar people" will derive from reading the Scriptures. He himself intends to say nothing more than what was "said and written by the noble doctor and most moral divine". Chrysostom's concern is that those who listen to his sermons should read their bibles at home between these sermons and memorise what he has preached on such texts as they read; "and also that they might have their minds the more ready and better prepared to receive and perceive that which he should say from thenceforth in his sermons."¹⁴

All these things have been written for us for our edification and amendment, which be born towards the latter end of the world. The reading of Scriptures is a great and strong bulwark against sin; the ignorance of the same is the greater ruin and destruction of them that will not know it. That is the thing that bringeth in heresy; that is that it causeth all corrupt and perverse living; that is that bringeth all things out of good order.¹⁵

As Chrysostom is invoked to reprove those who refused to read the Bible, St. Gregory Nazianzen is brought in to reprove the other sort of offenders.

It appeareth that in his time there were some (as I fear me there have been also now at these days a great number) which were idle babblers and talkers of the Scripture out of season and all good order, and without any increase of virtue, or example of good living. To them he writeth all his first book, *De Theologia*, of which Cranmer proceeds to give a vigorous summary. Gregory states that it is not fit for every man to dispute the high questions of divinity and, "dangerous for the unclean to touch that thing that is most clean; like as the sore eye taketh harm by looking at the sun." Contention and debate about Scriptures does most hurt to ourselves and to the cause we have furthered.

I say not this to dissuade men from the knowledge of God, and reading or studying of the Scripture. For, I say, that it is as necessary for the life of a man's soul, as for the body to breathe. And if it were possible so to live, I would think it good for a man to spend all his days in that, and to do no other thing. I commend the law which biddeth to meditate and study the scriptures always, both night and day, and sermons and preachings to be made both morning, noon and eventide ... I forbid not to read but I forbid to reason. Neither forbid I to reason so far as is good and godly.¹⁶

He quotes from another of Gregory's works,

Therefore the fear of God must be the first beginning, and as it were an A.B.C., of an introduction to all them that shall enter to the very sure and most fruitful knowledge of holy scriptures. Where, as is the fear of God, there is the keeping of the commandments, there is the cleansing of the flesh, which flesh is a cloud before the soul's eye, and suffereth it not purely to see the beam of the heavenly light. Where, as is the cleansing of the flesh, there is the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the end of all our desires, and the very light whereby the verity of the scriptures is seen and perceived.¹⁷

Here he uses the Fathers in a positive way to commend a translation of the Bible into the 'vulgar tongue', but indirectly there is implicit in his argument a negative use that is concerned to undermine the reasoning and quibbling of those opposed to it. Anglicans can be thankful that through the influence of the teaching of the Fathers an English Bible is authorised and their liturgy packed with biblical material.

(f). The Ten Articles

In 1536 *The Ten Articles*, what might be termed the antecedents of *The Thirty-Nine Articles*, were prepared to give expression to what the English Church meant by her claim of not having varied in any point from the true Catholic faith since the breach with Rome. They represent Cranmer's doctrinal position at the time, the true basis of our Catholic Reformation and what he terms the great rediscovery of the time.¹⁸ Divided into two parts, the first part contains Articles of faith commanded by God and necessary for salvation. In practical terms this means acceptance of the canonical Scriptures, and the three Creeds, Apostles, Nicaean and Athanasian, as the rule of faith, along with the decisions of the first four Councils as the foundations of Anglican Faith, Holy Baptism, the sacrament of Penance, as a necessity for all who have committed mortal sin after Baptism, and the real presence in the Eucharist, though not in the definition of transubstantiation. Justification is also included. The second, contains "such things as have been of a long continuance for a decent order and honest policy prudently instituted and used in the churches of our realm, although they be not expressly commanded by God, nor necessary to our salvation."¹⁹ Such matters were honour to the saints, the use of images, rites and ceremonies and prayers for the departed.

In 1537 these were extended into *The Institution of a Christian Man*, which came to be known as *The Bishops' Book*, and contained an explanation of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary. Justification was understood as due entirely to the merits of Christ, but involving an obligation to good works afterwards, but Purgatory was repudiated, though prayer for departed souls was declared laudable. Praying for the dead is laudable because it is a charitable deed commended in the Book of Maccabees and in numerous ancient doctors, and has been a practice in the Church from the beginning. Doctrinally, it occupies the same position as the *Ten Articles* upon which it is founded. In 1543 this was revised into *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man* (also called *The King's Book*). It was submitted to Convocation and approved and published with a commendatory preface by the King. It contained a long exposition of the Eucharist, in which the word Transubstantiation was avoided but the doctrine of conversion into the substance of the body and blood of Christ was taught,

Seeing it is the very body of our Saviour Christ, which is united and knit to His Godhead in one Person, and by reason thereof hath the very virtue and substance of life in it, it must needs consequently by the most holy and blessed participation of the same give and communicate life also to them that worthily receive it.²⁰

(g). Eucharistic Doctrine

In his *Catechismus*, published in 1548, Cranmer, while not denying that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ and the body and blood are to be received by the "bodily mouth", he does not assert anything more than that they are received by the communicants. By 1550, Cranmer's doctrine of the Eucharist is fast diverging from that of Stephen Gardiner the Bishop of Winchester, a dispute which in the 1550's demonstrates Cranmer's theological method in which the Fathers are placed next to or along with the Bible. In 1550 he published a volume entitled *A Defence of the true Catholic Doctrine of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ; with a confutation of sundry errors concerning the same; grounded and established upon God's Holy Word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient doctors of the Church*. The title page expresses the principle of the English Reformation, that it is to Holy Scripture that we must look for the ground of doctrine, while the testimony of the early Church is given a valued place in confirmation of the inferences drawn from Scripture. Furthermore what is maintained is that this is the catholic doctrine. In the Preface to his *Answer to Gardiner*, he writes,

Where I used to speak sometimes (as the old authors do) that Christ is in the Sacraments, I mean the same as they did understand the matter; that is to say, not of Christ's carnal presence in the outward Sacrament but sometimes of His Sacramental presence. And sometime by this word Sacrament I mean the whole ministration and receiving of the Sacraments either of Baptism or of the Lord's

Supper; and so the old writers many times do say that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the Sacraments, not meaning by that manner of speech that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the water, bread, or wine, which be only the outward visible Sacraments, but that in the due ministration of the Sacraments according to Christ's ordinance and institution Christ and His Holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily receive the same.²¹

He also wrote a Latin letter to Vadianus, a Swiss opponent of the real Presence, pointing out that it was one thing to refute the errors of "papistical and sophistical errors", but he had wished that he had stopped at those limits,

... and had not trampled down the wheat with the tares. I do not think any fair reader will be convinced that the ancient authors are on your side in this controversy. If this is an error, it is one commended to us by the Fathers and by the Apostolic men themselves; and what good man could not listen to such a statement, not to speak of believing it?²²

He exhorts men unite with him in propagating "the one pure evangelical doctrine, which is in accordance with the primitive Church."

Others were of the same opinion, including Bishop Tunstall, who told his nephew Bernard Gilpin, that Innocent III had been "greatly overseen" in pressing Transubstantiation upon the Church.²³ Redmayne, the first Master of Trinity, who certainly never rejected the real Presence, said on his deathbed in 1551, that he had studied the matter for twelve years and found that some of the Fathers had written plainly contrary to Transubstantiation, and that in others it was not taught nor maintained.²⁴ It is clear from what Cranmer wrote later, "that not long before I wrote the said Catechism, I was in error of the real Presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of Transubstantiation"²⁵, that Cranmer makes a distinction between a doctrine of the real presence and explaining it in terms of Transubstantiation. Cranmer had begun to feel that it was possible to believe in the real Presence without holding either Transubstantiation, or the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation either. Mason goes on to point out that it was from this high ground, on the one hand a belief in the real Presence and on the other a rejection of Transubstantiation, that Cranmer was dragged down by Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London. Ridley had been influenced by reading Bertram Ratramnus, and his work subsequently influenced Cranmer. Ratramnus(868) questioned the implicit Transubstantiation in the Benedictine Radbertus's (785-860) work *De Corpore at Sanguine Domini* (831), claiming a more spiritual conception of the Real Presence than Radbertus's more carnal. Ratramnus's work was condemned in 1050 and put on the Index in 1559, to be removed in 1900. Pusey takes this book as representing the views of Ridley and Cranmer. Cranmer wrote that Ridley "did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors, drew me quite from my

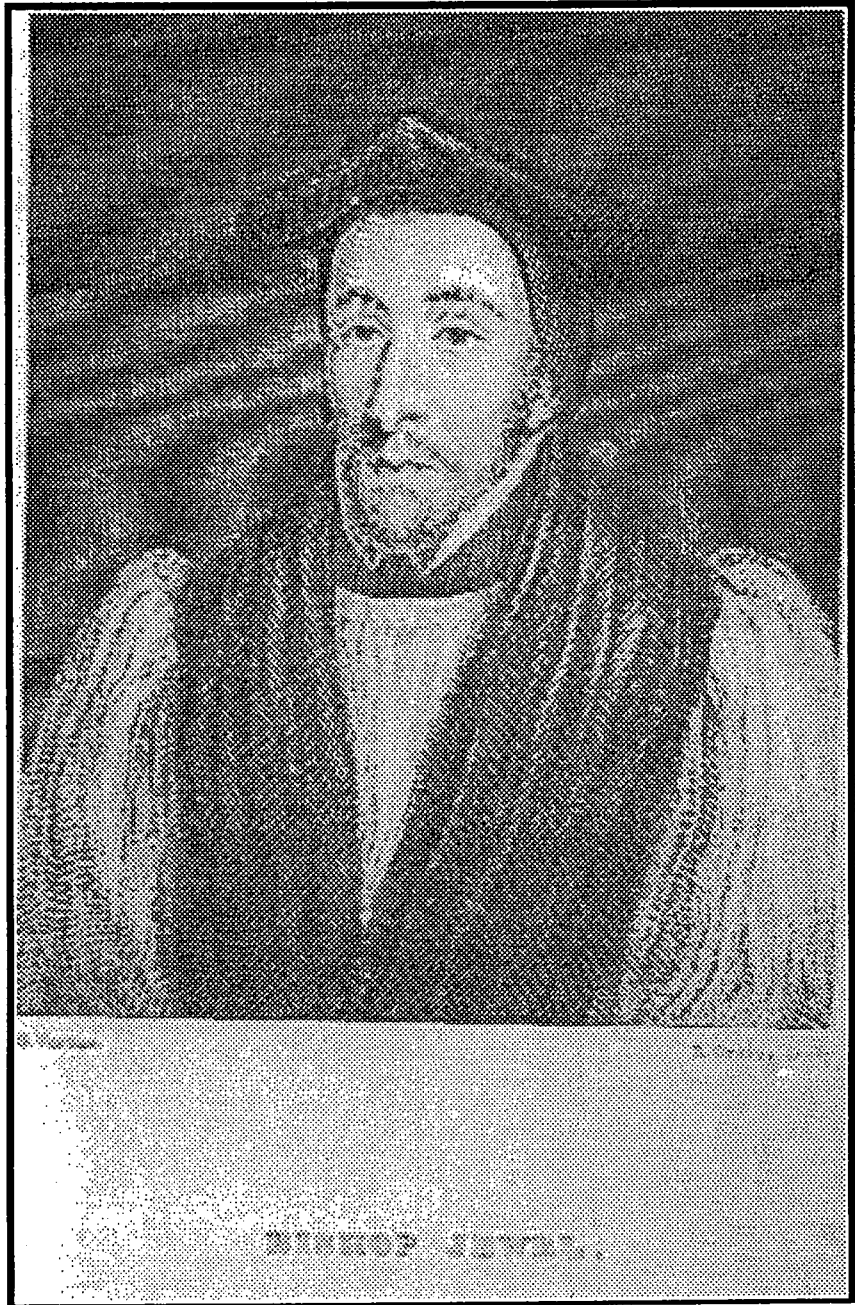
opinion".²⁶ "By an intermediate position between any kind of assertion of the reception of the actual body and blood of Christ and any merely figurative view, he maintained the opinion which had sometimes been described as Virtualism, namely, that the faithful communicant sacramentally receives those effects of Christ's life and death which would be conveyed if there were a beneficial reception of His actual body and blood"²⁷

It was this opinion which he embodied in his *Defence of the True Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament*, described as "grounded and established upon God's Holy Word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient doctors of the Church". He found no difficulty in exposing the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but it was not so easy for him to be constructive. His *On the Lord's Supper*, which was a reply to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester demonstrates a man profoundly and widely erudite in a knowledge of the Greek and Latin Fathers. "In these answers ... is nothing spoken either contrary to holy scripture, or to natural reason, philosophy, or experience, or against any old ancient author, or the primitive or catholic church, but only against the malignant and papistical church of Rome."²⁸ It immediately brought a reply from Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester who defended Transubstantiation, bringing in 1551, Cranmer's rejoinder. Cranmer's triumph was to dispose of the attempt to identify the teaching of the English Reformers in this matter as Zwinglian. In his biography A.J.Mason points out that this was a contest between experts and in order rightly to judge Cranmer's doctrine on the subject it is necessary to realise how degraded and materialistic was the general opinion of the Mass at the time.

He would not in honesty give less than their fullest force to those expressions in Scripture and in the Fathers which seemed to treat the mystery as nothing but a virtual presence and a commemorative token. It was an interpretation as one-sided as that which Cranmer had discarded. But his readjustment of belief never made him irreverent towards the sacred ordinance, nor was he conscious of any departure from loyalty to the teaching of the primitive Church.²⁹

Both men were united in their desire to defend the catholic doctrine of the real Presence, but they differed in their understanding of the nature of that Presence in the definition of Transubstantiation, Cranmer repudiating it and Gardiner seeing it as essential to a particular understanding of the Eucharistic Presence. It was natural, therefore, that they should both appeal to Scripture with equal devotion, but in comparing and contrasting them, Tavard³⁰ points out that whereas Gardiner,

would not read Scripture against the common consent of the Church at any period of her history. Cranmer would find a wonderful agreement between the Church and Scripture in the first five or six centuries, over against the subsequent Church, poisoned, as he thought, by the Bishops of Rome.



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Cranmer's conviction was that the faith of the early centuries was nearer to the Scriptural source of doctrine and so used the Fathers negatively to eliminate defining the real Presence in terms of Transubstantiation, making the point that this doctrinal definition had strayed from how the Fathers had understood the Eucharistic Presence. Then he uses the Fathers positively to support his doctrine of the real Presence. In Gardiner this use of Scripture and the Fathers is reversed, positively to support Transubstantiation and negatively to dismiss Cranmer's viewpoint, but his appeal is also to the consensus of the Roman Church at that time. Tavard accuses Cranmer of reading the Bible and the Fathers through the spectacles of the Continental Reformers, but is forgetting that his spectacles are a particular Roman point of view he shares with the Anglican Gardiner and so is not wholly objective himself.

(h). Conclusion

Whatever others may say, Cranmer claimed right to the end, and his appeal testifies to this, that he never meant to teach anything contrary to the Word of God, or the Holy Catholic Church of Christ; but simply that doctrine which was held by the most holy learned Fathers and martyrs of the Church. He claimed that the real meaning of the accusation brought against him was that he did not allow the modern doctrine of the Sacrament, and because he would not consent to words unauthorized by Scripture and unknown to the ancient Fathers, but innovations invented by men and overthrowing the old and pure religion. His use of the patristic argument in its negative and positive applications has already been demonstrated and other examples will be given from his contributions to *The Book of Homilies* in a later chapter. As the architect of Anglican liturgical reconstruction the same underlying principles are present. There is no iconoclastic fury and no intention of necessary change, but a determined aim to restore the liturgy to the tone and spirit of the earlier centuries, the centuries of the Four Ecumenical Councils. Some would have extended the catholic period to include the Sixth or Seventh Councils, except for the use of images sanctioned by the latter. Negatively and positively the patristic argument is used to remove all expressions representing doctrines unknown to earlier ages and at variance with primitive teaching, and in the spirit of the Primitive Church the 'vulgar tongue' replaces Latin. Cranmer was a conservative reformer, differing from those who went back simply to the Bible alone by making his stand on the Bible as interpreted by antiquity.

(iii). John Jewel 1522-1571

Archbishop Parker in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. never lost sight of the importance of asserting before the whole Church the true and Catholic character of the Church of England. The

position of Anglicanism is often described, somewhat unfairly, as a *Via Media*, a sort of compromise that equally removes it from Roman Catholicism and popular Protestantism. Anglicanism is not founded upon any compromise but upon a distinct principle, and this principle is the retention of everything scriptural and primitive, and the rejection of everything medieval which was inconsistent with primitive Christianity. The Archbishop's concern was that the Church of England required a clear enunciation of these principle upon which it was grounded in order to prevent it drifting away from its moorings. Parker himself was sufficiently equipped to do this, though his own humble estimate of himself and the burdens of his office may be reasons for his disinclination. This important work was assigned to John Jewel.

(a). An Assessment

"John Jewel was an Anglican, after Archbishop Parker the most important of the first generation of Elizabethan churchmen, the heir of the Christian humanists and of Cranmer, and the progenitor of Richard Hooker."³¹ With the persecution and death of Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, John Jewel was one of the exiles driven from his native land. Sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he had a reputation as a student for rising at four in the morning and working continuously until ten at night. At an early period of his life he began to study St. Augustine, which was in after years followed by an acquaintance with the whole range of patristic literature. During his exile in Strasbourg and Zurich as the guest of Peter Martyr, it was his practice every afternoon to read aloud to his host the works of the ancient Fathers, and here it was that he built up his stores of learning he employed afterwards with such effect.

When Queen Mary died in 1558 he returned to England and as Bishop of Salisbury from 1559-71 he became the defender and apologist of the Church of England, first as an outspoken critic of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, and later against all those who were critical of it. J. C. Sladden describes the impression made upon a straightforward unaided reading of Jewel's works.

Such a reader quickly becomes aware of the reformer's immense erudition, nowhere greater than in the patristic field. Even allowing for the environment of similar learning, and the help Jewel may have had from like-minded colleagues, his knowledge appears colossal and his power of selection and arrangement usually most effective. Further perusal discloses a tendency towards a regular method of presentation in dealing with the several points of doctrine, use and discipline which he takes up. At its best the author carries all before him in an almost devastating way, although he never loses control and does not often stray beyond the bounds of courtesy. His typical way is to leap off from a Scriptural spring-board and dive into the Fathers of the first six centuries, emerging triumphant after a shorter or longer sojourn and (whenever possible) not without reference to some later writer of the Roman obedience whom he can claim to be on his side.

He adds in a footnote,

He can be almost violent on occasion, as when he accuses Harding and his fellow-Romanists of 'infinite follies and errors' wherein they have forsaken the fellowship of the most holy Fathers"; and 'as Eudoxius said to the heretic about Eutyches ... Ye have removed yourselves both from all priestly communion, and also from the presence of Christ'. (*Defence*, p.56). Jewel rarely goes as far as this.³²

(b). The Challenge Sermon

It all began with his famous sermon at Paul's Cross on 26th November, 1559. The contention of what has come to be regarded as a "remarkable discourse" was that the Church of England, in the points on which she differed from the Roman Church, had Christian antiquity on her side. It avoided theological speculations and its method was historical. Twenty-seven propositions were laid down, most of them relating to the Eucharist and the Roman usages in the celebration of the Mass. In arguing against private Masses and non-communicating attenders he not only quotes Callixtus, a former Bishop of Rome in support of his argument, but also St. Chrysostom on the *Epistle to the Ephesians* and St Gregory in his *Dialogues*, citing their support in the exhorting of the people to receive Holy Communion³³. Then he points out to the Roman Church that in their practice,

... they stand this day against so many old fathers, so many doctors, so many examples of the primitive church, so manifest and so plain words of the holy scriptures; and yet have they herein not one father, not one doctor, not one allowed example of the primitive church to make for them.³⁴

Then came the famous oft-quoted statement -

If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic Doctor, or Father, or out of any old General Council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, (that is relating to the proving of the twenty-seven propositions), I am content to yield unto him and subscribe.³⁵

So he becomes the representative of English reform, "but committed only to such assertions of catholic truth as could be justified by reference to the double standard of the Scriptures and the doctrine of the primitive Church, as expressed by authoritative councils and the consent of the Fathers."³⁶ Frere continues,

Thus the contest was a contest of methods quite as much as results. It was only to be expected that the exact application of the Anglican method could not take place all at once, and that, so far as results went, its earlier conclusions must needs be somewhat provisional: further enquiry and exacter scholarship were sure hereafter to modify them in detail. But meanwhile Jewel pledged himself and others to obtain the best results that they could, and before all things to maintain the supremacy of their method as against the papal method. It was a fortunate circumstance that such a scholar as Jewel was available for the task.

The title-page of the "Challenge Sermon"³⁷ bears two mottoes which highlight the central thought - the appeal to antiquity. The first is a sentence from Tertullian, "*Praejudicatum est adversus omnes haereses: id est verum quodcunque primum; id est adulterum quodcunque posterius;*"; *this is a prejudice against all heresies : that that thing is true, whatsoever was first : that is corrupt, whatsoever came after.* The second is a clause from the Nicene Canon, Σ θη ἀρχαῖα κρατεῖτω - *let the ancient customs prevail or be maintained*, and is found in Canon VI. It was made with particular reference to the Church of Alexandria, which had been troubled by the irregular proceedings of Meletius, and was to confirm the ancient privileges of the Bishops of that see which he had invaded while the latter part of it applies to all Metropolitans and confirms all their ancient privileges. This general principle of the appeal to antiquity, and (to be consistent with Tertullian's dictum) to the earliest antiquity, has been absorbed into the system of Anglican divinity. There is no deviation in Jewel from Scripture as the ultimate standard of doctrine, the Fathers help in guiding us to the sense of Scripture. The challenge was issued on three other occasions, the following Lent after his consecration, once at Court and again at Paul's Cross.

(c). Henry Cole's Response

Henry Cole, who had been Dean of St. Paul's in Queen Mary's time, and a papist participant in the Westminster Disputation, was first to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Jewel in the second preaching. This produced a correspondence, in which Cole attempted to throw Jewel on the defensive by challenging him to prove the points made in his sermon. Jewel retained his initiative as accuser, insisting that the imprisoned Cole prove the existence of private Masses, communion in one kind, the liturgy 'in a strange tongue', the Pope as head of the universal Church, transubstantiation, the people forbidden to pray or read the scriptures in their mother tongue, and various articles in the early Church, from Scripture, the Councils, and the writings of the Fathers.³⁸ Cole responds,

If it be as you say, all is said that can be then you and I should do well to weigh the reasons of both sides ... Let you and me weigh your men's reasons and ours by the fathers' weights and balances, and see who reasoneth most like St. Augustine, St. Basil, St. Cyprian, Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Dionysius, the councils and other such weights fit for that purpose. Thus we see there is yet good cause, why men should soberly learn from one another.³⁹

Jewel has been described as grossly unfair to Cole, "who upheld the opinions of John Gerson on the superiority of a general council to the pope," and "found it impossible to argue with the Bishop of Salisbury, who entrenched himself in what he called the primitive church and refused to accept anything that he could not find there".⁴⁰ It was the static conception of Jewel that destroyed any development or unfolding of the doctrines Cole had pointed out and Jewel was

forced to modify later his limitation of the first six hundred years. Cole not being free to debate; he was not the right person to challenge Jewel, and frustrating though it was for both of them, the publication of the correspondence added to Jewel's reputation as an apologist for the Church of England.

(d). The *Apologia* and *Defence*

It was the response of Thomas Harding, a man of considerable learning and much ability, who formerly had been Professor of Hebrew at Oxford and was now at Louvain, which produced from Jewel his *Apologia* and *Defence* and called "the first methodical statement of the position of the Church of England against the Church of Rome, and the groundwork of all subsequent controversy".⁴¹ J.E.Booty points out that this statement by Mandell Creighton is borne out by the literature of the *Admonition Controversy*. He quotes John Whitgift, It were needless labour to make any particular recital of those points of doctrine which the Church of England at this day doth hold and maintain; for they be at large set out in sundry English books, and especially in the *Apology for the Church of England*, and the *Defence* of the same⁴². These works were not considered private and personal writings, but recognized as official documents of the English Church and State. The Convocation of 1563, according to Bishop Burnet, wanted to have Jewel's *Apologia* joined to the Articles and Archbishop Parker wanted all cathedrals and collegiate churches and private houses to have copies.⁴³ Booty also points out that diocesan articles, injunctions and parish account books, provide further evidence that the *Apologia* and *Defence* were treated as official and necessary, together with the *Bible*, the *Book of Common Prayer*. and the *Homilies*. Bishop Barnes of Durham in 1577 issued injunctions that the *Defence of the Apology* is a requirement in every church in the diocese and elsewhere, as "commended by public authority".⁴⁴ Jewel was also involved in the production of the Thirty-Nine Articles⁴⁵ and the Second Book of the Homilies⁴⁶

This classic in the literature of English theology, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, appeared in 1562 and is described by the author as "a little book in the Latin tongue, ... containing the whole sum of the catholic faith, now professed and freely preached in England". It was translated into English, Italian, Spanish, French, German, Greek, and Welsh. Not only was its importance esteemed by the English Church, but the Council of Trent is said to have appointed two learned prelates to furnish a reply, which never appeared. Jewel was the chief author rather than the sole author, ... receiving "notes, counsels, and devises" of many, as Harding put it, and while in the 1567 and 1570 editions of the *Defence*. Jewel wrote as if he were the sole author of the original work, but implied that it was representative of the convictions of the entire English Church, the product of her long history and recent reformation. Jewel's concern was that the *Apologia* be an expression of the mind of the English Church rather than the views of certain

persons within it. Its concern is not to upset or destroy, but to recover and reconstitute the true Church and to rejoin the Christians of the 16th century to the pure Church of the first few centuries.

The first part of the *Apologia* claims that if the Church of England

... do but shew it plain, that God's holy gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive church do make on our side, and that we have not without just cause left these men, and rather have returned to the apostles and old catholic fathers; ... and if they themselves which fly our doctrine, and would be called catholics, shall manifestly see how all those titles of antiquity, whereof they boast so much, are quite shaken out of their hands, and that there is more pith in this our cause than they thought for.⁴⁷

The second part sets out the essential faith of the Church of England, following the lines of the Nicene Creed on the subjects of the Trinity and Incarnation, the rites and ceremonies briefly reviewed in turn. In the third part, charges of sectarianism and antinomian tendencies are rebutted and from here we quote,

Were Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gelasius, Theodoret, forsakers of the catholic faith? Was so notable a consent of so many ancient bishops and learned men nothing else but a conspiracy of heretics? or is that now condemned in us which was then commended in them? or is the thing now, by lateration only of men's affection, suddenly become schismatic, which in them was counted catholic? or shall that which in times past was true, now by and by, because it liketh not these men, be judged false?⁴⁸

The fourth part attacks the abuses of the Church of Rome while the fifth part weighs many of its customs in the balance of antiquity and finds them wanting. The final section deals with the question of supremacy, with crown, pope, and council, asserting the Church of England's independence from the Bishop of Rome who has no more authority over her than the Patriarch of Antioch or the Patriarch of Alexandria. The canonical Scriptures are the ultimate test of all ecclesiastical doctrines. Frere⁴⁹ describes it in literary terms alone as a "masterpiece of terseness and cogency" in fifty pages of close argument, designed to show that no charge of heresy can be brought against the English Church, because the necessary changes are within its competence and consistent with a catholic position. The method of Jewel is to "shew it plain that God's holy gospel, the ancient bishops and the primitive Church do make on our side, and that have not without just cause left these men, or rather have returned to the apostles and old catholic Fathers".

Among a number of inferior responses from the Roman side, the able Harding's *Answer* (1564) to the sermon, and *Confutation* (1565) in response to the *Apologia*, is pre-eminent. Jewel answered the *Confutation* with his *Defence of the Apology* (1567). Harding came back with *A Detection of Sundry Foul Errors uttered by M. Juell*, to which the bishop responded

with an enlarged edition of his *Defence*. Frere points out that the controversy was swollen beyond all bounds, and the terse, pointed statements of the *Apologia* were in danger of being lost in the thousand pages of these men's controversial writings. The *Defence* is a work which displays great powers of argument, an extraordinary wealth of patristic learning, and carries a perplexing bibliography which is discussed by Dr. Jelf in the Preface to his edition of Jewel.⁵⁰ Yet both men for all their learning did at times miss the sense of the authors whom they cited, and at times the authorities they cite will not sustain the weight of the argument constructed upon them. They were also ensnared into quoting as genuine, works which in the light of more information and keener criticism, have since been questioned, discredited, or set aside as spurious. For example, Jewel refuses to acknowledge the *Apostolical Constitutions* to be the work of St. Clement of Rome as Harding had claimed. His reason must now be abandoned, that a Bishop of Rome would write his books in Latin not Greek. He argues for the authenticity of the medieval legend of "Pope Joan", in vogue before the Reformation and not questioned until Luther. There is no excuse for Harding accepting as genuine the *Donation of Constantine*, for it had been amply exposed as a forgery.

(e). Jewel's Use of the Fathers

Both Southgate⁵¹ and Booty⁵² acknowledge that Jewel has no cut and-dried thesis on the authority of the Early Fathers for doctrine. The authority of the primitive Church is limited and its test is the authority of Scripture, and as Sladden⁵³ points out, "Cyprian and others are cited as showing that genuine 'tradition' is that which is built upon authentically apostolic (i.e. Scriptural) foundations", and while Augustine is shown to rely on Scripture alone in dealing with Arians, Tertullian, Hilary and Augustine are quoted to reveal a healthy economy in Christian truth. In other words the Fathers served as an aid toward the understanding of Scripture, though Bromiley thinks that Jewel exalted the authority of the Fathers more than this and pointed the way toward to the use made of them by Hooker and the Caroline divines.⁵⁴ Southgate views Jewel as considering that the Fathers were a "primary authority in the interpretation of scriptures".⁵⁵ Booty claims Jewel did not go that far, but limited the authority of the Fathers to whatever assistance they might give in attempting to understand a difficult passage.⁵⁶ He goes on to say that while Jewel may use the Fathers to prove that private Masses were not the practice of the early Church, he may not always use them in the same way as to matters of doctrine, or with regard to those things about which Scripture had something definite and important to say.

Booty concludes that to read Jewel's works is to discover that when he found an authority which seemed at odds with his convictions, he belittled that authority, demonstrating that it was in error. Hence, Jewel was not an altogether rational man, according to Booty, even when

respecting reason and using it, but an emotionally committed man. Southgate⁵⁷ claims that Jewel's conception of the interpretative authority of the patristic writings was neither rigid nor absolute. Interpreting the Scriptures was their primary function which meant studying patristic interpretations against the background of the scriptural passages interpreted. Any accepted conclusion had then to be subjected to reasonable demonstration and proof. Following Augustine, Jewel maintained that no teaching is received because of those who held it, but because such proponents are "able to persuade" the student "either by canonical writers or else by some likely reason."⁵⁸ Southgate goes on to say that Jewel consistently and skilfully applied these principles in his own handling of the patristic exegesis, giving the method he advocated the all-important support of example. Not only did he have a sound knowledge of the literature and its historical background but also an unusual fund of commonsense. Thus, for him, all patristic teaching, to be regarded as valid authority, must represent a general agreement among the Fathers, not merely an individual opinion. As a corollary to this the Fathers must be certain in their conclusions. Finally, of necessity, any particular teaching must be regarded as essential to Christian doctrine, not a matter of choice, regardless of their agreement and certainty.

... when allowance is made for the limitations of historical study in the sixteenth century, Jewel's conclusions do not appear to differ markedly from those of the moderate Roman Catholic scholars like Duchesne. Without question Jewel himself was honestly convinced of the rightness of his own conclusions; he believed patristic authority to be valid authority; on patristic evidence he judged the Church of Rome guilty of denying its early heritage ... It was a heartening achievement.

None of the contestants escaped the appearance at one time or another of fitting the authorities to preconceived notions. From the markings in Jewel's books the suggestion is that as he read them he was looking for passages which would add weight to his preconceived arguments. Nevertheless, Greenslade⁵⁹ quotes an eloquent passage to exemplify the attitude of the Reformers to the Fathers:

But what say we of the Fathers, Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, Cyprian, etc. What shall we think of them, or what account may we make of them? They be interpreters of the word of God. They were learned men and learned Fathers; the instruments of the mercy of God and vessels full of grace. We despise them not, we read them, we reverence them and give thanks unto God for them. They were witnesses unto the truth, they were worthy pillars and ornaments in the church of God. Yet may they not be compared with the word of God. We may not build upon them: we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience; we may not put our trust in them. Our trust is in the name of the Lord ... They are our fathers, but not fathers unto God; they are the stars, fair and beautiful and bright; yet they are not the sun; they bear witness of the light, they are not the light. Christ is the sun of righteousness, Christ is the Light which lighteneth every man that cometh into this world. His word is the word of truth.

Greenslade's comments, "In this spirit, grateful, respectful, but cautious, many of the earlier English Reformers were building a stronghold from which Hooker and others could defend the Church of England when the battle shifted to another front against the biblicist Puritans of the next generations." J.J.Blunt,⁶⁰ who in 1839 became Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, wrote that, Jewel was "a man, indeed, of matchless learning, which he nevertheless wielded, ponderous as it is, like a plaything; of a most polished wit; a style whether Latin or English, the most pure or expressive, such as argues a precision in the character of his ideas, and a lucid order in the arrangement of them, quite his own". Southgate⁶¹ claims that Jewel's

chief concern therefore was to provide an interpretative authority without accepting either the solution of an authoritative church or the opposite extreme of complete dependence upon special revelation ... He endeavored to find an authority which was objective and whose meaning was demonstrable to reason. This authority for interpretation he found in the early church, particularly in the writings of the Fathers ... he stands alone in the completeness of his authoritative method. His writings constitute the first thoroughgoing attempt to prove to the world the Catholicity of English Doctrine, to demonstrate that the teachings of the English Church at no point departed from the Church of the apostles and the fathers.

Hooker, who was under Jewel's patronage in his early years, may have the last word in his description of Jewel as "the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for some hundreds of years",⁶² and "certainly no private doctor of the Church of England have so nearly attained the authoritative position of symbolical books".⁶³

3

The Fathers in Anglican Foundation Documents

The desire of his contemporaries to place Jewel's *Apologia* alongside foundation documents is testimony to the great esteem in which the Church of England has always held the Fathers. Their value was twofold, as witnesses to the content of the primitive faith and as a guide to the right interpretation of Holy Scripture. Scripture was the supreme standard of faith and the Fathers represented the tradition of the Church by which Scripture was rightly interpreted, The *Vincentian Canon* was the test of genuine tradition, what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all. Those foundation documents, *The Canons*, *The Thirty-Nine Articles*, *The Homilies*, *The Book of Common Prayer*, and *The Ordinal*, reinforce the importance of the place of the Fathers in Anglican divinity.

(i). The Canons

(a). The Canons of 1571

An attempt to reform Canon Law resulted in the *Canons of 1571*. In the ten sections there is a canon on preaching which explicitly states that preachers shall "see to it that they teach nothing in the way of a sermon, which they would have religiously held and believed by the people, save what is agreeable to the teaching of the Old or New Testament, and what the

catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected from this self-same doctrine." It goes on to stress that such preachers are to uphold the authority of Articles, Prayer Book, and Ordinal, "Whoever does otherwise, and perplexes the people with contrary doctrine, shall be excommunicated."¹ Here in an official Anglican document is the expressed intention of the English Church to promote the study of the Fathers among its clergy. Bishop Cosin was to commend this as "the Golden Rule of the Church of England".² On this same Canon Bishop Beveridge preached,

So wisely hath our Church provided against novelties; insomuch that had this one rule been duly observed as it ought, there would have been no such thing as heresy or schism amongst us; but we should have all continued firm both to the doctrine and discipline of the Universal Church, and so should have 'held fast the form of sound words' according to the apostle's counsel.³

(b). The Canons of 1603

The *Canons of 1603* root their authority for certain doctrine and practice in the ancient Fathers. Thus Canon XXXI reads, "Forasmuch as the ancient Fathers of the Church, led by the example of the Apostles, appointed, &c., we following their holy and religious example, do constitute and decree, &c"; and Canon XXXII, "According to the judgement of the ancient Fathers, and the practice of the primitive Church, We do ordain, &c". Canon XXXIII states, "It hath been long since provided by many decrees of the ancient Fathers, &c". Canon LX, "Forasmuch as it hath been a solemn, ancient, and laudable custom in the Church of God, continued from the Apostles' time, That, &c". These Canons appeal to patristic authority for the observance of special seasons of ordination, for refusing to ordain a man both deacon and priest on the same day; for ordaining no man either deacon or priest without assigning to him some special sphere wherein his function might be exercised. Canon XXX states that the use of the sign of the Cross is retained as being consonant to the Word of God, and the Judgement of all the ancient Fathers.

(ii). The Thirty Nine Articles

Within the contemporary disputes of reform the *Thirty-Nine Articles* provided an agreed body of teaching in the Church of England, but not a complete conspectus of religious teaching, and are no more a final exposition of Anglican teaching than the Elizabethan Prayer Book is Anglicanism's final word on liturgy. While the Catholic Creeds have permanent and universal value, the value of the Articles is temporary, being concerned with disputes particular to this country in a former age. Nevertheless, in his famous *Tract XC* Newman could maintain "our Articles ... the offspring of an uncatholic age, are through God's good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed to by those who aim at being catholic in heart and doctrine". Owen Chadwick comments that the novelty of Newman's handling of the *Articles* lay,

not so much in an attempt "to extract the maximum breadth from the language," but in his handling of them in "a Catholic direction." He goes on to point out that for the Oxford men, "Their tradition had long sought to draw its divinity from the wells of antiquity, and assumed that the Articles of the sixteenth century would be found to be in agreement with the divinity thence drawn."⁴ The appeal to the Articles is, to that which is much wider than its own particular age or place, it is to the faith of the universal Church of Christ contained in the Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the Church from the beginning. The Church of England holds neither more nor less than that, 'the Faith once delivered to the saints'. J.J.Blunt, said of the Articles,

... though not formed expressly out of ancient models, they are to a very great degree consistent with ancient patristical precedent, and have been shown to correspond in the main, both in sentiment and phraseology, with the writings of the Primitive Church, both by Bishop Beveridge in his notes on his *Exposition of the Articles*; by Welchman; more recently and more fully by Mr Harvey (*Ecclesiae Anglicanae Vindex Catholicus*. Cambridge 1841); and still more recently by Mr. Browne (*An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, Edw.Harold Browne, 1850). Nor, indeed, does the language itself of the Articles fail, occasionally at least, to point to this fact; sufficiently often, at any rate, to show that their compilers were not under the impression which now prevails among so many, that those writings are but dangerous edge-tools.⁵

(a). The Faith of the Undivided Church

In the spirit of this appeal to antiquity Articles 1-5, and 8, assume without question the truth of the Catholic Creeds, affirming the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation in the language of the ancient ecumenical councils, which can be nothing less than an affirmation of the authority of these councils and their definitions, which 'may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture'. The spirit of the first five articles is not restatement but the protecting of the familiar truths of the Faith, with the eighth Article expressing the conviction that the Church is to teach and the Bible to prove. The aim is apologetic, the preserving of the ancient faith from innovation by the Anabaptists on one side and the Roman Church on the other. The doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity are safeguarded, while the Creeds like the Bible are documents of the Faith rather than the Faith itself and so can never be isolated from the life of the Church.

(b). Scripture and Tradition

Chillingworth's statement 'the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants' in the use that some have made of it, is not only inadequate in fairly representing what he originally meant, but misrepresents the place of the Bible in Anglican thinking, as the earlier quotation from Tvard makes plain concerning the Anglican understanding of the relationship between Scripture and Tradition. It is the purpose of Articles 6, 20, and 21, to make this plain. While Article 6 says that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation", and that nothing

is to be believed as an article of Faith that cannot be proved thereby, Article 20 states, "The Church hath ... authority in Controversies of Faith ... yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written ...". The Bible is to be expounded by the Church which is not to stray outside Scriptural limits, which therefore means to teach the Creeds, "for they may be proved by the most certain warrants of Holy Scripture".

The Church's doctrinal authority rests in the Bible and the Creeds as expounded by the Church. In company with the early Fathers the Church of England denies the existence of any dogmatic tradition independent of the Bible, whereas in medieval times the Roman Church tended to put 'Tradition' on an equal standing with Scripture as another source of doctrine. Article 21 which is really aimed at the Council of Trent may seem somewhat negative, but its concern is to underline that only general consent can give weight to dogmatic decisions, and the more general the consent, the greater the authority with which they must be regarded. The decisions of the first four General Councils are unquestionably accepted in the Church of England, and, less certainly the fifth, sixth, and seventh, though,

In fact, the fifth and sixth councils gave definitions on the refinements of Christology which the Anglicans of the sixteenth and seventeenth century happily accepted. Their handling of the seventh council condemning iconoclasm needs special treatment.⁶

This is embodied in the revised Canons and specifically stated in Canon A5, *Of the doctrine of the Church of England*. This states,

The doctrine of the Church of England is grounded in the Holy Scriptures, and in such teachings of the ancient Fathers and Councils of the Church as are agreeable to the said Scriptures. In particular such doctrine is to be found in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordinal.

(c). The Canon of Scripture

Article 6 is also expressing that the Church of England understands by Holy Scripture, only those canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, "of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church". Such is the principle of St. Vincent of Lerins, "we hold that which has been believed everywhere, always and by all men". With the Apocrypha, which finds a place in the Church's lectionaries, she follows the teaching of St. Jerome and Rufinus, who put them on a lower level of canonicity, regarding them as having ecclesiastical, but not full dogmatic, authority.

(d). Anglicanism and the Primitive Faith

Similarly in the Articles concerning the Church, Ministry, and Sacraments, there is that same concern to model the primitive Church in the acceptance of infants for Baptism and the understanding of its regenerative effects, as well as a belief in the real Presence in the Eucharist

and an apostolic order of ministry. Such doctrine and practice is consistent with primitive Christianity. Edmund Welchman's work, *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles in Scripture and the Fathers* (1790), sets out to make this point concerning the Articles. A similar work by William Beveridge (1638-1708), Bishop of Asaph, *Discourse on the XXXIX Articles* (which in its full and correct form did not appear until 1840), is an able defence of the "doctrine of the Church of England as consonant to Scripture, reason, and the Fathers". In the 19th century Cary's *Testimonies of the Fathers* (1835), is concerned to expound the Articles from the writings of the Fathers. There are thirty-six Fathers from the first four centuries he lists as authorities quoted, among others. In the Preface he acknowledges borrowing from Cranmer, Beveridge, Tomline, Wall, and the massive patristic researches of Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*. Not only has he consulted Welchman, but relied heavily on Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, particularly of the first five Articles which are from Burton's two volumes of *Testimonies*, whose scholarly concerns in this matter were similar. His concern is to remind the clergy of his time of the important principle that characterises the Church of England, and distinguishes her from every other reformed communion, "her marked and avowed adherence to the Catholic faith as received in the primitive and purest ages of Christianity". Therefore his purpose is to invite his fellow clergy to the storehouses of divine knowledge in the Fathers to find the Church's interpretation of Scripture, following "that path so plainly pointed out to us by the authoritative records of our own Church ..." His concern is to establish the authority of the Fathers by illustrating how fundamental and basic they are to the doctrine enshrined in the Articles. A quotation from Bishop Michael Ramsey might well sum up these thoughts. Writing of the existence of Episcopacy in the English Church he says,

... its existence declared the truth that the Church in England was not a new foundation nor a local realization of the invisible Church, but the expression on English soil of the one historical and continuous visible Church of God. It meant that, in spite of the pressure of Erastianism and even the frequent acceptance of Erastianism by the church's leaders, the English Church was reminded by its own shape and structure that it was not merely an English institution but the utterance in England of the Universal Church.

This fact about the Anglican Church coloured the thought of the Caroline divines. Their theology was anti-papal, but was opposed also to the new scholasticism of the Reformers. It appealed to the Bible as the test of doctrine and also to the fathers and to the continuous tradition of Church life, *semper et ubique et ab omnibus*, both in West and East alike. The study of Greek theology gave to the churchmanship of these seventeenth century divines a breadth which reached beyond the West and its controversies; and their idea of the Church is summed up by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes when, in his *Preces Privatae*, he prays 'for the whole Church Catholic Eastern, Western our own.'⁷

The Carolines would never have seen such a vision if it were not already there in an embryonic understanding in the Church of England's Formularies.

(iii). The Homilies

(a). The First Book of the Homilies

The first book was printed and ordered by royal authority in 1547, twelve in number, obtaining the authority of Convocation in 1553 during Edward VI's reign. Ridley⁸ points out that they do not appear to have been approved by any Commission of Bishops and divines, and opinions expressed in them may be assumed to be those of Cranmer, who for the first time in his life was able to issue a theological statement exactly as he desired it. The intention was to produce a second book, to which reference is made in the the Prayer-Book of 1552 where a Rubric authorises the reading of one of the homilies if a sermon is not preached. However, the death of the King frustrated the design. They were "appointed by the King's majesty to be declared and read by all parsons, vicars, and curates every Sunday in their churches at High Mass". During Mary's reign this was exchanged for other homilies, projected both in Royal Articles, 1554, and in Synod, 1555, but never achieved.

(b). The Second Book of the Homilies

A second appeared during the reign of Elizabeth and was approved in Convocation along with the *Thirty-Nine Articles* in 1553. It is commended along with the former book, in Article 35, which orders them to be read in churches ... diligently and distinctly. The object of this Article is to commend the doctrine contained in the *Books of Homilies*, and secure the reading of them in the parish churches. The reason for the order lies in the fact that there was resentment to the *Homilies*, and many of the old-fashioned clergy reacting to their doctrinal content read them unintelligently. The nature of assent demanded to the *Homilies* is that required of documents of general authority and so they do not stand on equal authority with the Articles and Prayer Book.

They came into existence to meet a temporary need. Preachers were scarce, and as Kidd points out,⁹ they were either incapable owing to the decay of learning in the Universities which followed the destruction of the monasteries, or they were intemperate because those who could preach were partisan. Hence the need to put Homilies composed by prominent divines into the hands of the clergy. Toon¹⁰ thinks that Cranmer may have been inspired by his knowledge of Luther's collection of sermons for reading in parish churches. Wheatly¹¹ writes,

... that this is not at all contrary to the practice of the ancient Church, is evident from the testimony of Sixtus Sinesis, who, in the fourth book of his Library, saith, 'that our countryman Alcuinus collected and reduced into order, by the command of Charles the Great, the homilies of the most famous doctors of the Church upon the Gospels, which were read in churches all the year round.

They numbered two hundred and nine. In *Theophilus Anglicanus* [1886], Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln answers a question concerned to know where the Faith of the English Church was before the Articles were drawn up. His answer is that such Faith is found in the Holy Scriptures, as interpreted by the Church from the beginning, and the Three Creeds. He goes on to say "... she appeals to 'Ancient Authors, Ancient Canons, Fathers, and Decrees of the Church in her Ordinal, Homilies, and Canons. She is ready to be judged by the earliest and best ages of the Church.'" As a specimen Wordsworth quotes from the *Homily against Peril of Idolatry*,

It shall be declared that this truth and doctrine ... was believed and taught of the old holy Fathers, and most ancient learned Doctors, and received in the old Primitive Church, which was most uncorrupt and pure; and this declaration shall be made out of the said holy Doctors' own writings, and out of the ancient Histories Ecclesiastical to the same belonging¹²

A single volume containing the two books of *Homilies* was published in 1843 and edited by John Griffiths, which was republished in 1908. It is introduced by the Elizabethan Preface. The first book of twelve were mainly written by Cranmer, Bonner, and Bonner's Chaplain. The second book is mainly the work of John Jewel but Parker and Grindal contributed. The Preface expresses the royal concern that the people of England should have the Word of God preached to them so that they may be guided by it into the ways of true doctrine, godliness and virtue, and safeguarded from erroneous doctrines, superstition and idolatry. So the clergy are charged to read these homilies on Sundays and Holy-days when there is no sermon.

(c). Selected References from the First Book

The first book contains twelve homilies. The first, (Cranmer) *Concerning the Reading of Holy Scripture* quotes John Chrysostom and Fulgentius¹³ on salvation in relation to what is contained in Holy Scripture. In the second part of the sermon Chrysostom is used in a lengthy quotation to remind the hearer that God does not leave without help those who wish to understand the Scriptures; and St Augustine's encouragement to persevere in reading until the meaning is made known is quoted. The second Cranmer sermon on *The Salvation of Mankind* quotes from Hilary, Basil and Ambrose and then cites in support of his argument on justification by faith, Origen, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Augustine, Prosper, Oecumenius, Photius, and Bernard.¹⁴ "And after this wise to be justified, only by this true and lively faith in Christ, speaketh all the old and ancient authors, both Greeks and Latins." His concern is to prove that he does not subscribe to Solifidianism. In view of the Article 11 on Justification which refers to this homily, there is a measure of authority about it, as there is about all these homilies because of Article 35. In Cranmer's third homily on *Good Works Annexed to Faith* he makes wide use of St. Augustine's exposition of the Psalms, quotes St. Ambrose (*de Vocatione Gentium*, Lib.i. cap.3.) and then weaves in a quotation from a Chrysostom sermon on faith.¹⁵ His three

homilies, *Salvation, Of True, Lively and Christian Faith*, and *Of Good Works Annexed unto Faith*. Ridley points out, form a continuous statement of the doctrine of Justification. Here he uses the Fathers, Hilary and Ambrose, to declare that "faith alone justifieth" and that "he which believeth in Christ should be saved without works, by faith alone" adding, that forgiveness of sins is a free gift of faith without works. However, he is quick to qualify what kind of faith he means, that the faith necessary for salvation must be "a true and lively faith", which manifested itself in good living and good works. A person living in ungodliness while professing belief in Christ and the words of Scripture, cannot claim to have faith. However, when in exceptional circumstances like the thief on the Cross, a person can be saved by true faith alone without works. Quoting the Fathers he agrees with Augustine that if a Jew or pagan clothed the naked and fed the poor, he would receive no heavenly reward for this, adding to his argument the statement of Chrysostom,¹⁶ "I can show a man that by faith without works lived and came to heaven; but without faith never man had life."¹⁷

(d). Selected References from the Second Book

The second book comprises twenty-one homilies. The second homily, *On the Peril of Idolatry*, resorts to Jerome and Tertullian for a correct translation of the scriptural word for image from the Latin and Greek. After scriptural exposition concerning this theme, Athanasius, Lactantius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, are brought in to support the argument against images. Then the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius is used to trace the development of this trend from paintings to images. "Wherefore let us beseech God, that we, being warned by his holy word forbidding all idolatry, and by the writings of the old godly doctors and *Ecclesiastical Histories*, written and preserved by God's ordinance for our admonition and warning, may flee from idolatry ...".¹⁸ Even though it may be argued that the present argument from the *consensus patrum* may not be accurate, the appeal to the Fathers is an unmistakable reference to their authority. In the homily *On Fasting* the argument turns on the question of good works and St. Augustine is invoked to make the point that good works do not bring forth grace but are brought forth by grace, while resort is made to the practice of the early Church through Eusebius's history.¹⁹ In the homily on *Common Prayer and the Sacraments* scriptural and patristic sanction is expounded. Concerning the receiving of Holy Communion reverently, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Irenaeus, Ignatius, Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, and Athanasius, are quoted,

All which sayings, both of the Holy Scripture and godly men, truly attributed to this heavenly banquet and feast, if we would often call to mind, O how would they inflame our hearts to desire the participation of these mysteries, and oftentimes to covet after this bread, continually to thirst for this food;²⁰

Then comes the Council of Nicaea and a quotation from Eusebius relating a sermon of Emissenus, a godly father, that when going "to the reverend Communion ... thou look up with faith upon the Holy Body and Blood of thy God, thou marvel with reverence, thou touch it with thy mind, thou receive it with the hand of thy heart".²¹ Speaking of the true Church, the homily for Whitsunday²² states three notes or marks by which it is known,

pure and sound doctrine, the Sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of the ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God and also to the doctrine of the ancient fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith.

(e). Concluding Comments

More specific references could be listed. Suffice it to conclude with the fact that in the Index the names of thirty-four Fathers and others from the primitive Church are listed. Here, the underlying principle of the English Reformation, the patristic mind, finds practical expression in homiletic teaching. Like the Fathers the Reformers were preachers and pastors, concerned with the communication of the message of salvation to both theologians and ordinary people. In both the all-embracing and integrating theme of salvation, provides their principle of unity and makes their theology primarily pastoral, although at the same time it is soaked in Scripture and soundly academic.

(iv). The Book of Common Prayer

(a). Antecedents

In the Introduction, section II, to his *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, J.H.Blunt points out that the Church of England has had distinctive formularies of its own "as far back as the details of its customs in respect to Divine Worship can be traced".²³ He goes on to say that while the early history of these formularies is obscure, there is good reason to believe that they were derived, through Lyons, from the great Church of Ephesus, in which St. John spent the latter half of his life. There was an intimate connection between the Churches of Gaul and England in the early ages of Christianity, of which we still have memorial among the ancient French saints in our Calendar and Blunt claims that this ancient Gallican Liturgy came from Ephesus.

St. Augustine in the 6th century, found in England the same rites he had observed in France, which, he remarks, differed in many particulars from those of Rome. On the advice of Gregory the Great he was gentle with those liturgical differences, and even though he attempted to gain universal acceptance of the Roman customs, the ancient Church in England adhered to its own ancient rite for many years, except in the dioceses founded by Augustine in which there was the most close agreement with the Roman customs. According to some authorities, Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury 1078, remodelled the Offices of the Church and left behind him the *Breviary of*

Sarum, containing the daily services, together with the *Sarum Missal* and *Sarum Manual*. though these liturgical uses are probably not older than Richard Poore, dean and bishop, 1198-1228. These and some other *Service-Books* constituted the "Sarum Use" which became the principal devotional Rule of the Church of England, though there were other *Uses* in York, Bangor and Hereford, traceable to a common origin deriving from a source independent of Rome.

(b). Principles of Liturgical Reform

It was in 1543 that Thomas Cranmer announced the King's intention to begin a reform of the service books but with Henry's death it only achieved some piecemeal revision. Nevertheless Cranmer continued, and the history of the Prayerbook down to the end of Edward's reign is the biography of Cranmer. Mason writes,

It was a task to which he was well-fitted. So far as the study was possible in that age, Cranmer was a student of comparative liturgiology. 'A singularly clear answer to the supposition not infrequently entertained, that he was not well informed about liturgical order and ritual propriety, may be given' says Mr. Burbidge, [Liturgies and Offices of the Church p.xiv] 'by putting into the hands of his critics his copy of *Gemma Animae*, or *Directorium Sacerdotum secundum usum Sarum*, or Erasmus's version of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*'; and by offering them a choice of his editions of Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*'. It was Cranmer who introduced into the West the now familiar "prayer of St. Chrysostom". Some features of the *Second Prayerbook* were very probably due to his acquaintance with the Mozarabic offices of Spain. He had paid attention to the various old English uses, some of which would have been lost to memory if he had not happened to mention them in his Preface to the Prayerbook.²⁴

In two Acts of Uniformity Edward VI states that he has appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury with other bishops and learned divines to revise the Liturgy, "having as well eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture, as to the usages in the Primitive Church" In 1552, the Act speaks of The Book of Common Prayer, "a very godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church ...".²⁵ The 1552 Book arose from the agitation of Continental Reformers that the Church of England had not gone far enough in its Reformation. Nevertheless the principle of this English Reformation, which is anti-papal but Catholic, is maintained. The Preface to the 1549 Book makes this plain, pointing out that in the passage of time the Common Prayers of the Church have become corrupted. The intention of the ancient Fathers it points out was that such Divine Service was,

for a great advancement of godliness. For they so ordered the matter, that the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof), should be read over once every year; intending thereby, that the Clergy, and especially such as were Ministers in the congregation, should, (by often reading, and meditation in God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves and more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries to the Truth; and further,

that the people (by daily hearing of holy Scripture read in the Church might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed by the love of his true Religion.²⁶

The Preface goes on to point out that "... this godly and decent Order of the ancient Fathers hath been so altered ..." and broken up by additions of legends, Responds, Commemorations etc., that while books of the Bible were read, they were never finished. The ancient Fathers had also divided the psalms into seven Portions for daily reading, but many of these were omitted. With a new Kalendar providing for an orderly reading, of Holy Scripture and certain Rules, "here you have an Order for Prayer, and for the reading of the Holy Scripture, much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers".

(c). Of Ceremonies

Of Ceremonies, explains why some are retained and some abolished. Some have grown into abuse but others have been retained because they contribute to a decent order in the Church, and edification. St. Augustine of Hippo is cited in support of this policy, since in his time he complained that ceremonies had grown to such a number that Christians were worse than the Jews in this respect. His counsel was that such a yoke and burden be taken away. This situation was much worse in the 16th century. The point is made that some ceremonies there must be for the keeping of any Order or quiet discipline in the Church, and that old ceremonies ought to be revered for their antiquity.

Evan Daniel writes,

The principles which guided the Prayer Book revisers were very simple. In doctrinal matters they took for their standard of orthodoxy the Bible, and the belief of the Church of the first five centuries; in framing formularies for public worship, they retained whatsoever they could of the old service-books; in ritual matters they continued to follow the traditions of their own Church, deviating from them only where spiritual edification rendered such deviation necessary. Their object was not to revolutionize but reform; not to get as far away as possible from the Church of Rome, or from any other Church, but by retracing the steps whereby the primitive Church of England had 'fallen from herself' to return to Catholic faith and practice. Hence Queen Elizabeth was perfectly justified in saying in her letter to the Roman Catholic princes, 'that there was no new faith propagated in England no new religion set up but that which was commanded by our Saviour, practised by the primitive Church and approved by the Fathers of the best antiquity'. The same principles are distinctly and authoritatively set forth in the 30th Canon Ecclesiastical which says: 'So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such-like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God nor offend the minds of sober men; only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders.'²⁷

Wordsworth²⁸ in answering the question concerning the observation of rules in the prescribing of Rites and Ceremonies points out that "they must take care that the Rites which they ordain, be reasonable and decorous, and, as much as may be, in conformity with the ancient practice of the Universal Church; ..."

(d). Apology for the Book of Common Prayer

Wheatly prefaces his *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*,²⁹ with an Introduction in which he sees the necessity of an apologetic to those who disparage the Book of Common Prayer. His concern is to convince them of the Lawfulness and Necessity of National precomposed Liturgies in general. He appeals to the practice of the ancient Jews, Jesus, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians. Such precomposed forms of prayer are the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms and other set forms of prayer. Not only from the internal evidence of the New Testament but from the testimony of the primitive Church he builds his thesis. "It is plain then, that the three first centuries joined in the use of divers precomposed set forms of prayer, besides the Lord's prayer and psalms: after which, (besides the Liturgies of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose) we have also undeniable testimonies of the same", after which he cites Gregory Nazianzen, the Council of Laodicea and the Collection of the Canons of the Catholic Church; "which Collection was established in the fourth General Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451; by which establishment the whole Christian Church was obliged to the use of Liturgies, so far as the authority of a General Council extends."³⁰ Wheatly concludes³¹ that since a national precomposed Liturgy is warranted by,

... the constant practice of all the ancient Jews, our Saviour himself, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians; and since it is a grievance to neither clergy nor laity, but appears quite, on the other hand, as well from their concurrent testimonies, as by our own experience, to be so highly expedient, as that there can be no decent or uniform performance of God's worship without it; our adversaries themselves must allow it to be necessary.

(e). Reformation not Innovation

Wheatly also points out that in revising the Liturgy of the day,

... it was not the design of our Reformers (nor indeed ought it to have been) to introduce a new form of worship into the Church, but to correct and amend the old one; and to purge it from the gross corruptions which had gradually crept into it, and so to render the divine service more agreeable to the Scriptures, and to the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church in the best and purest ages of Christianity.

In which reformation they proceeded gradually, according as they were able. Dr. Comber is quoted as describing the character of the Prayer Book that "its doctrine is pure and primitive; its ceremonies so few and innocent, that most of the Christian world agree in them; ... its language

... most of the words and phrases being taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and the rest are the expression of the first and purest ages..."³² in the opinion of Grotius the English Liturgy comes so near to the primitive pattern, that none of the Reformed Churches can compare with it.³³

So F.D.Maurice, one of Anglicanism's greatest theologians in the 19th century whose theology had its roots in St. John and the Greek Fathers, could say, "The Liturgy has been to me a great theological teacher; a perpetual testimony that the Father, the Son and the Spirit, the one God blessed for ever, is the author of all life, freedom, unity to men; that our prayers are nothing but responses to His voice speaking to us and in us".³⁴ One can see what Maurice means by such a statement. The Prayer book is not only a manual of public devotion, it contains the fullest statement of the teaching of the Church. In its lections from Holy Scripture, its creeds, its prayers, its thanksgivings and exhortations, its confessions and absolutions, the occasional offices, it brings before us the great articles of the Christian faith in what we may call their natural order and proportion, in their organic relation to other truths, and with constant practical reference to their subjective aspects. In the Thirty-nine Articles these doctrines are set forth mainly as objective truths; the Prayer-Book connects them directly with our spiritual needs and our daily conduct.

(f). The Source and Context of Theology

As the theology of Athanasius cannot be understood apart from the liturgy of Bishop Serapion, so the theology of the Reformers and their successors must find its origin and explanation in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Here is a fundamental principle of patristic theology, that the corporate worship of the Church is the context of Christian thinking, the source of theology, where theology and experience, intellect and intuition, thinking and praying are kept together. Rooted in the Fathers, Anglicanism has always sought to keep these things together, from Reformers and Carolines, to the Oxford Fathers, Butler, Maurice, Temple, Thornton and Ramsey, and one could cite many more. The concern has always been for an ideal of theology which was not divorced from prayer and liturgy, for a way of life and worship informed and structured by theological vision. We have a patristic theology when we rediscover the liturgical character of the Church's life in which we experience the Church, not as mere institution, doctrine or system but as the all-embracing *Life*, the passage into the reality of redemption and transfiguration. The *appeal to the Fathers* in the Reformers is much more than an historical reference to the past but is an appeal to the *mind of the Fathers*, and to follow them, means to acquire their mind.

The p̄face.



It is euidēt unto
all men, diligētly
redēng holy scrip-
ture, and auncient
authors, that
fro the Apostles
w̄me, there hath
been these ord̄es
of Ministers in
Christes churchē
Bishops, Dia-
cons, and Deacons
whiche Offices
were euermore had, in suche reuerent estimacion,
that no manne by his owne private auctoritie,
might presume, to execute any of them, excepte he
were firste called, tried, examined and knowne, to
haue suche qualities, as wer requisite for the same.
And also, by publique prayer, with imposition of
handes, approued, and admitted thereunto. And
therefore, to the intent these ord̄es should be con-
tinued, and reuerently v̄sed, and esteemed, in this
Churchē of Englaunde, it is requisite, that no man
(not beeyng at this present, Bishoppe, Diocessan
Deacon) shall execute any of them, excepte he bee
called, tried, examined, and admitted, accordyng
to the forme hereafter folowynge. And none shall be
admitted a Deacon, except he bee .xxi. yeres of age

(v). The Ordinal

(a). The Test of Catholicity

A question is posed in Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*³⁵ asking whether the Church of England can stand the test applied by the ancient Fathers to test the catholicity of Christian communities. That is "Whether her Ministers derive their commission from the Apostles", [Irenaeus iv.43.p.343 Grabe]. In the words of Tertullian "Let them produce the original records of their churches; let them unfold the roll of their bishops running down in due succession from the beginning ...", that is from the Apostles. [De Praescript.Heret. c.32]. The answer is that the Church of England can trace the Holy Orders of her bishops and priests in unbroken succession to the Apostles. Archbishop Bramhall³⁶ is cited, "Apostolical succession is the nerve and sinew of Apostolic unity"; and Bishop Beveridge³⁷ "They certainly hazard their salvation at a strange rate, who separate themselves from such a Church as ours, wherein Apostolical Succession, the root of all Christian communion, hath been so entirely preserved, and the Word and Sacraments are so effectually administered; ..."

(b). The Preface

The Preface to the Ordinal which has varied only in a few verbal alterations since 1549. testifies to this. Here it states that "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the holy Scripture and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ...". Article 36 approves this, "The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops and ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; ...". The Canons of 1603 in Canon 36 affirm again what is expressed in the Preface to the Ordinal and in the quoted Article. This aspect of the English Church - its historic order, its sacramental life, is that in which she claims kinship with the pre-Reformation Church, the Church of antiquity but also with acceptable Catholic elements still existing in the Church of Rome. The English Reformers may have been anti-Papal, but they were not anti-Catholic, and retained a sense of catholic faith and life to be preserved in a reformed idiom that was consistent with and in continuity with the Church of antiquity.

4.

The Patristic Spirit of Reform

(i). Continuity with the Primitive Church

As the history of the English Church is traced from the beginning of the seventh century to the middle of the sixteenth, it is seen to possess the essential features of the Christianity of the patristic period. The earlier British Church had sent bishops to the Council of Arles in 314 A.D., and possibly to Nicaea in 325 A.D., and Sardica in 343 A.D.; and the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons is everywhere found in the later Church of the English nation. With the ministry the sacraments were retained. Baptism and the Eucharist are habitually found as the means of bestowing and maintaining Christian life. Both ministry and sacraments were grouped round the preservation of the historic faith.¹

Here is expressed that strong conviction that Anglicanism claims, a continuity with the primitive and undivided Church as a fact rooted in the truth of history and which sixteenth century reform has nowhere weakened or destroyed.

(ii). Archbishop Parker and the Argument from Antiquity

With Elizabeth 1st on the throne and Matthew Parker reluctantly at Canterbury (1559-75) this is the foundation on which Anglicanism was to be built. In Parker, deep study of the Bible and the Fathers strengthened a mind naturally mediating and judicial, in a scholar who was a great lover of antiquity. A more special interest was the ancient history of the Church in

England and its records, which, explains Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, Parker needed for his specific purpose.² These records were in the form of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts now in the possession of Corpus Christi College Library in Cambridge. The religious situation at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was delicate and difficult when in 1565 Thomas Stapleton published his translation of *Bede's History of the Church of England*. He reiterated the Roman charge that the Church of England was a piece of *newfangledness* supporting it by an appeal to history. Parker's specific purpose was to respond to this charge of *newfangledness* and to awaken confidence in the Church of England. To this end he collected these manuscripts and embarked upon his study.

The wealth of Biblical manuscripts and of early commentaries upon the Bible, which are included among our manuscripts, is no doubt due to one great and important line of defence of the Church of England. The study of the Bible and of its meaning to the early Fathers of the Church, which was an appeal to sound biblical scholarship, enabled Parker to claim that many changes could be explained and justified by the authority of the Bible and of its earliest interpretation in the Primitive Church.³

More peculiar to his purpose was his concern to prove from his Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that it was Rome that had erred and was guilty of *newfangledness*. He found authority in the history of the English Church itself, as embodied in these manuscripts, for bible-reading in the "vulgar tongue", and that transubstantiation and the celibacy of the clergy had no historic foundation in the Anglo-Saxon Church. In his Bampton Lectures (1830), *An Enquiry into the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, (Oxford, 1830) Henry Soames cites Bede in his concern to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular and Bede's diocesan, the Bishop of Lindisfarne (710), Eadfridus, "who engaged in the task of rendering Holy Scripture into his native idiom."

All this was no mere antiquarianism. It served to bring a sense of security and solid foundation in ancient tradition to a Church which had undoubtedly passed through revolutionary change. It was an appeal to sound learning and went along with the primary appeal of Anglicanism to the Scriptures, the "ancient fathers" and the early Councils of the Church. At this stage of the struggle the controversy was mainly with Rome: it was against Rome that history was called to witness ... The importance of all this ... lies in the consistent refusal of the writers to allow any severance between the Scriptures and the early Church on the one hand and their Anglicanism on the other.⁴

The Reformers were dealing with a particular situation and working out their theory in the light of it, and like every living theology it springs out of, and reflects, the worship of the Church, so that their theology finds its origin and explanation in the Book of Common Prayer. A point made earlier is that there is a consistency between them and Athanasius whose theology must be understood in relation to the liturgy of Bishop Serapion, indeed the whole patristic tradition in which prayer is the seed-bed of belief. *Lex orandi legem statuat credendi*, let the law of prayer establish the law of belief. A theology that cannot be prayed is no theology at all.

Their particular preoccupation with an anti-Roman Reformation was soon to cease. Within their own Church as well as outside it there was soon to come a violent and able reaction from those, who, comparing Anglicanism's Reformation with that of Continental Protestantism, felt it had not gone far enough in rejecting catholic institution and practice in doctrine, ministry and observances. But the principle and course of Anglicanism was already laid. Those principles

... can be summarily described as a strong attachment to the authority of Scripture, and of the early Church with its 'Fathers' and councils, to the tradition of an ordered liturgical worship and of the ancient threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, and to the view that the Church of England, basing itself on sound reason in matters of relative indifference, 'may ordain, change, and abolish ... so that all things be done to edifying.'⁵

(iii) Our Peculiar Character

Henry Cary describes this *peculiar character* of Anglicanism.

A principle which especially characterises the Church of England and distinguishes her from every other reformed communion, is her marked and avowed adherence to the catholic faith as received in the primitive and purest ages of Christianity. She has acted on this universally and acknowledged truth that whatsoever is new in the fundamentals of religion, must be false. On this ground, and believing that in the earliest ages the great truths of Christianity were known to, and plainly professed by the Church, she (and here he quotes from *The Peculiar Character of the Church of England* by Dr. Jebb, the Bishop of Limerick) 'in the first instance, and as her grand foundation, derives all obligatory matter of faith, that is, to use her own expression, all 'that is to be believed for necessity of salvation,' from the Scripture alone: and herein she differs from the Church of Rome. But she systematically resorts to the concurrent sense of the Church catholic, both for assistance in the interpretation of the sacred text, and for guidance in those matters of religion, which the text has left at large: and herein she differs from every reformed communion.'⁶

It is interesting to note what an Orthodox theologian makes of this *peculiar character* of our Church. Nicholas Lossky⁷ points out that the mistake some Orthodox make is to seek in Anglicanism, past and present, statements which could be interpreted as symbolical texts. A symbolical text for an Orthodox is the expression of the Church's belief voiced by the episcopate as representative of the whole body, so that a doctrinal statement made at a Council and confirmed by ecumenical assent on the part of the whole people is not merely an 'official statement of the Church's position on a given point, but the catholic expression of the one faith of the Church. *The Thirty Nine Articles* is not such a symbolical text, though Jewel's *Apologia* came nearest to being such a text. Lossky's advice to an Orthodox curious about Anglicanism is this.

Instead of trying to organise quasi-symbolical texts such as the *Thirty Nine Articles* into a consistent doctrinal pattern or discussing the validity of Anglican orders on the basis of the Apostolic succession he should turn to other sources

such as the actual works of Anglican divines, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *English Hymnal*, and study them. The living tradition of this *peculiar character* of Anglicanism "remains hidden in liturgical and devotional literature such as the Book of Common Prayer or the Hymnal and the works of those divines, without really finding catholic expression in a *statement* which might be described as a corporate act of the whole Church.

Lossky makes a plea that an Orthodox read Anglicanism not from the outside but 'from the inside', meaning a sympathetic reading of the other's experience with total readiness to put one's own 'traditional' formulations in question and with absolute confidence in the indestructibility of truth. Returning to the *Thirty Nine Articles* he says,

... it should perhaps be emphasised that instead of being the expression of the common spiritual experience of members of the Church of England, *in the light* of which the writings of such or such a divine, or this or that part of the English Liturgy, may or must be viewed to be rightly understood, it is the writings of the divine, the prayer, the hymn, which reflect an implicit, more or less grudging, more or less accepting, commentary on the formulations. They provide the further definition of certain terms lacking in the Articles themselves and will generally yield an impression of Anglican doctrine and spirituality ...⁸,

from that which a mere reading of the Formularies will give. He illustrates this by comparing Article XIX and Hooker. The Article describes the Church as a "visible congregation of faithful men where the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments ministered according to Christ's ordinance", which Lossky judges to be somewhat 'laconic'. In Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, we find (Bk.V, ch.. LVI. 5-7) that the Church is not primarily a 'visible society of men' (Bk.III, ch. 1. v, 14), nor is the notion of a mystical body something apprehensible in 'our minds by intellectual conceit' (Bk.III, ch.1. 2.); here the Church and Sacrament become really and truly one. McAdoo describes Book V, as the first in-depth theological commentary on the *Book of Common Prayer*, "... a genre that would develop in a matter of decades with works such as those of Anthony Sparrow, Hamon L'Estrange and John Cosin . . ."

It is a profound theological exposition of why Anglicans believe, think and worship as they do. Church, ministry, sacraments, liturgical principles and practice, are all discussed and not merely in the 'parochial' setting but in the context of participation in the Life of the Incarnate Lord through the grace of Word and Sacraments in the corporate fellowship of the Church.⁹

Throughout Hooker there is that wide vision of the continuity and wholeness of the Church's Tradition, not in the sense of establishing a pedigree, but in the transmission of certain living qualities of faith and order which link the present Church with the Primitive Church, being at once the assurance and norm of catholicity.

Lossky then gives two lengthy quotations from Lancelot Andrewes, from *The Nativity Sermon*¹⁰ and from a *Pentecost Sermon*¹¹. Here Andrewes expresses an essentially and much

more explicitly Eucharistic conception of the Church in which is a rich conception of symbolism and the full significance of the Eucharist in the Christian's life. The final vision on which the sermon ends, of man's partaking of the divine life in the Feast of the Kingdom, is, as Lossky claims, best expressed in the *Pentecost Sermon* and the exposition of the mysterious presence, here and now, of the Eighth Day in the Church instituted at Pentecost. Here in his preaching, not only in the content that expresses an organic theology, but also in the style, Andrewes is most characteristically patristic. It was these successors of the Reformers who were to be called upon to defend and elucidate this *peculiar character* of Anglicanism into an expression of the Primitive Church on English soil, as within and without the Church of England they responded to attacks on its fundamental nature. Cary in 1835 lamented that this *peculiar character* of the English Church was little regarded by the generality of its clergy, and H.B.Swete in 1904 wished that the clergy of every school would bring their convictions to that same test of the Fathers as previous generations of Anglican divines.

(iv). Reading from the 'Inside'

In Lossky's advice to the Orthodox in their reading of Anglicanism lies a clue for today's Anglican in grasping in a living way from the 'inside' its *peculiar character*. As the contemporary Orthodox is advised to put in question his own 'traditional' formulations and to have absolute confidence in the indestructibility of truth, so the contemporary Anglican will need to suspend most of the responses and unlearn most of the habits of the modern mind that have created the great gulf between this and all preceding ages. As we do not translate Shakespeare into modern English in order to understand him, so in Greek, Latin and Caroline divine there is no easy process of changing the images. Such a tampering with their fashions of expression will only result in losing the substance of what they are saying. The images they use are what Bishop Ian Ramsey described as *disclosure models*, specific images with a depth of meaning that develop an understanding of what is presented in several directions at once. They "are rooted in disclosures and born in insight" and hold together two things in such a way that thought about one produces some understanding in depth of the other. Hence the Anglican Fathers use the language and imagery of patristic theology because the poetic vision of these early Fathers could only be expressed as they, in fact, expressed it.

When all these divines are allowed to speak in their own voices, there is no substitute for reading what they say as they say it. One finds in them what Lossky found, a patristic theology in an English idiom, which was no mere repetition of what the Fathers said, nor the transforming of them into a formal and infallible authority and theology into a patristic scholasticism. That would have been a betrayal of the very spirit of patristic theology. What is present in these

Anglican divines is a recovery of the spirit of the Fathers and the secret inspiration that made them true witnesses of the Church. Hence for the Reformers and Caroline divines the Fathers are not mere relics of the past but living witnesses and contemporaries with them so that what constitutes the essential feature of the Fathers, their charismatic life in the Church lives again in these Anglican Fathers in the apostolic tradition they have received. Thus it happens that the same faith of the Apostles which is relived and represented throughout all ages by the Fathers, and makes the age of the Fathers a perennial presence in the Church, is relived by the Anglican divines themselves, as they appropriate the *consensus patrum* normatively and critically, in the development of that *peculiar character* of Anglicanism. It was this *peculiar character* of Anglicanism that Lossky, was able to see, somewhat laconically in its Formularies, but much more explicitly in the writings of her divines, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and *The English Hymnal*. Looking at Anglicanism from the inside he was able to see a *return to the Fathers* in Hooker and Andrewes. Part Two of this thesis is concerned with the writings of these divines and the reading of them from the 'inside'.

Part Two : Fathers and Carolines

5

Successors and Builders

(i) Newman and Routh

Thomas M. Parker speculates that when Newman spent two hours with Dr. Routh of Magdalen to receive his opinion on his own work *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, Routh had no need to introduce him to the Fathers in 1834. "What he could do and may have done, was to point out that, besides Bull, many of the great Caroline divines were patristic students and based their theology upon the Fathers."¹ Parker points out that it would seem natural, with Newman writing *Tracts*, reviving doctrines submerged since the non-juring schism, for Routh to point out that the interpretation of Scripture, the Anglican Formularies and the Fathers, to which Newman appealed, had been held before and written into a considerable corpus of theological writing. Parker's point is that Newman came to the Carolines by way of the Fathers and not vice-versa, and that his dedication to Routh in *The Prophetical Office of the Church* in 1837, which speaks of Routh as having been preserved "to report to a forgetful generation what was the theology of their Fathers," suggests that he has in mind the classic Anglican theologians. For not only was Routh the great reviver of patristic studies in Oxford, after a period of relative neglect, with the publication of his *Reliquae Sacrae*, he was, Parker points out, " ... the man who, even in his appearance, retaining as he did the old clerical dress, recalled the great figures of the classical Anglican age ... ", and in the view of Oxford, the "living representative of a tradition submerged by the metaphysical and apologetic trend of eighteenth century Anglican theology."

These successors of the Reformers were builders, their work being the natural outcome and growth of what the Reformers had laid, not merely in the opinions of thinkers but in the foundation documents of Anglicanism. If those foundations had not been there Anglican theology

in the seventeenth century would have been quite different. These Anglican divines of the seventeenth century continue to hold the Fathers in special esteem, but as Michael Ramsey² points out

Whereas the Edwardian and Elizabethan divines had been interested in the Fathers chiefly as a means of proving what had or had not been the primitive doctrine and practice, the Caroline divines went farther in using the thought and piety of the Fathers within the structure of their own theological exposition. Their use of the Fathers had these two noteworthy characteristics. (1) Not having, as did the Continental Reformers, a preoccupation with the doctrines of justification or predestination they followed the Fathers of the Nicene age in treating the Incarnation as the central doctrine of the faith. Indeed a feeling of the centrality of the Incarnation became a recurring feature of Anglican divinity, albeit the Incarnation was seen as S. Athanasius saw it in its deeply redemptive aspect. (2) Finding amongst the Fathers the contrast of Greek and Latin divinity, the Anglican divines could be saved from western narrowness, and were conscious that just as the ancient undivided Church embraced both East and West so too the contemporary Catholic Church was incomplete without the little known Orthodox Church of the East as well as the Church in the West, Latin, Anglican and Reformed. The study of the Fathers created the desire to reach out to Eastern Christendom. Thus did Anglican theology find in the study of the Fathers first a gateway to the knowledge of what was scriptural and primitive, subsequently a living tradition which guided the interpretation of Scripture, and finally a clue to the Catholic Church of the past and the future: in the words of Lancelot Andrewes 'the whole Church Catholic, Eastern, Western, our own.'

(ii) Distinguished Writers

It is not surprising that no period in our Church's history is more rich in writers of high distinction in the field of theology, a feature which did not diminish until the end of the century in an age of general intellectual ferment. These distinguished writers include Hooker and Andrewes, Laud, Hammond, Overall, Field, Ussher, Sanderson, Taylor, Pearson, Barrow and Bull, to name but a few. Frere claims that with Hooker, Andrewes and Overall there came a revulsion against the dominant Calvinism, which

introduced a more mature conception of the position of the English Church, based upon the appeal to Scripture and the principles of the undivided Church. The earlier theologians had been able to recognise in principle the soundness of this appeal, but they had hitherto been unable to work out in practice its detailed results.³

If one was to define the ethos of these Caroline divines then it will be found in the holding together of what Baron von Hügel maintained as necessary strands of the Christian life, the mystical, the intellectual and the institutional.

It was marked by a time of massive scholarly activity. Following on the classical work of Richard Hooker (1554-1600) which only began to be assimilated in the years following his death, it saw the beginnings of a distinctively Anglican

theological position, on the one side clearly distinguished from Rome, on the other from that of Calvinist Geneva. Above all it was marked by a renewal of the understanding and the practice of the Christian way of common and private prayer. And all these things were held together in a single focus⁴

In the theology of these divines thinking and praying are indissolubly connected, in an orthodoxy which was not a static repetition of the past but a living, growing pattern of truth.

(iii) The Love of Learning and the Desire for God

John Byrom points out that " ... they were all soaked in the primitive and medieval tradition of contemplation as the normal outcome of a life of serious prayer." He goes on to say that they all write as if they held and would have given general assent to the Latin tag, *lex orandi legem statuat credendi*, let the law of prayer establish the law of belief. "There is a sense of richness about these divines which gradually reveals itself as flowing from something deeper than torrential intellect, or even high poetic gifts. " An unmistakeable mark of them is a love of learning and a desire for God, so deeply intertwined that it is pointless to try and distinguish them, though the manner of their lives makes clear that whenever the two came into conflict it was invariably the love of learning which gave way, making the point reinforced by Hegius the 15th century German Christian humanist, that 'all learning is harmful which is gained at the expense of piety'.⁵ The fusion of thought and feeling in these theologians is what Allchin tells us drew that twentieth century man of letters T.S.Eliot back to Christian faith and life and prompted his small book of essays *For Lancelot Andrewes*, whom for Eliot embodied in himself the learning, the theology and the devotion which marks the best men of this age. For Eliot, Hooker and Andrewes made the English Church more worthy of intellectual assent, and in them, as in the actual life and worship of the period, he found a Catholicism which was not ignorant either of the Renaissance or the Reformation, a tradition which had already moved into the modern world. "It was a way of living and thinking the Christian tradition which had taken humanism and criticism into itself, without being destroyed by them."⁶

(iv) Anglicanism's Distinctive Strength

Richard Hooker (1554-1600) and Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) are without doubt the two outstanding theologians of this era, who embodied in their own persons humility, piety, and learning, that made them men of moderation. By temperament neither of them was suited to, nor attracted, by a spirit of controversy, but they both responded with their characteristic singleness of mind and moderation. Their task was the establishment of the catholic identity of Anglicanism, for Hooker in relation to Puritanism, for Andrewes in relation to Roman Catholicism. Vital to their theological method is the supremacy of Scripture, the interpretation of

which rested on an appeal to antiquity. The testimony of the undivided Church was fundamental to their theological method, not only in their interpretation of Scripture but also in matters of doctrine, liturgy and canonical matters, the dogmatic decisions of the first four General Councils providing their ground base.

This stance on the *constant* of Anglicanism, the *hapax* or *once-for-allness-of-the-faith*, does not imply a fossilized religion, the precluding of any development. The faith which is set forth in the Scriptures and the Catholic Creeds develops and grows under the guidance of the Holy Spirit within the Church. Every age has to apprehend, appropriate, re-present, and proclaim the *living revelation* in all the changes and varieties of human cultures throughout history. But it must be a development from the *facts* of revelation and not *away* from them. The criteria for such development must be Scripture and Tradition conformable to Scripture, otherwise one may end up with what Bishop Hanson described as *a virtually uncontrolled doctrinal space-flight*. In 1899 Francis Paget prefaces his *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* with this point that "The distinctive strength of Anglicanism rests on equal loyalty to the unconflicting rights of reason, Scripture and Tradition." McAdoo claims that a living Church in a changing society needs to see why it is necessary that this classical way of doing theology and being related to other Christians, matters to Anglicans today. Such a method avoids the deadness of an atrophying traditionalism, for its concern is to allow *tradition* to live as a living process of transmission. "Neither may we in this case lightly esteem what hath been allowed to *fit* in the judgement of antiquity, and by the long continued practice of the whole Church; from which *unnecessarily* to swerve, experience hath never as yet found it safe."⁷ Michael Ramsey said that the tests of true development are whether it bears witness to the Gospel, whether it expresses the general consciousness of Christians, and whether it serves the organic unity of the Body in all its parts. These tests are summed up in the Scriptures, wherein the historical gospel, and the development of the redeemed and the nature of the one Body are described. So the Scriptures have a special authority to control and check the whole field of development in life and doctrine. These fundamental principles of the English Reformation we must now examine as they are developed in the theology of the Caroline divines.



RICHARD HOOKER

Richard Hooker and The Puritans

(i) Controversy and *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*

In 1585, on his appointment as Master of the Temple, Hooker came into conflict with English Puritanism in the Presbyterian Walter Travers, who was one of its recognised leaders and second to Cartwright himself. Travers as Lecturer and Hooker as Master were incompatible in their principles, but the notion that, "the pulpit speaking pure Canterbury in the morning and Geneva in the afternoon." is questioned by Richard Bauckham as having small foundation in fact. Travers not only opposed episcopacy but also denounced the Prayer Book along with Hooker's charitable teaching that God would be merciful to those who had lived "in popish superstition because they had sinned ignorantly." According to Bauckham¹ there seem to have been two levels of conflict, the one over matters of church polity and liturgical conduct that was Anglican versus Puritan, the other over matters of Calvinist doctrine that was simply Travers's position as a Calvinist over against Hooker's, who, as yet, was not the official champion of Anglican orthodoxy. Bauckham is concerned not to treat, as some students of Hooker do, Calvinism and Puritanism as synonymous. Bauckham maintains that their disputes on ecclesiastical and liturgical issues, matters of controversy between Anglican and Puritan, were

conducted in private, not in the pulpit of the Temple. Furthermore, Hooker, "did not deliberately oppose Travers's doctrine. In his occasional divergences from Calvinist orthodoxy Hooker was establishing his independence as a theologian, not promoting an Anglican party line against Geneva."²

The controversy came to a head in March 1586, when on three successive Sundays Travers used his sermon to refute the doctrine preached by Hooker in the morning. It centred around Faith and Justification and whether the Romanists who denied or obscured justification by faith could hope for salvation. Hooker affirmed this possibility, if in other respects they are sincere Christians, and that God would be merciful and save the thousands of our forefathers who had died "though they lived in popish superstitions, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly." To the Puritan and Calvinist mind this was a betrayal of the Reformation. Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury removed Travers from his lectureship and gave judgement in favour of Hooker. It was the shock of this first direct experience of the workings of the Puritan mind that motivated Hooker's return to first principles, and the working out of his own position more adequately. It signalled the need for a constructive theology of a new type.

Away from the Temple but not in the quiet country living of Boscombe, which according to Professor Sisson³ Hooker never inhabited, he worked out his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, in which he reviews the whole of the Puritan controversy from its inception at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. He remained in London until moving to another country living near Canterbury in 1595. Sisson has also shown in his *Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker*. that the *Laws* was written in London where the author could draw on the help of friends Edwin Sandys, a trained lawyer and MP, and George Cranmer, so that it was no lone secret venture and was backed by Whitgift. At Whitgift's request he also found himself resuming the Archbishop's unfinished controversy with Thomas Cartwright, the Presbyterian Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. This controversy between Anglican and Puritan made a notable contribution to theological method, for the Admonition to Parliament in 1572 was a comprehensive plan of change whose primary interest was theological, identifying a type of authoritative viewpoint that was subsequently always identified with Puritanism. Hooker's task was to confute this by outlining a method, providing a distinctively Anglican ethos in which as McAdoo points out, the distinctiveness lies in the method rather than the content.⁴ Anglicanism is not committed to believing anything because it is Anglican, but only because it is true. So Hooker stands in the larger room of the Christian centuries, with the Fathers who were always conscious of the problem of fusing faith and reason, and Anselm who brought new vigour to theological method before the Reformation period with his "faith seeking understanding", but also with Aquinas who is the forerunner of an approach to reason and to a synthesis of faith and reason which left its

mark on this 17th century Anglican theologian. In his ecclesiastical and theological position in the Church of England, "Hooker was a close follower of his early friend and patron, Bishop Jewel. Jewel, in his celebrated *Apology of the Church of England*, had clearly defined the Catholic foundation principles of the Reformed English Church and especially in its appeal to Apostolic and Catholic antiquity. Hooker practically applied this position to the discipline of the Anglican Church, against the clamour of the Puritan party for the enforcement of the discipline of Geneva. Jewel had defended the English Church against the denunciatory attacks of Rome, Hooker defended it against the scurrilous attacks of the Puritans. It is specially interesting to notice how closely Hooker follows and often amplifies the theological teaching of the great Anglican Apologist, whom he described as "the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years"⁵

More specific to the purpose of this essay is Hooker's use of the Fathers, which, while not a creation of the 17th century, became during this century an integral part of the Anglican approach to theological questions. This appeal to antiquity was not simply a search for guarantors of some specific teaching and practice, but in addition to establishing identity of doctrine with the early period, the concern was to discover what kind of Church existed in the first three centuries and show a resemblance between it and the contemporary Church. The appeal to antiquity was not peculiar to Hooker; others were concerned to use their understanding of the teaching and ecclesiastical polity of the Primitive Church. The Puritans wanted a system on *Sola Scriptura*; others among reformed churches were more historically minded and sought to establish their position from the first three centuries. So Hooker found himself having to deal with people who believed not only that they had rediscovered the Gospel in its original purity, but that they held in their hands a master-key to its re-establishment, a divinely-willed and pre-ordained Church polity, and that the Genevan platform of Church order embodied the express will of God.

(ii) The Appeal to Antiquity.

(a) A New Stage in the Argument

The wider context for Hooker's appeal to antiquity is the continuous and coherent argument of his eight books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. The first four lay foundations upon which the later ones are built so that continuity is clear all through Books I -V., while Book I lays foundations upon which the whole argument of the remaining books is built. The enquiry is impressive in its scope and the range of authorities on which it is founded. His vision encompasses the whole universe of angels and men subordinated under God to the reign of law, which is in all its various forms essentially an expression of the Divine reason. Aristotle and the

philosophy of Greece, the Greek and Latin Fathers, but also St. Thomas and the schoolmen, are co-ordinated with the teaching of the Bible in support of an analysis which establishes the position that 'to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men were to confound the admirable order, wherein God hath disposed all laws, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other.' Novelty or innovation were the last things Hooker would have claimed. His starting point was a set of common assumptions central to the debate and commanding assent on both sides, integrating them into a new synthesis at the centre of which was a novel and distinctive vision, which he was concerned to impress upon the Puritans as the logical consequence of the premises of these assumptions. In the Preface, he establishes an independence of mind from Calvin, which is what the Church of England needed at this time, but could not expect from Whitgift whose doctrinal convictions were Calvinist. This placed him and the Church of England at a disadvantage when he had to defend catholic institutions. With Hooker there emerges that independence of Calvin's influence that was vital if the Church of England was to think out her own position.

So Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* represents a new stage in the argument between Anglican and Puritan. To quote the words of Arthur B. Ferguson,

Both Whitgift and his opponents had, after all, continued to treat the past mainly as a reservoir of authorities and had gone about as far in pitting authority against authority as it was reasonable to go - and at times further. Experience of this sort of thing undoubtedly convinced Hooker of its futility⁶.

Luoma goes on to say that the unhistorical nature of this argument for the restoration of the primitive church by the Puritans, forced Hooker into making an historical refutation. Here in Hooker's use of the Fathers is an advance in historical understanding, in his setting of patristic scholarship on a new level, which, "one might even argue, forces an abandonment of the Fathers as a source of authority for the Puritans while establishing it as a bulwark in the Anglican defence."⁷

Jewel had maintained that the English Church was reforming itself along the lines of the primitive church, but as they argued among themselves the English Reformers turned Jewel's argument, directed at the Roman Church, against the defenders of the Elizabethan settlement, maintaining that the English Church was not yet in correspondence with the primitive pattern. Whitgift had to defend against this charge in his debate with Thomas Cartwright⁸. Both these men shared a high regard for the primitive church and a reverence for the Fathers as one of the chief testimonies to its structure. "However, neither succeeded in clearly defining the role of the Fathers in determining the nature of the primitive Church. The Fathers appear more as an appendage than an integral part of the argument"⁹. They merely used the Fathers as a kind of fortress theology, using them in a piecemeal manner to bolster the didactic requirements of the

moment. Furthermore, the weakness of Whitgift's defence lay in his agreement with Cartwright's basic premise that there is in Scripture a perfect pattern for the Church¹⁰. Wasinger's conclusion is that only by examining the way the Holy Spirit works through Scripture could a successful critique of this Puritan claim that Scripture contains a perfect pattern for the Church be provided and this is what Hooker provided.¹¹

The manner in which Hooker employs the Fathers serves as a chief example of the way in which he overcomes Cartwright and the Puritan concept of inspiration, advancing beyond Whitgift and transforming the role of the Fathers in the argument over the nature of the Church from tangential to integral¹².

(b) Cartwright's Use of the Fathers

In contrasting Cartwright and Hooker in their use of the Fathers Luoma makes a number of points. In relation to Cartwright's use of the Fathers his first point is that their testimony is subordinate to Scripture properly interpreted, which means through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and which in principle is patristic. In no way can they operate as an independent source of authority and he rejects the Augustinian canon which permits following the practice of the Church when there is no clear command of Scripture. His second rule is that the consensus of the Fathers, especially the councils, is preferred to the testimony of the few. The most important consensus for Cartwright is the primitive church or the Reformed church of his own day, which he regards as the embodiment of the primitive discipline. His final rule is that owing to the increasing corruption of the Church since the sixth century, the use of patristic consensus must be restricted to the first five centuries. But in his use of the Fathers there is a dearth of quotations from the early Church and less than ten per cent of his references are drawn from the Fathers of the first two centuries, Tertullian constituting more than half of the references, and the majority of the citations date from the late fourth and fifth centuries, preferring the Latins and especially the Africans. Luoma comments how odd it is that a theologian trying to establish the character of the early Church should refer so sparsely to the early period and use the later sources he has so warned against, but also that his use of Flacius Illyricus suggests that he does not have an in-depth knowledge of the Fathers. His method is typical of the time, a mere listing of authorities rather than attempting to explicate what they say and fit their argument into his own, making his use of the Fathers highly subjective. In the end Cartwright's use of the Fathers ends up by serving an anti-historical purpose, paradoxically the revolutionaries becoming reactionary, while the conservative *apologia* for an institution which prided itself on being *semper eadem*, was more sensitive to the historical process involved in the unfolding of tradition.¹³

(c) Hooker's Use of the Fathers

In relation to Hooker he makes the following points. First, the key word in his use of the Fathers is consensus which is misused by the Puritans because they misunderstand the true nature of reason and revelation denying that revelation presupposes reason¹⁴. Hooker's concern is for credible belief. Scripture contains all doctrine necessary for salvation¹⁵ and so there is no need for any other source of revealed law.¹⁶ Secondly, the establishment of discipline is a matter of reason and therefore decided by a consensus of the wise¹⁷ who have learned it from Nature whose voice is the instrument of God.¹⁸ Unable to distinguish between revelation and reason, the Puritans in putting all of God's truth on one level, are trapped into making everything in Scripture an unchanging law which is necessary to salvation. So in a scriptural condemnation of the Church of England,¹⁹ they confuse doctrine and discipline, using a text which is concerned with unchanging doctrine²⁰ rather than the laws of discipline which can be altered according to time and place. It is reason which determines discipline with the help of Scripture which gives no prescription for one form of church polity.²¹ Resorting to reason is to follow Augustine whose principle was to accept in church discipline that which was grounded in scripture or in a reason not contrary to scripture.²²

Thirdly, such a rule allows for dependence on tradition and Hooker cites Augustine as his authority,²³ "That the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching those things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge". He goes on to comment, "St. Augustine's speech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine precept, if yet we have the custom of the people of God or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law and must be kept." Again he cites Augustine in relation to apostolic succession "that whatsoever positive order the whole Church everywhere doth observe, the same it must needs have received from the very apostles themselves, unless perhaps some general council were the authors of it".²⁴ Tradition is not a rival authority to Scripture as the source of revelation, and as he points out,²⁵ it is not given the same obedience and reverence that is given to his written law nor regarded with equal honour. "For Hooker tradition is not an immutable body of truths which is a rival to revealed doctrine. It is a body of ordinances established by the authority which Christ has given the Church in things indifferent. These ordinances are binding until the Church has cause to change them".²⁶ This places the Puritans in a cul-de-sac situation, because with the fallenness of the Church spanning a thousand years as their premise, the only credible forefathers that can be followed are the apostles which binds them in the assertion that there is one polity in scripture which they are unable to prove out of scripture alone. Having ruled out Augustine's suggestion to take the tradition of the Church as apostolic they destroy any authority the Fathers may have for them. Hooker therefore demonstrates that though Cartwright

may quote the Fathers, they have no authority in his argument because he has negated it by his doctrine of the fall of the Church. He asks ²⁷ where they are to draw the boundary lines to delineate the prime of the Church and concludes that their use of the Fathers is very subjective and therefore they are unfit to judge "What things have necessary use in the Church ... who bend themselves purposely against whatsoever the Church useth ..." and only give "grace and countenance" to what pleases them "which they willingly do not yield unto any part of church polity."

Fourthly, Hooker's argument illustrates how the Puritans have torpedoed any claim to consensus by virtue of their own method, which will only validate primitive discipline if it is found in a scriptural context and this becomes impossible. Their appeal to the practice of the first five hundred years is also negated by a subjectivism that makes their selection of evidence arbitrary. For Hooker, his concept of consensus allows him to use the Fathers not only where it is grounded in scripture but also where it is not against it in matters of doctrine and discipline. Furthermore, consensus for Hooker is much wider because he will not draw limiting boundaries at a particular century. He disagrees with the Puritan understanding of the fallenness of the Church in which from the beginning there has always been a "continual consensus of truth". Thus he can write, "We hope therefore to reform ourselves if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before."²⁸ This frees him, not only in his use of the Fathers but in widening his consensus to the wisest men in every age. This is the major difference between Hooker and Cartwright.

Fifthly, Hooker unlike Cartwright did not cite the Fathers merely as authorities but always proved their relevance to his argument. Luoma exemplifies Hooker's skill in this by citing his defence of fasting²⁹ in Bk.V, lxxii, where he trawls for the natural basis of this discipline, its grounding in Scripture and the Fathers and concludes by highlighting differences and agreements to put consensus into perspective. The result is a multi-faceted consensus, in which scripture, reason and the Fathers contribute to the argument. This illustrates how Hooker's sense of history is central rather than peripheral to his theology, but also in an implicit way his dependence on St. Thomas Aquinas in his use of scripture and reason, whom Munz claims he had so thoroughly assimilated and had no need to explicate.³⁰ With Hooker there is developing a new sense of history which A.B.Ferguson sees as a necessary precondition for a revolution in historical scholarship.³¹ Munz sees in Hooker the development of a sense of perspective and process heralding a new attitude and is the exception among the Reformers, who as Greenslade pointed out, exhibited little sense of the development of patristic theology.

(d) An Advance in Patristic Scholarship

Hooker's use of the Fathers represents a real advance in patristic scholarship. In exposing Cartwright he uses the Fathers consistently and critically. The primitive church is revered, but it is revered as part of a continuing consensus. In his realization that the purpose of the Church will remain the same, but must be adapted to the circumstances, one might argue that Hooker is truer to the primitive church than Cartwright ...³²

For the Puritans the Fathers were extraneous to their arguments, merely reservoirs of authorities.

Hooker, on the contrary could critically use the Fathers and delineate a theology that made room for them as part of the continuing activity of the Spirit in the Church. In his attempt to develop a theological method that achieved a proper balance between revelation and reason Hooker exposed Cartwright's subjectivism. This left Hooker in the enviable position of being able to appropriate the long held and revered authority of the primitive Church while removing the Fathers as a weapon from the Puritan arsenal.³³

(iii) The Incarnation

(a) The Patristic Mind

Hooker's concern, in being different from the Reformers, as the quotation from Michael Ramsey points out, and as the foregoing elucidates in relation to the Puritans, is not to use the Fathers as a quarry for proof authorities. He wants to use the thought and piety of the Fathers, to incorporate within his own theological exposition what we may call the patristic mind,

... the central idea which generally governed the policy of the Fathers ... But this mind is clarified neither by one Father alone, nor again by all the Fathers as a whole, but by some who were able to combine wisdom with right action. Such Fathers are to be found in all periods of Church history from the times of the Apostles to the present century.³⁴

Phronema is the technical term for what is called *the patristic mind*, whose real foundation Hooker found to be in Scripture, Tradition and Reason. This placed him in a much larger room than his contemporary opponents, and made him more quickly and more acutely aware of dangers in the wider theological scene, which in their preoccupation with changes of belief in the secondary doctrines of the Reformation they had been slow to spot. The dangers that threatened were in the form of new heresies directed at fundamental doctrines such as the Trinity and the Incarnation coming from Anabaptists and Socinians. This finds its focus in Hooker's exposition of the Incarnation, and his doctrine of the Sacraments which are implied by a religion of the Incarnation and organically connected with it.

(b) The Central Tower

The section of Book V which deals with the Incarnation (cc.1ff), occupies a unique position in Hooker's work. It stands on a level with the central chapters

of Book I. These are the two peaks of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* by which the whole must be judged. To change the metaphor, if Book I lays down distinctions of thought which are the foundations of the whole edifice, the section on the theology of the Incarnation is like a central tower round which the whole is grouped.³⁵

In making the Incarnation central Hooker differed from his opponents who were preoccupied with doctrines of justification, grace and predestination and the grounding of its reality in a subjectivism where personal experience and private judgement counted most. Here individualism is set up over against the corporate and affects attitudes towards religious institutions, among them creeds and sacraments. Hooker's concern is with objectivity in religion and the right balance of priorities in the mutual relations between the objective and the subjective. Fundamental to Hooker's theology is the presence of creeds, without which corporate religion has no ground and when faith is reduced to a purely personal and individual possession it finds itself inadequate to its task.

A common religious life with its worship and organization must be based upon communal experience, upon convictions corporately expressed and emphasized with a continuity of tradition from age to age. The creeds serve this purpose and so give objectivity to our faith, for they lay stress upon the object of faith rather than upon the experience of the faith itself.³⁶

(c) Incarnation and Sacraments

That objectivity of faith he expounds in his exposition of the Chalcedonian Christology,³⁷ but not before rooting the validity and reality of our 'life in Christ', in the objectivity of sacraments which are a natural outcome of the Incarnation.

Sacraments are the powerful instruments of God to eternal life. For as our natural life consisteth in the union of the body with the soul; so our life supernatural in the union of the soul with God. And forasmuch as there is no union of God with man without that mean between both which is both, it seemeth requisite that we first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ. In other things we may be more brief, but the weight of these requireth largeness.³⁸

No form of personal experience could be the ground base of religion, only God whose gift faith is and who reveals himself to that faith which he has given, so that the Incarnation is the true foundation for Christianity. In Christ, the perfect union of God and Man, "we may expect to find the norm of all true thought about both God and Man ... all our practical activity as Christians must proceed from the Incarnation as its source and must be enshrined in and supported by institutions which exhibit its principles and perpetuate its life."³⁹ In this most theological section of the *Laws*, Hooker, in building this 'central tower', is sensitive to its importance in determining not only the stability but also the overall final shape of the whole

'building'. Incarnation and Sacraments cannot therefore be separated, because the Sacraments are the means by which the purpose of the Incarnation is effected in us, namely 'the union of the soul with God'.

Hooker sets this discussion significantly within the context of his defence of the liturgical institutions of the Book of Common Prayer, which provided the liturgical experience that gave an ecclesial context to Anglican divinity that understands the Church as bearing witness to the truth, not by reminiscence, or from the words of others, but from its own living, unceasing experience, from its Catholic fullness which has its roots in continuity with the Primitive Church. Is not this what we mean by Tradition in theological method, a life mystical and sacramental, the constant abiding Spirit, not only the memory of words, and therefore a charismatic not a historical principle, but together with Scripture containing the truth of divine revelation, a truth that lives in the Church? On this Catholic foundation, Incarnation in relation to the Sacraments, Hooker built his theology, which was an implicit criticism of those Reformed theologies where the Incarnation had ceased to be taken as their centre of gravity, and at the same time of those old heresies he saw emerging in a new key.

(d) Exposition of the Incarnation

He begins his exposition of the Incarnation with an assertion of the oneness of God in the indivisible Trinity, "So that in every Person there is implied both the substance of God which is one, and also that property which causeth the same person really and truly to differ from the other two." ⁴⁰ God becomes man in the Person of the Son so that "The Father and the Holy Ghost (saith Damascene) have no communion with the Incarnation of the Word otherwise than only by approbation and assent",⁴¹ but is not denied to that nature which is common to all three. Expressing the mind of Scripture as found in II Cor. v.19; Heb. ii. 10, Coloss. I. 15-18, Heb. iv, he explains why God should save man by man himself and the necessity for Christ to take manhood. Attempts to explain the union of the two natures in the one Person have led to a succession of heresies which the Church has had to counter in the work of individual Fathers who have had to correct misrepresentations of relations between the Persons of the Trinity, the nature of the Persons, and depreciation and exaltation of one or other of the divine or human or confusion of both in the Person of Christ. In consequence Synods and Councils of Bishops have been called to define the Church's understanding of such matters. He begins by going through these various heresies⁴² and with judicious quotations from Scripture and the Fathers, which include Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Hilary of Poitiers, Irenaeus, Leo the Great, John Damascene, Augustine, Origen, he weaves into the substance of his argument that *phronema* of the Fathers as found in them. He sums up his discussion of the nature of Christ in relation to these heresies.

To gather therefore into one sum all that hath hitherto been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one. Four principal heresies there are which have in those things withstood the truth: Arians by bending themselves against the Deity of Christ; Apollinarians by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; Nestorians by rending Christ asunder, and dividing him into two persons; the followers of Eutyches by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most ancient general councils: the Council of Nice to define against Arians, against Apollinarians the Council of Constantinople, the Council of Ephesus against Nestorians, against Eutyches the Chalcedon Council. In four words *αληθεως τελειως αδιαρετως ασυγχυτως* truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly; the first applied to his being God, and the second to his being Man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his still continuing in that one Both: we may fully by way of abridgement comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled either in declaration of Christian belief or in refutation of the foresaid heresies. Within the compass of which four heads I may truly affirm, that all heresies which touch but the Person of Jesus Christ, whether they have risen in these latter days, or in any age heretofore, may be with great facility brought to confine themselves. We conclude therefore that to save the world it was of necessity the Son of God should be thus incarnate, and that God should so be in Christ as hath been declared."⁴³ (NB. It is interesting to note that only two of the original four words from the Chalcedonian Creed are right! *ατρεπτως* and *αχωριστως* are missing. For distinctly *unconfusedly* is a more exact translation).

Reformed theology differed from Hooker not in its divergence from orthodoxy in Christology, but in its failure to make the Incarnation the normative principle of their religion. In Johannine and Pauline Christianity it is the kernel with the consequences of sacramental participation in that life through eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ. This is thoroughly patristic and central to the thought of Hooker which leads naturally to a doctrine of the mystical body of Christ where Christ's saving presence in the world manifests itself. Our coherence with Jesus Christ is not through a mere kinship of human nature.

The Church is in Christ as Eve was in Adam. Yea by grace we are everyone of us in Christ and in his Church as by nature we are in those our first parents. God made Eve out of the rib of Adam. And his Church he frameth out of the very flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Son of Man. His body crucified and his blood shed for the life of the world are the true elements of that heavenly being which maketh us such as himself is of whom we come. For which cause the words of Adam may be fitly the words of Christ concerning his Church 'flesh of my flesh and bone of my bones, a true native extract out of my own body.'⁴⁴

(e) Sacramental Theology

This was the contextual framework from within which Hooker understood and expounded the sacraments as major instruments through which we are incorporated into the mystical body of Christ.

Through them 'the medicine that doth cure the world' - God in Christ - was distributed to the members of Christ's body the Church. Hooker thus went out of his way to emphasize that the sacraments had real objective effects; not mere signs, they really did confer grace. 'We take not baptism nor the eucharist for bare resemblances or memorials of things absent neither for naked signs and testimonies assuring us of grace received before but ... for means effectual whereby God when we take the sacraments delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify'.⁴⁵

For Hooker, therefore, the sacrament was not a subject for debate so much as an object for devotional contemplation. As such it provided the centre-piece for his vision of the Church; here the visible and invisible churches met, as Christ's presence in his mystical body the Church was made manifest in the sacrament. Since man was created in God's image it was axiomatic that 'life' had been 'proposed unto all men as their end'. Sin had damaged, if not destroyed the naturalness of that end, but grace could restore the damage. It was Hooker's vision of 'God in Christ' as 'the medicine that doth cure the world' and of 'Christ in us' as the means by which that medicine was applied to a wounded human nature, which underlay his account of the sacrament. For through Christ's presence in the sacrament, God's causative presence in the world was transformed into his saving presence in the Church.⁴⁶

Here we find a clear break from an approach to the sacrament through an attempt to find an alternative to transubstantiation, such as preoccupied the focus of reformers like Cranmer, Jewel, and Grindal. Hooker's focus is elsewhere and is much larger because it is in that which is more fundamental, the Incarnation and its organic connection with the Church as Christ's mystical body. In this Hooker diverged fundamentally from the Puritans whose religion was certainly Christocentric in making the value of Christ to the soul a central and dominating idea, but the emphasis was on our experience of Christ as Saviour, rather than on the Incarnation as an objective fact. This made the efficacy of the sacraments dependent on the preaching of the word, reducing the sacraments to a position of inherent inferiority to the proclamation of the word. They were seen not as the 'medicine of souls', but as mere signs and "some ... assign unto them no end but only to teach the mind, by other senses, that which the Word doth teach by hearing."⁴⁷ So the sermon becomes more important than the sacrament and Hooker has much to say on the way in which preaching becomes valued by the Puritans almost to the exclusion of worship, prayer and sacraments, which tilts the vision of ministry away from Hooker's and the Fathers' sacrament-centred direction, tying the efficacy of the sacraments so closely to an instructive imparting of knowledge that they are not far from the Valentinian heresy which

claimed that "the full redemption of the inward man ... must needs belong unto knowledge."⁴⁸ This lowered the whole significance of sacramental or external religion creating a theology aloof from the intimate traits of a Gospel, making separation, rather than union dominant, the separation of the spiritual from the material which for man is its natural field of expression and had been claimed by God in Christ in the Incarnation.

... in Hooker's day all the old tendencies of earlier heresies were at work. The Reformed combined orthodox Christology with a Manichaean dislike to any thorough and consistent application of the principles of the Incarnation to religion as a whole; the Anabaptists ceased to attach any importance to the historic Christ, substituting an interior Word for both written and Incarnate Word. The Socinians denied the possibility of any union of Godhead and Manhood in one Person. Lutherans mistook confusion for union and opened the doors for others to deny the difference between the human and the Divine. Hooker's solution is to return to the Christological principles of the Council of Chalcedon and to make the Incarnation, so understood, the norm and centre of the Christian religion. In much that he says he seems to be simply travelling over old ground and saying nothing that could not be learnt from the Fathers. Yet novelty is not always synonymous with truth and Hooker accepts the old ground deliberately; for no other would have been compatible with his general theological principles. His formula for the Incarnation is 'Union in distinction.'... All these principles are seen to meet in the doctrine of the Incarnation as understood by the Fathers and Councils and as restated by Hooker in these pages of Book V. In chapters li-liii the main lessons learnt by the Primitive Church are thus restated; and then in the chapters which immediately follow (liv-lvii) we are given Hooker's own handling of this great scheme on the highest dogmatic level.⁴⁹

(iv) Participation

(a) Sacraments and Participation

For Hooker, as Thornton goes on to point out,⁵⁰ the grace of the sacraments is the last link in a series whose terminus is the participation of the Saints in the life of God. "If we are looking for the key concepts in Hooker's theological thought, we shall find them in terms such as mutual participation and conjunction, co-inherence and perichoresis. God is in Christ; Christ is in us; we are in him."⁵¹ The archetype of participation is the mutual indwelling of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in the oneness of the Blessed Trinity in which there is a law of self-impartment alongside that mutual indwelling of divine life and love that exists between the Father and the Son.

Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but by the Son,⁽ⁱ⁾ nor by the Son to any of us in particular but through the Spirit.⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ For this cause the Apostle wisheth to the Church of Corinth "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost."⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ Which three St. Peter comprehendeth in one, 'The participation of the divine Nature.'^(iv) We are therefore in God through Christ eternally according to that intent and purpose whereby we were chosen to

be made his in this present world ... we are in God through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is borne towards us from everlasting ... Our being in Christ by eternal foreknowledge saveth us not without our actual and real adoption into the fellowship of his saints in this present world. For in him we actually are by our actual incorporation into that society which hath him for their head,^(v) and doth make together with him one Body, (he and they in that respect having one name,^(vi) for which cause by virtue of this mystical conjunction, we are of him and in him even as though our very flesh and bones should be made continue with his.^(vii) We are in Christ ^(viii) because he knoweth and loveth us even as parts of himself. No man actually is in him but they in whom he actually is. "For he which hath not the Son of God hath not life ^(ix).

(b) Theosis

Hooker is careful to point out that there is more to our coinherence^(x) than that Christ and us share the self-same human nature.

The Church is in Christ as Eve was in Adam. Yea by grace are every one of us in Christ and in his Church, as by nature we are in those first parents. God made Eve of the rib of Adam. An his Church he frameth out of the very flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Son of Man. His body crucified and his blood shed for the life of the world, are the true elements of that heavenly being, which maketh us such as himself is of whom we come ^(xi).⁵²

Commenting on this Canon Allchin writes, "It is true that Hooker here avoids the explicit language of theosis (or deification), but it does not escape our attention that when he speaks of Christ 'making us such as himself is' he affirms the underlying mystery which the word expresses"⁵³ On the divine and human sides of the Incarnation Our Lord uniquely participates in the Father by mutual indwelling, enabling all created things to participate in the life of God and in some degree enjoy mutual indwelling with him. The self-impartment which exists within the Godhead finds expression in a self-impartment of God to his creation, so that creation and redemption become the two modes in which created beings participate in the life of God.

John Booty⁵⁴ is reluctant to admit that Hooker understood participation in terms of deification. He speculates from a basis of probability, that Hooker probably had four other New Testament Greek words in mind in his use of the word participation. The first two of these words, *metousia* (metecho) meaning to share or partake in (I Cor. ix, 10, 12 ; xx, 17, 21 etc.), and *metalambano*, meaning to partake or share in (Acts ii, 4, etc.). The two words of greater importance to Hooker are *koinonia* and *meno* (*menein*). The former means fellowship, a two-sided relationship with emphasis on giving and receiving. He explains that *koinonia* draws on the concern of primitive religion for the inward reception of divine power (mana) in eating and drinking, and therefore the logical consequence is to find this word used in connection with the Eucharist. The word *meno*, means to abide in or be in union with, as in John vi, 54, and so describes a community of life between the Father and the Son, and the disciples' sharing in

Christ's life as they do his works. He and argues further from Hooker's awareness of misrepresentations of participation in terms of deification or mystical union as being irrational. There seems little capacity and no effort made to understand what deification in its patristic context actually is and the tendency is to confuse it with pantheism, which is certainly what Hooker argued against. However, his strictures against the misrepresentations of deification cannot be used as a basis for giving the impression that this is what deification actually is nor for discounting it from Hooker's way of understanding participation. The impression is that Booty has not grasped what the Fathers actually mean by the mystery of theosis, confusing it with pantheism of which he is rightly fearful. Furthermore, because Hooker is sensitive to the mood of controversy in which he has to express his polemic, his language is moderate and restrained rather than explicit, so that Booty is either unable to see in the essence and context of what Hooker is expressing, an affirmation of the underlying mystery of theosis, or has dismissed such an interpretation of Hooker's understanding of participation as pantheistic. Then he attributes his own view of participation to Hooker by positing the probability that Hooker may or may not have had in his mind these other four New Testament Greek words for participation which cannot be interpreted in terms of deification.

(c) C.S.Lewis and Hooker

Canon Allchin affirms again in another context Hooker's understanding of participation in terms of deification.⁵⁵ With the support of C.S.Lewis whose theology was greatly influenced by Hooker, Allchin quotes Lewis's words on Hooker in the Oxford History of English Literature.⁵⁶ Here Lewis speaks of Hooker's model universe as being "drenched with Deity" and Hooker's words "All things that are of God, have God in them and they in himself likewise, and yet their substance and his are very different." Lewis spells out what this presence of the transcendent God in his world implies, keeping together things that can easily be set in opposition,

reason as well as revelation, nature as well as grace, the commonwealth as well as the Church, are equally though diversely, 'of God' ... All kinds of knowledge, all good arts, sciences and disciplines ... we meet in all levels the divine wisdom shining out through 'the beautiful variety of things' in 'their manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude'.

This is nothing less than the patristic vision of God's creation filled with his energy and wisdom, the presence of God participating in his world which can be the only context within which to speak of man's participation in God in terms of deification. "The Word of God, who is God wills in all things and at all times to work the mystery of his embodiment."⁵⁷ Within this context Hooker expounds a vision of man which finds its fulfilment in God, a theocentric humanism. "If then in him we are blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with him

... so that although we be men, yet being into God united we live as it were the life of God."⁵⁸ The theme of deification emerges in Hooker's description of man's relationship to God in terms of conjunction and participation, terms with a technical significance which occur frequently in this context. Because man is made for God and can only find fulfilment in him there is a restlessness and longing for self-transcendence, "that which exceeds the reach of sense; yea somewhat above the capacity of reason, somewhat divine and heavenly, which with hidden exultation, he rather surmiseth than conceiveth; ..."⁵⁹ God's initiative in Christ leads man into the kingdom of heaven where life becomes a constant growth into the world of everlasting life.

(d) Olivier Loyer on Hooker

Canon Allchin cites Olivier Loyer speaking of Hooker's vision of man as of "a being whose end is God himself", a being inhabited by "a natural desire for a supernatural end". Loyer shows how for Hooker the concept of participation becomes a key to be used to unlock many different areas of theological thought, "not only the economy of creation, but also the Trinitarian economy and the economy of salvation. In the heart of the Trinity, participation becomes procession of the persons, the circumincession, underlining at once their distinction and their mutual coinherence. At the level of redemption it expresses the mystery of our adoption ..." God is in us, we are in him by way of a mutual participation, in which creature and Creator remain distinct while being no longer separate.

Following this line of thought and working within the terminology of the western scholastic tradition, Hooker opens up the way for a reaffirmation of the patristic conviction that man can indeed become a partaker of the divine nature, but only and always by gift and grace, never by right and nature.⁶⁰

The theological implications of this have already been spelt out in the exposition of Hooker's doctrine of the Church and sacraments that he organically connects with his reaffirmation of the Chalcedonian Christology.

(v) Conclusion

Hooker presents a constructive synthesis in which the mystical, the intellectual and the institutional are mutually related and balanced. The mystical dimension is rooted in the *sui generis* experience of the Church which constitutes the source and context of his theology which is expounded not only in terms of "intellectual clarity, but of a union of human lives with God in the way of holiness". As a synthesis this theology is rooted in the Greek and Latin Fathers, and embraces the legitimate concerns of Christian thought in the Medieval Schoolmen as well as the contemporary concerns of the seventeenth century. It is a dynamic presentation of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity as the basis of ecclesiology and anthropology while assuming into his theological vision the totality of creation, the world and human culture by referring it to its

ultimate fulfilment in its restoration and transfiguration. Here in Hooker's vision of the *divine order* Redemption extends to the whole universe, expressing that comprehensiveness of the Fathers that was a characteristic of their account of the central doctrine of the Christian faith. Set within this wider context of Creation and Redemption is the mystery of the complementarity of all things, each with their distinctive contribution within the overall context of God's law that holds within it the *laws of an ecclesiastical polity*. In this vision *continuity* and *wholeness* are of the *esse*, because of their sacramental character within the *divine order*. The patristic wholeness of vision enabled Hooker to avoid the damaging dualism of natural and supernatural. His vision is of a Christian mysticism that is rooted in the Incarnate life of God. As such it is grounded in history and within it is the world as sacrament in contrast to the purely spiritual mysticism acquired by special transcendental techniques in Eastern religions.

The influence exerted by Hooker on the Church of England cannot be confined to the contents of this great work of literature and theology. It extends beyond his literary activity to the creation of a school of writers who looked to him as their master. They not only carried on the great tradition of his teaching, but like him they worked in a spirit of independent enquiry and thus enabled and made permanent the adhesion of the Anglican Reformation to the principles of Apostolic order as well as primitive truth.



Lancelot Andrewes
and
The Roman Catholics

In the Preface to his biography, Douglas Maclean¹ states that the career of this Caroline divine stood in an important relation to the critical sub-Reformation era, and did much to determine the subsequent life and thought of the Church of England. He describes his writings as,

representative of the best apologetic Anglican divinity. But it is the sweet, holy and patristic character of the man which chiefly has made his name to be revered by succeeding generations. Before us, as before his contemporaries he sets the presentment of a truly apostolic bishop of the Catholic Church, one who might ... have seemed in place among the fathers of Nicaea or Ephesus; of so primitive and reverend an exterior also that, says Fuller, 'the Fathers are not more faithfully cited in his books than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage' ...

He quotes from Dean Church's essay² who wrote of Andrewes that,

... he recalled an age which else would have stifled in the looms of Protestant scholasticism into a diviner, purer, freer air, back to the manysided thought, to the sanctified divinity of the undivided Church, by the influence of which his contemporaries might be 'led from a theology which ended in cross-grained and perverse conscientiousness to a theology which ended in adoration, self-surrender and blessing, and in the awe and joy of welcoming the Eternal Beauty, the Eternal Sanctity and the Eternal Love, the Sacrifice and Reconciliation of the world.

In their theological opinions Hooker and Andrewes shared much in common, and had been formed under the same circumstances, both, strongly recoiling from the popular systems and traditions which, under Elizabeth, had claimed to interpret and represent exclusively the English Reformation. They also stood together on the same positive ground which they identified as the true and positive basis of the teaching of the English Church. As Church points out, they also shared "that devotional temper, those keen and deep emotions of awe, reverence and delight, which arise when the objects of theological thought and interest are adequately realised according to their greatness by the imagination and the heart."³ Their differences lay in the fact that Hooker was an obscure country parson, while Andrewes not only held high office as a bishop but counselled in the nation's corridors of power. Nevertheless, he it was who followed for twenty-five years after Hooker's death the theological method Hooker had opened up.

(i) His Theological Base

(a) A Mystical Theology

It is not insignificant that in 1957 the English translation of Vladimir Lossky's *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* was published. *Mystical theology* he defines as meaning specifically a spirituality that expresses a doctrinal attitude, reaffirming that vital link between dogma and spirituality. The roots of such a theology lies in the praying and worshipping Church, beyond mere intellectual apprehension. From that same family and Eastern Orthodox perspective in 1991 comes Nicholas Lossky's, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555-1626), The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England*. His theology is mystical in that same sense, that it is a spirituality that expresses a doctrinal attitude.

For Andrewes, not only are spirituality and theology not opposed, but the one could not be conceived without the other. Spirituality (a modern term that Andrewes does not use, be it understood) is, as has been suggested, the ecclesial experience, in the Church, of the union of man with God, and not an individualistic pietism. Theology far from being for Andrewes a speculative intellectual system to do with God, is a translation in terms that can be transmitted of this same ecclesial experience. It is consequently a vision of God and not a system of thought.⁴

So the aim of his preaching becomes,

to convert his hearers to the experience of God in the rectitude of the *lex credendi*, which cannot but be in profound harmony with the *lex orandi*. Therefore, he cannot be content merely to quote the fathers; he has integrated their essential attitude to theology itself, which is not thinking about God but the attempt to translate into intelligible terms the experience of life in God.⁵

(b) Continuity with Antiquity

This base is best summarized in his own words, "One canon reduced to writing by God himself, two testaments, three creeds, four general councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period ... determine the boundary of our faith."⁶ The point he makes is that the authority of the Church of England is based on the Scriptures, and on the fact that her faith is that of the Church of the first five centuries, and she holds as *de fide* neither more nor less than did the Fathers. On the Roman front he argues from this base that novelties introduced by Rome are rejected by Anglicanism, and on the Puritan front he uses the same argument with opposite effect claiming that nothing should be rejected that finds support in the Primitive Church. Welsby writes,

In all his writings Andrewes revealed a wider knowledge of the Fathers than do most of his contemporaries. Nevertheless he was not purely antiquarian for he does not imply that all subsequent developments are to be condemned, provided they are not held to be *de fide*, nor does he contemplate a return to the precise conditions of the Primitive Church.⁷

He quotes Ness, "What he desired was to provide a standard within the history of the Church itself, by which the development of doctrines and institutions might be tested."⁸ For Andrewes that standard or norm of faith for the Church was identified in its purest form in the New Testament and in the first five centuries of Church history. The continuity of Anglicanism with antiquity meant that the Anglican Church was part of the Catholic and Universal Church and though unacceptable to Rome and Geneva, Andrewes claimed that the authority Rome confined to the Pope and Puritans restricted to the invisible Church, belonged to the universal, historical Church, and therefore to Anglicanism. Andrewes vindication says Welsby became the norm of Anglican apologetic. This *primitivism* of Andrewes is by no means a simple return to the past, nor can it ever be a search for some 'golden age', as a period of reference *par excellence*.

The 'tradition' of the Church is not the simple conservation of what has been said and done in the past. It is a dynamic process that transcends linear time, without in any way abolishing it. It is, in fact, a way of living in time in the light of eternity, which recapitulates past, present, and future because everything is lived in contemporaneity with the reality of the Gospel. 'What the Churches of God have done at all times' is of importance to Andrewes, not in a spirit of imitation or conservatism, but to the extent that they have done it in a consciousness of living by 'memorial', 'anamnesis' (ἀνάμνησις), the past events of the Gospel and their consequences to come, in the Church of the present.⁹

His work is as significant as Hooker's whom he supplemented in various ways, "But his real significance" McAdoo points out, "is due to his contribution to theological method which was of a formative nature. It was something he inherited from Jewel whose work he valued (Opuscula.p.91) ... What he inherited and shared he also enriched and it passed into the theology of the century, its origin often unnoticed."¹⁰ He goes on to say that in Anglicanism there is an

absence of theologians who created a system or distinctive body of teaching because of its theological method. Anglicanism produced theologians rather than theologians producing Anglicanism. Andrewes is a prime example in that the whole theme of his work states that Anglicanism had no specific teaching other than that of Scripture interpreted by the Primitive Church with which it had a continuity historical and doctrinal. It was not his creation but an inheritance which in Andrewes finds a positive orientation as he brings it into association with the distinction between what was and what was not fundamental, and with freedom in matters not defined. Isaac Casaubon became one of his friends (1610). He was attracted to Anglicanism after studying the patristic writings amidst doubts and difficulties that two communions in his own country were unable to satisfy. Andrewes found in him "a welcome and unsought confirmation of the position by one who had studied the Fathers unprejudiced by inherited allegiance or chosen affiliation"¹¹

(c) Originality

Some have accused the theology of Andrewes as lacking in originality, which, as Lossky points out is true, if one means by theology the elaboration of a coherent system of thought about God.

But if ... to make a theology means to make more and more truly one's own, by experience, the mystery of the relation of God to man that has been traditionally lived by the Church, then originality will consist not so much in innovation, as in enabling the whole era to grasp the genuine essence of the Christian message. In fact, the more a theologian penetrates into the heart of the mystery, the more his teaching will be personal, and consequently original. Seen like this, Andrewes seems to deserve to be counted amongst the great hierarchs of the history of Christianity, who, speaking to their contemporaries, have been able to do so in such a way that their message continues to live beyond their own time.¹²

This great point Lossky makes clear in his book, and after reading Andrewes one finds oneself in agreement.

(ii) The Apologist

(a) The Disputes

The day of Andrewes's consecration as bishop, 3rd November 1605, was also the day the King learned of the Gunpowder Plot, which, in adding an intensity to the Roman controversy forced this bishop into the forefront of polemic. He found himself in the shoes occupied by Jewel in an earlier generation, which, in the words of Frere, "forced from him what was deeply rooted in him" and might not have been expressed," viz. a statement of the position of the English Church from one man who by his position, his learning and his piety was pre-eminently qualified to do it."¹³ The time of his entry into the controversial field was the moment when the needs of the English Church were becoming sufficiently clear.

It was time to put on a reasonable and positive basis the real aims of the Church in boldly breaking with the papal system; to determine the true nature of authority which she claimed to exercise over her children; to vindicate her from the charge of a rash and indefensible act of schism; to elucidate her first principles; to show what were the issues at stake in the British Reformation, and the greatness of the objects in view.¹⁴

His controversial works were sparked by a dispute between the Papacy and King James I, who had issued an Oath of Allegiance after the Gunpowder Conspiracy, which repudiated the papal decree that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be deposed or murdered by their subjects, which Bellarmine under the name of his Chaplain of Matthew Tortus, declared unlawful. Tortus refused to see the Oath of Allegiance as the King saw it, involving only the matter of civil disobedience. For Tortus it raised the whole question of Papal authority and thereby for Roman Catholics touched the centre of religion. Directed by King James, Andrewes replied with *Tortura Torti*, in which he moves the central argument from the special to the general ground, maintaining that the primacy of the Pope is not *de fide catholica*, and that, even supposing the oath to be incompatible with holding the primacy of the Pope, it was not incompatible with the catholic faith. While the main attack is on what Andrewes regarded as the excessive powers of the Papacy, some passages present a positive defence of Anglicanism, and when Bellarmine replied in his own name, Andrewes followed up with *Responsio ad Bellarmine*. Here his concern is to present positive principles in defence of his cause, the catholicity of Anglicanism as patristic rather than Papal, the tone being "apologetic, constructive, and catholic."¹⁵ Of equal significance is the polemic with Cardinal Perron, in his *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron*, who had taken exception to King James's claim to the title of Catholic. This latter answer together with the *Responsio* is perhaps the nearest positive statement of belief on the essential points of difference between Anglicanism and Rome. The method of Bellarmine and Perron is refutation rather than systematic and consistent argument, the refutation of the English Church's claim to be Catholic because this depended on certain doctrines she rejected, transubstantiation, the temporal claims of the Papacy, and the invocation of saints. Bellarmine's thesis was supported by Cardinal Perron who in correspondence with Casaubon had refused to acknowledge James's right to the name "Catholic". Andrewes met the challenge historically and theologically.

(b) Appeal to Antiquity

He maintained that the acceptance of such doctrines could not constitute the test of catholicity since they were unknown in the first thousand years of Christian history.¹⁶ The relevance of this debate lies in the way in which Andrewes based the vindication of his position on the historical and theological testimony of antiquity. "If opinions are new" he writes, "they are

not ours. We appeal to antiquity, and to the most extreme antiquity ... We do not innovate; it may be we renovate what was customary among the ancients but with you has disappeared in novelties."¹⁷ For Andrewes, the

Catholicity of the Church was not dependent on propositions (as per Bellarmine), nor (as per the Puritans) was it an attribute of the invisible Church. It emerged from continuity with the Primitive Church, and the establishing of that continuity by reference to the standard evolving within the first five centuries was for Andrewes and his successors the reason for the emphasis on antiquity, and the explanation of the continual preoccupation with historicity in Anglican theological method.¹⁸

In the *Responsio*¹⁹ he appeals to Vincent of Lerins, "Let that be reckoned Catholic which always obtained everywhere among all, and which always and everywhere and by all was believed." What the English Church needed was not a coercive jurisdiction but a moral authority and Andrewes found that in the Primitive Church, which in continuity with Anglicanism still preserved in England, as elsewhere, the tokens of apostolic descent, that doctrine, discipline and polity once delivered to the saints. His understanding of ecclesiastical authority was qualified by his distinguishing between different degrees of authority, in drawing a distinction between what is *de fide* as being a matter of revelation and what is probable and a matter of opinion. Rome had put everything on the same level since Trent, therefore belief in transubstantiation and in the pope's deposing power were as important and binding as belief in the existence of the Church. From this standpoint of truths which have primary authority, tested by the Vincentian Canon, Andrewes dismisses Bellarmine's theses, in that transubstantiation is a "new doctrine" unheard-of for centuries, and therefore not *de fide*. It is over the mode of the presence that differences occur and Andrewes asserts a real sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharist and declared that the Church of England admitted the catholic conception of the Eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice. So, too, is the primacy of the Roman see interpreted by modern popes and exemplified in the claim to depose princes. Andrewes examines his authorities for the invocation of the saints, convicting him of misquotation and of using passages of disputable authenticity, dismissing his contention as "not proven". As to the adoration of relics, a tendency to it had been condemned by the Fathers, therefore the practice is not catholic.

Chapters I and VIII discuss a wide range of patristic references. In the same work he writes "there is no principal dogma in which we do not agree with the Fathers and they with us"²⁰ and, it is sufficient "if one should believe the canonical Scriptures, freely affirm the three Creeds, respect the first four Councils, and allow the unanimous consent of the Fathers in anything necessary to salvation",²¹ elaborating this in great detail,²² and as McAdoo points out, his method of handling the subject is with reference to history and the teaching of the Primitive Church as seen in the writings of the Fathers. While Andrewes cites Medieval writers as valuable

in other matters his exclusion of them here is because of their distance from the Apostles. This limitation to the first five centuries is no arbitrary matter but controlled by reference back to Scripture and the period after the Apostles, by which the appeal to antiquity interpreting Scripture is justified on the premise that this period interprets it best, being the period of the Creeds, Four Councils, and outstanding patristic writers at the time when the Canon of Scripture was being established. This reflection of the mind of the Church in the first centuries is what gives meaning to the idea of continuity. This for Andrewes was no mechanical concept "but the transmission of certain living qualities of faith and order, the possession of which linked the present Church with the Primitive Church, being at once the assurance and norm of catholicity."²³

Under twenty-six heads, Perron had drawn a comparison between the Church of St. Augustine's day and what he regarded as the tenets of the Church of England. Andrewes response is to use the same method of appeal to the Fathers by answering him point by point, convicting him of mistatement and misrepresentation. In dealing first with Eucharistic doctrine he demonstrates that for Anglicanism this is consistent with the Fathers in that it is an effectual means of grace and that the Presence is real but not corporal. Concerning Eucharistic adoration Perron cites in Cyril, Austin, Chrysostom and Theodoret, Andrewes writes, "I trust no Christian man will ever refuse to do - that is, to adore the Flesh of Christ."²⁴ However, he goes on to point out that St. Austin speaks of the eating as being after a heavenly and mysterious manner and so Perron's quotations he points out are not supportive of transubstantiation. There is no conflict with Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick, since, "It cannot be denied but reserving the Sacrament was suffered a long time in the primitive Church ... "²⁵ He goes on to point out that since the sick can always have private Communion and viaticum, the need is not there, though the intent still exists. On sacrifice he is explicit,

The Eucharist ever was, and by us is, considered both as a Sacrament and as a Sacrifice. The Sacrifice of Christ's death is available for present, absent, living, dead, yea, for them that are unborn (because we are all members of the one Body) ... If we agree about Sacrifice, there will be no difference about the Altar ...²⁶

Frere²⁷ comments that it took time for the English Church to recover the pure truth and express it in this mature statement of Andrewes, but it was there in Jewel and Bilson who maintained both sacrifice as consistent with scripture and antiquity. "Sacrifice of Christ's death" implies Eucharistic sacrifice as well as sacrifice of Calvary being available for present and absent, meaning in the Liturgy. Furthermore, the allowing of prayer for the dead is consistent with Andrewes practice in his *Preces Privatae*, and being consistent with the Bible and antiquity he is expressing the maturer view of the English Church. While refusing worship of relics, *the*

uncounterfeit are to be given the regard that becometh us, and while giving no countenance to prayers addressed to martyrs in his own devotions, there are Greek prayers with explicit commemoration of the BVM and All Saints. He asserts there is no interruption in the Succession of our Church.

(c) A Sounder Foundation

In effect what Andrewes is replying to Perron is that the English Church has some of what he defines as characteristics of catholicity, but others so defined are immaterial and not essential to catholicity. "We partly agree with you and we partly differ; so far as Rome is Catholic, England agrees; but where Rome parts company with antiquity, England parts company with her."²⁸ Frere continues,

We owe it largely to Andrewes that we were set upon a sounder foundation, with a firm line laid down for us upon fundamentals, as being fundamental, and a wide margin of liberty and toleration allowed for us in things of secondary importance....we owe largely to Andrewes the constructive view and positive statement of our position. The work of earlier reformers was to protest, to formulate our differences from Papist or Puritan. The Thirty-nine Articles express this attitude; it is at once both the weakness and the strength of that document. But the later divines, with Andrewes at their head, reversed the situation, went down to the positive foundations of the reconstructed building, and emphasized not our Protestantism but our catholicity.²⁹

(iii) The Preacher

For the contemplative mind of Andrewes preaching was more congenial than controversy and where he was more at home.

The practical import of Andrewes' prayers for the illumination of his mind can be discerned in his sermons. The continuity between the *Private Devotions* and the sermons has long been noticed; indeed, F.E. Brightman's edition of the *Devotions* elucidates this connection. In addition to their strong ascetical dimensions, Andrewes sermons are also theological works, and it is in the sermons that Bishop Andrewes' theological creativity comes to the fore. The essence of this creativity lies in Andrews' assimilation of classical Christian doctrine and his artful application of it to the doctrinal, liturgical, and ascetical needs of his day. Yet, despite the tremendous theological and scholarly acumen the sermons display, their genius issues from a rootedness in prayer and the truly graceful creativity of the mind that illumines them.³⁰

(a) Style of Preaching

In a style peculiar to himself he impresses the reader "not by a sustained chain of reasoning, but by the wealth of biblical illustration and patristic comment with which they enforce and give substance to a leading thought."³¹ Ottley goes on to compare his style with St. Leo the Great's for its "inelegance" and "antithetic treatment of Christian facts". Church

describes him as theologian first and foremost, whose deepest belief is the importance of his theology and who profoundly reverences the truth.

His aim was to give accuracy and breadth to dogma, and to put life in its expression, as St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and the great Greek Fathers had done: not to plunge into the abysses of the unknown, and of that which it is impossible to know, but to fix thought on the certainties and the realities, passing all wonder, that we believe are known.³²

His concern in the pulpit is the presentation of a pattern of faith akin to all that was ancient and universal in Christianity and rose above the contemporary controversies, and in this he enlarged the teaching of the Reformation without departing from its fundamental principles. So we find him fearlessly supplying from those authorities to which appeal had always been made, that which was necessary to complete the fullness and harmony of doctrine.

Full of discrimination for what really had the authority of the ancient Church, he was the most fearless of English divines when he had that authority. English theology would be in danger of being much less Catholic, much more disconnected with that of the earlier ages, much more arbitrarily limited in all directions, except towards Geneva or else towards simple latitude, but that a man of Andrewes' character and weight had dared to break through the prescription which the Puritans were trying to establish against the doctrinal language, at once more accurate and more free, of the ancient Church.³³

Without Andrewes, the Church of England would not have had Jeremy Taylor, Bull and hardly Waterland. Commenting on the presentation of the Incarnation in the seventeen Christmas sermons, Lossky stresses, that Andrewes' concern is to lead his hearers into a practical way of incarnating this mystery into their own lives by a personal engagement. The implication is always the old patristic adage, which Andrewes reformulates for his own time: 'God has become man, that man might become God.' What I am trying to show here is that at the heart of an era dominated by polemic, which necessarily hardens positions, Andrewes does his utmost to preach the mystery without rationalizing it or evading it or drowning it in lyrical pietism. He preaches it in patristic language, that is to say, using the vocabulary of that thought as well as its symbolism, always striving towards the limit the human mind can attain, but also recognizing that limit. He never seeks to rationalize beyond that point, nor to deny human intelligence its proper place in the pursuit of the mystery. From this way of proceeding there results a great economy, in the sense that everything that is said is directed towards a precise goal which is never a gratuitous effect ... The play on words, the bold comparisons, the paradoxes, force the mind to look again at one or another aspect of the Christian mystery, just as the same kind of procedures were used with similar intention and an analogous result in the patristic and liturgical tradition that Andrewes knew so well, as all his biographers have remarked, and as it quite evident from the sermons themselves and a glance, however brief, at the *Preces Privatae*.³⁴

(b) Use of the Fathers

There is a difference in the way he used the Fathers in his sermons and how he employed them for controversial purposes. In the latter his method is straightforward citing of his authoritative reference in Scripture, Creeds and Council in the historical context of patristic writings. What makes his sermons impressive in their appeal to the Fathers is the incidental nature of this appeal. "But let me also tell you a saying. It is St. Basil's, and well worth remembering;" ... "I had rather you heard St. Augustine, than myself ... " On the theme of Fasting (Matt. vi, 16) "Which of the Fathers have not homilies yet extant in praise of it?...either we must cancel all antiquity or we must acknowledge the constant use and observation of it."³⁵ There is an ease in the way in which he slips into his sermons, allusions to and quotations from the Fathers; "There was saith St. Gregory, no error of the Disciples".³⁶ "To conclude, it is St. Augustine, and so say all the rest".³⁷ In a sermon on *Dives and Lazarus* he uses Chrysostom (de Laz con. 20) without quoting³⁸ and St. Chrysostom's two³⁹ is just slipped in to introduce a point. "But the Fathers press a farther matter yet out of *Verbum Caro factum*; that we also after our manner *verbum carnem facere*, 'to incarnate the word' ".⁴⁰ "When the world shall bid us goodnight, then, as St. Augustine expresseth it, *videre in noctye saeculi diem Christi*".⁴¹ Preaching on what good can come out of Bethlehem, he exclaims "What good," and then "Nazianzen tells us; ... it gives us our introduction to Paradise Bethlehem;"⁴² An Easter sermon,⁴³ explores the custom of keeping Easter where he sets out to demonstrate the nature and purpose of ecclesiastical custom. Existence of customs is not sufficient authority for them, their apostolic and Catholic institution must be proven. His text, 'the Church hath her customs' (I Cor.XI.16) and the custom of keeping Easter is linked with I Cor.v,7, 8., to prove its existence from the beginning. Here the the practice of the Church is clear enough from 'custom' and no further authority is necessary. He then distinguishes between customs and traditions, the former concerned with agenda, the latter with credenda. However, custom must be in agreement with Scripture, and he cites the respect of the first Nicene Council for customs in existence from the beginning, the test being that it must be general and ancient. The keeping of Easter is then discussed in the light of this, always and everywhere observed, though the timing of it had raised questions. He discusses it in the light of the first five centuries, citing calendars for estimating the timing of it, the Easter letters of Alexandria and the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers in their Easter discourses, Easter hymns,commentaries, and particular instances of recorded practice 'all these ways, by singing, by saying, by writing, by doing'.

Then he turns from the Fathers to the First Councils citing evidence from all four. It is not merely the citing of quotation to buttress what he preaches, but the expression of *the patristic mind* in his own thought and words as it is embedded in the theme of his sermon. So we

find him committed not only to the *kerygma* of the Apostles but also to the *dogmata* of the Fathers. For Andrewes the Church is indeed Apostolic, but she is also Patristic, and only by being Patristic can she be continuously Apostolic, and the teaching of the Fathers is a permanent category of Christian faith, a constant and ultimate measure or criterion of right belief. His appeal, as our own contemporary appeal to the Fathers, cannot be reduced to a mere historical reference to the past.

(c) The Scriptural Mind

Like Hooker he has grasped the *phronema* of the Fathers, which he does not separate from the interpretation of Holy Scripture because together they are an intrinsic reference point in his theology. In his exegesis of Holy Scripture he systematically follows the Fathers, because,

The ancient Fathers thought it meet that they would take upon them to interpret 'the apostles' doctrine' should put in sureties that their senses they gave were no other than the Church in former time hath acknowledged. It is true the apostles, indeed, spake from the Spirit; but that, I take it, was their peculiar privilege. But all that are after them speak not by revelation, but by labouring in the word and learning; are not to utter their own fancies, and to desire to be believed upon their bare word; ... but only on condition that the sense they now give is not a feigned sense, as St. Peter termeth it, but such an one as hath been before given by our fathers and forerunners in the Christian faith ...⁴⁴

With this interpreter there grows the capacity to link exact statements of doctrine to the scriptural imagery, not merely because of his profound knowledge of the Bible, but because he has caught the 'spirit of revelation'. There has been formed in him a deep and strong sense of the range and comprehensiveness of Christian truth in its organic wholeness, each part connected with and related to every other part. Through the Fathers there is formed in him "*the scriptural mind*", which is the result of bending one's own thought to the mental habits of the biblical language to relearn the idiom of the Bible. Repentance must precede the receiving of the Gospel, and this is more than mere acknowledgement of sin. It is a profound change of one's own mental and emotional attitude, an integral renewal of oneself which begins in self-renunciation and is accomplished and sealed by the Spirit. This is what makes the difference between a mere thinker and a witness. The reference to the Fathers is not to abstract tradition in formula and proposition, to thinkers, but is primarily an appeal to persons, to witnesses, which in his turn Andrewes became. The witness of such people belongs integrally and intrinsically, to the very structure of Christian faith and life.

In his understanding of continuity, Andrewes, in keeping Scripture and the Fathers together visualizes the Catholic Church of all ages, and the Church of England in part with it, as a living expression of the Church of the Fathers.

If one considers the whole preaching of Lancelot Andrewes, one will notice that the fathers of the Church are not only present in the form of quotations

illustrating this or that point of interpretation or doctrine. There is a true incorporation of the patristic body of thought which results in the preacher very often speaking like the Fathers, because he comes to know his own time as he has come to know their's, that is to say in the light of Christianity lived in deep unity with the experience and renewed reception of the dogma of Chalcedon.⁴⁵

(d) His Exposition of *Symbol*

An example of this is found in his understanding and exposition of *Symbol*, where he is thoroughly in tune with the patristic mind. In his discussion of this,⁴⁶ Lossky first defines what this patristic understanding of *symbol* is, that it signifies the coexistence of two realities, that of what signifies and that of what is signified, the image participating in the reality signified. "A symbolic name of Christ is an image, but an image not at all in the abstract sense of a reminder, by certain conventionally recognizable traits, of the existence of an absent reality; it is an image in the concrete sense of participation in the reality of what it represents by the likeness of the representation to that which is represented". He goes on to point out that the application to Christ of the name 'Lamb', is no mere poetic allegory, but name and image acquire a sacred character by virtue of the presence in them of the grace of the One they evoke. Such symbols are bearers of two realities, "the human reality and the divine reality, after the image of the Godmanhood of the Person of the Incarnate Christ." This experience of such human and divine realities is not the subjective product of human psychology, rather does it come as "an 'objective' revealed reality, grasped by the movement of faith." It is in this sense that Andrewes understands symbol and Lossky goes on to illustrate this from a sermon,⁴⁷ in which he speaks of the Eucharist. He is speaking of the elements of bread and wine, the recapitulation of the seasons of the year, and of Christ, the heavenly recapitulation of the Bread of Life and of the true Vine. Andrewes goes on to say, "And the gathering or vintage of these two in the blessed Eucharist, is as I may say a kind of hypostatical union of the sign and the thing signified, so united together as are the two natures of Christ." His use of the term 'hypostatical' is to make precise the difference between 'person' and 'individual' which in the patristic mind "is conceived precisely as the recapitulation of the whole." Lossky goes on to show how this conception of symbolism throws light on the use Andrewes makes of symbolic language in other contexts in his sermons.

(e) A Synthesis of Patristic Dogma and Experience

This is what places not only his thought, but his preaching, in a larger room, raising them above the controversies and theological fashions of his age. It is therefore inevitable that in thinking and style he is thoroughly patristic. As Ottley points out,

His aim is ever to bring out the full content of dogma; to exhibit its bearings on life; to give reality and vividness to men's apprehension of it. In this respect there is affinity, both in the structure and tone of his sermons, between him and the Father he so often quotes - St. Chrysostom ... the same tendency to a

'running commentary,' each verse of a passage being expounded in its order; (On the Resurrection, XIV, Vol.3.p.3.) the same lucidity; the same insistence on practical aspects of known truth, and the avoidance of speculation on the "secret things" of the Most High.⁴⁸

To quote Canon Allchin⁴⁹,

... in Andrewes's sermons we have a kerygmatic and liturgical theology, a theology of praise and proclamation, whose models are patristic rather than medieval. It is a theology which reaffirms and represents in London in the first twenty-five years of the seventeenth century that particular synthesis of dogma and experience, of thought and intuition, of learning and devotion which we find in the fathers of the first ten centuries, alike in East and West. This patristic quality has often been noticed in Andrewes' preaching, though some have thought that it was more a matter of external application, of laborious scholarship, than a living part of his thought. Such a supposition has been convincingly refuted ... Nicholas Lossky shows in the preaching of the seventeenth-century bishop a living and dynamic presence of the understanding of the mystery of Christ which is characteristic of the teaching of the Fathers, and especially of the fathers of the East.

The in-depth observations and study of Andrewes by Lossky are pertinent because they come from within an Eastern Orthodoxy that recognizes something of its own image mirrored in this Anglican divine.

(iv) Deification

(a) Andrewes, Allchin, and Eliot

An essential and important strand in the fabric of Andrewes' theology is the doctrine of theosis as the consequence and completion of the doctrine of the Incarnation. Canon A.M.Allchin discusses this in two of his works, an essay, *Trinity and Incarnation in the Anglican Tradition*,⁵⁰ and his book, *Participation in God*⁵¹. In the former he quotes from a sermon for Pentecost⁵² comparing the work of Christ with the Holy Spirit. Here Andrewes speaks of the mystery of his Incarnation and the mystery of our inspiration as 'great mysteries of godliness', in both, God being 'manifested in the flesh',

In the former by the union of his Son; in the latter by the communion of his blessed Spirit ... without either of them we are not complete, we have not our accomplishment; but by both of them we have, and that fully, even by this day's royal exchange. Whereby, as before he of ours, so now we of his are made partakers. He clothed with our flesh, and we invested with his Spirit. The great promise of the Old Testament accomplished, that he should partake our human nature; and the great and precious promise of the New, that we should be *consortes divinae naturae*, 'partake of his divine nature', both are this day accomplished.

Here as Allchin remarks there is no reticence about the doctrine of theosis that is characteristic of other Western theologians. "Rather we find a renewal of the teaching of the

Fathers in its fullness, a fullness which includes such themes as the constant progress into God described by Gregory of Nyssa." Christian life is continuous growth, Gregory's idea of *epektasis*, of never having arrived, but of the pressing on in pursuit of still purer, more vital experience of God's light and truth, where each fulfilment contains in itself the impulse to further growth.

... to be made partakers of the Spirit, is to be made partakers 'of the divine nature' ... Partakers of the Spirit we are, by receiving grace; ... The state of grace is the perfection of this life, to grow still from grace to grace, to profit in it. As to go on still forward is the perfection of a traveller, to draw still nearer and nearer to his journey's end.⁵³

In his second work, after establishing Andrewes' capacity to preach a coherent and organic theology, he cites T.S.Eliot's essay *For Lancelot Andrewes*, to ally with this 'a quality or depth in his writing'. Eliot speaks of Andrewes as being completely absorbed in his subject, his emotion growing the more deeply he penetrates the mystery he seeks to grasp. This emotion Eliot describes as contemplative, something evoked by the object of contemplation, wholly contained in and explained by its object. In Andrewes, Allchin points out, thinking and feeling have been fused together,

... a man in whom what is within, what is subjective, is wholly evoked by what is beyond, the object of his contemplation, in whom subjective and objective are thus reconciled and at one. A man ... totally absorbed in his subject ... which is more than metaphorical ... such a one should be able to speak to us about participation in the divine nature, for he speaks from experience⁵⁴

(b) The meaning of *Emmanuel*

Andrewes does speak, expounding the meaning of *Emmanuel*, what *God with us* means, in a Christmas sermon where he demonstrates a living integration of the doctrines of incarnation, adoption, deification, virgin birth, baptismal birth, and the life-giving action of the Holy Spirit in womb and font. God is with us:

to make us that to God that he was this day to man. And this indeed was the chief end of his being 'With us'; to give us *a posse fieri*, a capacity, 'a power to be made sons of God', by being born again of water and the Spirit; *Originem quam sumpsit ex utero Virginis posuit in fonte Baptismatis*, 'the same original that himself took in the womb of the virgin to us ward the same hath he placed for us in the fountain of baptism to Godward', well therefore called the womb of the Church *sustoichon* to the Virgin's womb, with a power given it of *concipiet et pariet filio* to God. So his being conceived and born of the Son of man doth conceive and bring forth (*filiatio filiationem*) our being born, our being sons of God, his participation of our human, our participation of his divine nature.⁵⁵

In no way can Easter be separated from Christmas, nor Resurrection from Incarnation nor the consequences of this Christian mystery, any disjunction between the union of human and divine. Christmas needs Easter, "...the still greater mystery of death and resurrection, where we see the divine-human interchange in a new and still more striking perspective",⁵⁶ in

a new birth from the dead. Here a quotation compares and contrasts these two births in which Easter is described as a second Christmas. Christmas unites Christ with humankind, not in its sin, but in its natural infirmities, mortality and death and in a brotherhood which death dissolves. Easter heralds his second birth from the womb of the grave,

... he begins a new brotherhood, founds a new fraternity straight; adopts us, we see, anew again by his *fratres meos*; and thereby he that was *primogenitus a mortuis* becomes *primogenitus inter multos fratres*; when 'the first begotten from the dead', then 'the first begotten of many brethren'. Before he was ours, now we are his. That was by the mother's side; so he ours. This is *Patrem vestrum*, the Father's side; so we his. But half-brothers before, never the whole blood till now. Now by the Father and mother both, *fratres germani, fratres fraterrimi*, we can not be more ... This day's is the better birth by far.⁵⁷

(c) A Coherent Vision

Returning to Nicholas Lossky's perceptions of the patristic quality of Andrewes' theology, a comment on the coherence of this vision of Christian doctrine is cited [ibid.p.18. *Lancelot Andrewes: Le Predicateur* (Paris, 1986)].

In the the theological movement characteristic of Andrewes's preaching, it can be said that the Christmas sermons, treating of the dogma of the Incarnation, underline time and again the paradox of the most high God, of the heavens, who limits himself to become fully man, consubstantial with us, becoming participant in human nature, in its entirety, sin only excepted. In the Easter sermons, the accent will constantly be placed on what could be called the corollary of this paradox; this suffering servant, who has reached the last degree of the human condition, is the almighty God, consubstantial with the Father, who with the Father has created the world. In his resurrection, which is due to his consubstantiality with the Father, he remains fully consubstantial with men, and there ensues a new life and a new destiny for creation. Easter is then the feast, *par excellence*, of springtime joy for creation re-created and become the heir of a great destiny.

Lancelot Andrewes's Easter preaching, resounding with the hope and joy that emanate from the Passion-Resurrection of Christ is certainly not in that respect novel in the general history of preaching. However, it cannot be denied that at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century in England, it had been a long time since such accents had been heard.⁵⁸

Any understanding of Andrewes' teaching on deification cannot be fully understood without seeing its organic connection with his pneumatology, which Lossky says is given significance by the stress he puts on the deification of man as the supreme goal of the way of salvation.

It is a matter of man with God in Christ through the Holy Spirit. If his theology is at once christocentric and pneumatological, it is because, in his vision of salvation he has made profoundly his own the image of St. Irenaeus according to which the Son and the Spirit are 'the two hands of the Father'. This image expresses the complementarity, reciprocity, the unity and the distinction of the

two Persons in the divine economy. At the same time, and above all, it shows clearly that the divine economy is the action of all Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. As we have seen, Andrewes never forgets this.⁵⁹

Andrewes' vision is Trinitarian, a pastoral theologian with a theology to be preached, and therefore with a practical purpose, nothing less than to participate in the divine life Christ lives with the Father in the Holy Spirit. It is a life within the Church, a sacramental life in worship and prayer, a life of continual movement and growth in the very life of God himself. This is saving life, salvation. In this work, Christ and the Spirit cannot be separated.

The Holy Spirit reveals the divinity of the Son who is the image of the Father (2 Cor.4:4). The man who becomes a 'partaker of the divine nature' (2.Pet.1:4) enters into communion with the common nature of the Three Persons as it is manifested from the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit. By the uncreated grace of the Holy Spirit, God, that is to say the Trinity, comes to dwell in him, and man comes, one could say, 'in the Holy Spirit, through the Son, to the Father', to take over the inversion of the ancient doxology, as used by Fr. Boris Bobrinskoy.⁶⁰

The Incarnation of God is for the breathing into man of the very life of God, and this keeping together of Incarnation and Inspiration, *Incarnatio* and *Inspiratio*, God clothed in flesh and man invested with divinity dominates Andrewes' sermons for Pentecost. Thereby are we caught up in the very life and being of the Trinity.

(v) Prayer

(a) Theology is Prayer

A man is what he prays. The person who prays is a theologian and a theologian is a person who prays, or to put it in the words of St. John Klimakos, *the climax of purity is the threshold of theology*. In this patristic and Evagrian sense Andrewes is a theologian.

For the purpose of understanding the character of Andrewes' theology, it is necessary to note that for him the mind and intellect must also be offered to God. Human reason must be subjected to prayer. In a section of the prayers 'at the Eucharist' Andrewes reveals his sense of the need for such subjection. Prior to reception he prays for illumination of the mind. The word *diakonia* refers specifically to the faculty of thinking, to the intellect. In the same context he prays for 'fulness of wisdom' and, finally, for 'a proper exercise of human reason'. In these few but significant precautions we can discern Andrewes' realization of the need to subject the processes of rational reflection to the searching gaze of God's Holy Spirit. To be a theologian was indeed to pray truly, and, more than that, to submit one's mind to the illumination of grace which alone makes genuine theology possible.⁶¹

In the *Preces Privatae* is the hidden life of worship, self-discipline, and self-consecration of this Anglican divine.

(b) The Sources of the *Preces Privatae*

Speaking of their sources, F.E. Brightman,⁶² describes them as "a mosaic of quotations. The first and principal source is Holy Scripture," but he also used existing 'precatory collections of eastern and western Christendom,' as well as drawing copiously from the Fathers and saints. Andrewes arranges and articulates them in an orderly scheme of penitence, intercession, praise and thanksgiving." H.B. Swete describes these prayers as a devotional handling of the Creeds and their theology as being for the most part an interpretation of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds read in the light of the experience of life, embodying recollections from Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, the Gregories, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine. "Of the ancient liturgical books free use is made: we recognize portions of the great Horology and Euchology, of the Liturgy of St. James and St. Basil; the Western Hours and Missal and manual..."⁶³

Swete highlights the way in which 'certain elements of devotion, such as commemoration, petition, intercession', are combined with minuteness of detail and the unobtrusive way in which use is made of extracts from the liturgies. There is no evidence here of our modern pseudo-problem, a conflict between personal and public prayer; not only is the liturgy Andrewes' theological teacher, it is also his tutor in prayer. Dean Church has commented on the liturgical quality of these devotions,

... incorporating bursts of adoration and Eucharistic triumph from the Liturgies of St. James or St. Chrysostom, recalling the most ancient Greek hymns of the Church, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the Evening Hymn preserved at the end of the Alexandrian manuscript of the New Testament, (translated in the *Lyra Apostolica*, No.62. See Bingham's *Antiquities*, Vol. IV, p. 411.) - all this is in the strongest contrast to anything that I know of in the devotions of the time. It was the reflection, in private prayer, of the tone and language of the Book of Common Prayer, its Psalms, and its Offices; it supplemented the public book, and carried on its spirit from the Church to the closet. And this was the counterpart of what Andrewes taught in the pulpit. To us it shows how real and deeply held his theology was; ...⁶⁴

(c) The Disposition of Andrewes' Prayer

The predominant disposition of Andrewes' prayer is that of the publican not the Pharisee. His Devotions have as their context two essential elements of Christian prayer, adoration and penitence. The same moment that expresses adoration to God keeps within it remembrance and expression of sorrow for human weakness. This is what "changes the mind", one's mental and emotional attitude, that integral renewal of oneself, which begins in self-renunciation and is accomplished and sealed by the Spirit. This is what was noted earlier as the precondition to the formation of the 'scriptural mind', the result of the bending of one's own thought to the mental habits of the biblical language to relearn the idiom of the Bible. Here in the

Devotions lies the clue to the formation of that 'scriptural mind' in Andrewes. Andrewes belonged to that seventeenth century school of thought in which, with Hooker, Thorndike, Cosin, Taylor and others, the concern was to penetrate beneath the outward trappings of liturgy and comprehend its inner meaning and principles. For them liturgy has something to do with dogma and life and their understanding of the Church as an organism means that dogma, prayer and life are one whole. This organic relationship between dogma, prayer, and life, is what transforms theology into life, living reality, and it is noteworthy that the *Devotions* focus on the created order with its manifest variety of human life and experience.

Such focus points to a personality shaped by the new Renaissance learning, as well as to an interest in natural science which was confirmed and encouraged, no doubt, by Andrewes' close friend, Francis Bacon. This fascination, however, was not a function of Andrewes' intellect and personality alone; it was primarily ascetical and theological. Every aspect of the world and human experience is offered to God - and in that offering becomes a means to know God.⁶⁵

Furthermore, there is continuity in outline in its main features between the primitive liturgies and the *Book of Common Prayer*. References in his sermons bear out this interest and the comment of Swete that the 'whole tone of the *Preces Privatae* is akin to that of Greek liturgies.' Swete goes on to draw attention to an interesting point, in that this bishop, in the spirit of some early Greek liturgies, seems to have attributed the consecration of the elements to the Son rather than the Spirit. "Thou" he says addressing Our Lord, "art with us invisibly to hallow the gifts that are set forth, and those for whom they are brought." McAdoo⁶⁶ reinforcing Swete's point about the kinship between the *Preces Privatae* and the early liturgies cites a point in Andrewes' sermons "to very good purpose it was that the ancient Fathers in the Greek Church in their liturgy." as an example illustrating such interest. Another is on the use of Psalm 85, illustrating his wish to underline liturgical continuity "one of the psalms selected of old by the Primitive Church, and so still retained by ours, as part of our office, or service of this day". His interest in liturgy was also practical, and in the spirit of the Fathers produced a liturgy where the *Book of Common Prayer* provided none. His knowledge of the early liturgies was of great value in such ventures as the *Form for the Consecration of a Church or Churchyard*, and a *Form for Consecrating Church Plate, a Form of Induction*, and a *Manual for The Sick*.

(v) Conclusion

The contemporary Russian Orthodox Nicholas Lossky finds Andrewes a "mystical theologian".

The final goal of the spiritual life being union with God, one can say that the theology of Lancelot Andrewes is a mystical theology, as long as one elucidates the meaning of the word 'mystical'. It is not a question of an exceptional

experience, reserved for a few, in some way outside the traditional ways of theology. On the contrary it is a question of the interiorisation of the revealed Christian mystery, to which Andrewes calls all the baptised. This theology is mystical in the sense that it is not an abstract reflection, but a concrete way of living the mystery in the deepening of the faith through prayer and the renunciation of one's own will. It is a way of the submission of the human to the divine will, which allows the grace of the Holy Spirit to impregnate human nature. For Andrewes it is altogether clear that this is only possible in fidelity to the given realities of revelation, that is to say in the scriptural and patristic tradition, or in other words in the catholicity of the Church. ⁶⁷

Fr. Walter Frere of the Community of the Resurrection, not only finds Andrewes as a character that has been formed by what is best in the Christian tradition, but also as "the firstfruits of the working out of the principles of the English Reform of Religion."⁶⁸

Andrewes represents in the Anglican context, the manifestation of the patristic character which is common to the catholic Fathers of Eastern and Western Christendom. This is plainly revealed by the way in which *the patristic mind* informs every aspect of his thought and life. As an apologist for Anglicanism the Fathers and Councils are the authoritative basis for its catholic integrity which he defines as primitive rather than papal, thereby recognising the *consensus patrum*, not as a period piece or stereotype in which to freeze the theology of future generations. For Andrewes it is a continuity of life, mystical and sacramental, in which theology ends in adoration, because, for him and for the Fathers, theology is not merely thinking about God but attempting to translate into intelligible terms the experience of life in God. Hence, for Andrewes as for Hooker, the grace of the sacraments is the last link in a series whose terminus is the participation of the Saints in the life of God. Therefore as a preacher and pastor the style and content of his preaching is akin to the Fathers in its primary concern with salvation in terms of that *partaking of the divine nature*, and the presentation of an organic theology in which the emphasis is on grace rather than knowledge and preaching subordinated to participation in the sacraments. Theology is then truly mystical, the description of an experience rather than definition and therein lies not only the patristic quality of Andrewes's theology but also his originality as a theologian.



WILLIAM LAUD
From the portrait by Van Dyck.

8

William Laud (1573-1645) Archbishop of Canterbury

(i) The Man and his Assessors

William Laud described the death of Andrewes as a great light going out in the Christian world and though their lives did overlap and Andrewes died in Charles I's reign, his life belongs to the earlier period. Laud who became prominent in James's reign, did his life's work in the later period. Though there were obvious differences in character and circumstances between the two men, nevertheless,

Laud was the lineal successor of Andrewes; his resistance to the Calvinist theology at Oxford was the counterpart of Andrewes' quiet rebellion at Cambridge, and alike they passed from the highest academic honours to a deanery and to a bishopric ... Laud would have been more overbearing still if he had not imbibed from Andrewes the gentleness which showed itself so heroically in the days of his adversity; and 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.¹

Despite the influence of Andrewes, the mere mention of Laud can often provoke the dismissive and biased comment, because, too often he has been judged from the narrow perspective of his involvement in the political arena. In his time the principle of the English Reformation, looking to the faith and discipline of the primitive Church for a non-papal Catholicism, was confronted by the Puritan spirit of Calvinism that threatened the integrity of the English Church. In such circumstances there is no exaggeration in claiming that the stance for

which Laud eventually was martyred, safeguarded the future of Anglicanism in Creeds, Episcopacy and Sacraments. Nevertheless, Macaulay's spiteful caricature of him as "a ridiculous bigot" or as "intolerant and meddlesome" has stuck as serious history "in quarters which might be expected to know better."² Ballard goes on to quote from S.R. Gardiner,³ whose judgement on Laud is "sufficiently free from the twin evils of antithesis and debunking." Gardiner's point is that "there was a fruitful seed in his teaching which was not to be smothered in blood" but also "his nobler aims were too much in accordance with the needs of the age to be altogether baffled." Three centuries later the parish churches and their worship express a realization of his hopes concerning uniformity, which, with some variations the *Book of Common Prayer* was to achieve. "It is far more that his refusal to submit his mind to the dogmatism of Puritanism, and his appeal to the cultivated intelligence for the solution of religious problems has received an ever-increasing response ... " What this priest-martyr became was the champion of theological liberty.

Dean Hutton declares that he was 'the man who preserved for the Church of England both her catholicity and her freedom.' Laud completed what Elizabeth had begun, and did much more. He not only saved the English Church from the Puritans; he established her right to regard herself, not as the creation of either Parliament or King, but as part of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, national in her liturgy, but faithful to primitive doctrine.⁴

This accords with J.B.Mozley's judgement, that Laud, the lad from humble origins in Reading who became England's Archbishop, "saved the English Church".⁵ Critical of biography which shrinks from doing justice to the combination of bishop and politician, he claims that "The political department, e.g. in Laud, throws depth on the ecclesiastical, and each benefits the other".⁶ His contemporary biographer Heylin fails to do justice to the *homo interior*,

a whole inward sphere of thought and feeling in which Laud's mind was moving all the time ... the bustle of State and Church politics covers an interior depth and feeling; the courtier, statesman, and man of the world kneels before the cross; and we gain a different idea of him altogether.⁷

Fundamentally he was a priest who loved his Church and whose ministry was exercised in the nation's corridors of power, and though with more active involvement than Andrewes it was exercised in that same spirit of prayer and with the theological outlook that Laud and Andrewes shared with Hooker.

Laud's object was a doctrinal clearance; the subjugation of the Calvinistic spirit in the Reformed Church of England. The restoration of Church ceremonial and external worship was not so much his object as this doctrinal one. The Church was overrun with heresy, for we cannot call the Puritanical movement of the seventeenth century by any other name; and he was bent on expelling it, on the view that nothing could be made of the Church till it was got rid of. He was a doctrinal reformer⁸

Yet the inner life of this great priest has too often been overlooked and his achievement in laying the principles and practices for the future of Anglicanism underestimated.

(ii) The Theologian

[a] Foundations

From the start Laud was swimming against the tide of the prevalent Calvinist theology of his day. It confronted him in the university authorities, among the bishops and clergy, and in Parliament. He was greatly influenced by John Buckeridge his tutor, who, in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign was a leading light in the universities in the reaction against the dominant Calvinism of the day. Buckeridge stressed the primary importance of sacramental grace and the Episcopal organisation of the Church of England. He guided Laud's studies in the spirit of the Canon of 1571, which prescribed the study of the Fathers and ancient doctors as the best commentary on Holy Scripture. When in 1602 he had to read the *Divinity Lecture* on Mrs May's foundation in his college, he opposed the contrary opinion of the post-Reformation theologians that from the Apostles until Luther and Calvin, the Church had apostatized and become Papal, implying that Romanism was as old as A.D. 100. On page 49 of his biography, Heylin tells us that in this lecture Laud maintained "the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church, as in others of the East and South, until the Reformation." He claimed a regular legitimate existence for the Medieval English Church. For him the authority of the present Church rested upon that basis because its orders and genealogy were traceable through the Roman Catholic hierarchy, up to the Apostles and primitive Church. It brought upon Laud the wrath of Dr. Abbot the vice-chancellor and future Puritan Archbishop, and others. From then onwards he was persistently misrepresented by Abbot and his partisans as a confederate of Rome and an enemy of the Gospel of Christ. Undaunted, Laud later delivered publicly a thesis required before passing to a divinity degree, in which he boldly proclaimed the necessity of Baptismal regeneration using the arguments of the Roman Catholic Bellarmine, and the Episcopal form of Church government, in the face of more fury from the academic community.

[b] The Innovator

"He appears before us, in short, in the first instance, as an innovator upon the dominant and authorised theology of the day"⁹, the school of Geneva being prominent among the greater part of the clergy and laity, and Calvin being regarded as a greater authority than St. Augustine or St. Jerome. The authority of the Church, its existence as a visible body and Apostolic succession were all called in question. In fact it was heresy to speak to him, and suspicion of heresy to

acknowledge him in the street, because his divinity was constructed on the noble foundations of the Fathers, the Councils and the Ecclesiastical historians. His friends were "perplexed and suspicious of the formal ecclesiastical bearing of his theology". Mozley goes on to point out that Laud's orthodoxy raised itself and "was the growth of his own mind in opposition to the prevailing system, and had to be maintained by the force of his own judgement and taste against a whole uncongenial and hostile state of contemporary theology"¹⁰. Ordained in 1601 by Bishop Young of Rochester, the bishop,

found his study raised above the system and opinions of the age, upon the noble foundation of the Fathers, Councils, and the ecclesiastical historians, and presaged that, if he lived, he would be an instrument of restoring the Church from the narrow and private principles of modern times,¹¹

which Young regarded as being the more free, large and public sentiments of the purest and best ages. The post-Reformation theologians of Laud's day had severed the Church of England from her medieval past, therefore it was anathema that she should derive authority from what was the fountain-head of the Roman Church, so that antiquity for them had no dignity but only pollution. The greater problem for Laud then was from within, from among those ordained ministers who worked to overthrow a system they had solemnly sworn to protect, and set up an order completely contrary to that established by the Anglican reformers.

[c] A Man of the Tradition

This does not reduce Laud to a traditionalist whose views reflect nothing more than a blind acceptance of the thought of the past. He was a man of the Tradition because his own thought and experience convinced him of its essential rightness. As a scholar his knowledge of patristics was monumental and his works are littered with quotations from the Early Fathers. Like his predecessors Hooker and Andrewes they were not so much rigid authorities to which he appealed in support of a thesis, but examples of the mind and wisdom of the past from which it was presumptuous and unwise to depart without careful consideration. It became fundamental to his own thought and life, embedded into his own pattern of thinking. Like his predecessors Cranmer, Jewel, Parker and Hooker, he believed profoundly in the Catholic Church, visible in its continuity, the Church of England essentially part of it.

Laud had caught a glimpse of the Church moving through the upheavals of history and like Andrewes he saw the significance of the first five centuries for later times, and he concluded that 'the Church of England is nearest of any Church now in being to the Primitive Church'.¹²

His attitude to the whole problem is expounded in the account he published of the famous controversy with "Mr. Fisher the Jesuit".

(iii) His Apologia

[a] The Preface

At the King's command he engages in dispute with the Jesuit Fisher, the latter maintaining that the main question requiring an answer was, "Is there an Infallible Church?". It is here that he illustrates in conviction and scholarship his own firm belief in the catholicity of Anglicanism's faith and order in an unbroken continuity with its patristic roots. *A Relation of the Conference*,¹³ is prefaced by *An Epistle Dedicatory* to King Charles, in which Laud is concerned to justify his attempts to ensure uniformity. Without uniform and decent order there is chaos, and this it is which draws people away from the sincerity of religion professed in the Church of England, and while worship has an inner reality without which there is no true worship, nevertheless, this cannot be separated from its outward expression, for such "external worship of God in his Church is the great witness to the world."¹⁴ Such separation destroys true worship and is his reason for trying to secure,

decency and an orderly settlement of the external worship of God in the Church. For of that which is inward there can be no witness among men. Now no external action in the world can be uniform without some ceremonies. And these in religion, the ancients they be, the better, so they may fit time and place.

The Church of England he understands as positioned between Roman Catholics and Puritans, a *via media* which is not deliberately chosen, "but is incidental to the fact that 'she professes the ancient Catholic Faith'. Laud maintains that there is in fact no innovation but a return to the teaching of Scripture and the Fathers, and that 'she practices church government as it hath been in use in all ages and all places.'"¹⁵ McAadoo comments that Andrewes and Laud see the criterion of antiquity in relation to continuity and Catholicity which is not a 'narrow conclave'. Laud's purpose in the Conference is "to lay open those wider gates of the Catholic Church, confined to no age, time or place; nor knowing any bounds but that faith which was once (and but once for all) delivered to the saints."¹⁶ The Church is founded on the Faith not the Faith on the Church.

[b] The Infallibility of the Church

In the discussion with Fisher he contends that infallibility cannot be asserted of any particular Church, citing Bellarmine, who studied the past to provide a basis for present faith, and claimed that the Pope and the Roman Church are unable to err. The latter is the important question, whether inerrancy for all time in matters of faith belongs to the Church of Rome. Bellarmine's proof was based on three passages from Cyprian, Jerome and Gregory Nazianzen, while referring to but not referencing Cyril and Rufinus. Examining and quoting from these authors, Laud establishes that no infallibility attributable to the Roman Church can be proved

from them and making the point that the six of the popes Bellarmine appeals to "have less cause with me than any other six of the more ancient Fathers."¹⁷ He then instances that the Church of Rome has erred in allowing the worship of images and taking the cup from the laity. On the general question of the Church's infallibility he cites the Greek Church, a large part of the Church in Eastern Europe which had never acknowledged the growing claims of the Papacy. Fisher dismisses the Greeks on the *filoque*, a clause in the Creed which they themselves had asserted, but quoting from the tradition, Laud dismisses this with a statement from the esteemed medieval, Peter Lombard, that "The Greeks differ from us in expression, none the less they do not differ in meaning." After pointing out that it should be no easy thing to "condemn a man of heresy in foundation of faith, much less a Church, least of all so ample and large a Church as the Greek, especially so as to make them no Church." He quotes Alphonsus a Castro, one of their own against them: "Let them consider that pronounce easily of heresy how easy it is for themselves to err."¹⁸ On this basis he will not allow Rome to arrogate to themselves alone the word "Catholic", because in a real sense they were less "Catholic" than the Church of England by virtue of the doctrines she had asserted on her own authority. From these Anglicanism had demurred because as later additions they were contrary to the doctrine *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, which is the only fundamental basis of the Catholic Faith. Laud found confirmation for these convictions in the Greek Church, and was convinced of the importance of being able to show that the English position had the approval of the early Christian Fathers. In support of his interpretation of Christ's promise, "upon this rock I will build my Church", which he explains as being addressed not to Peter personally, but with regard to the faith which he had just professed, and in which he was the spokesman of the others, he lists Ignatius, Hilary, Gregory of Nyssa, Isidore, Cyril, Theodore, Gregory the Great, Theophylact, Augustine, Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, Ambrose.¹⁹

[c] Primary and Secondary Articles

The main argument concerns what articles of faith are fundamental where Laud expounds the Anglican principle established by Hooker and Andrewes of primary and secondary articles. He opposes the Roman position that all points defined by the Church are fundamental with the thesis that only the Credal articles come into this category, to which the Church has no power to add or subtract from that foundation. Even what the Church defines in council is not fundamental because the Church has defined it. Here in his stance that the Church is to witness and explain he is in harmony with a persistent theological tradition going back through Ockham to Augustine. "The Church is founded on the Faith, not the Faith on the Church. It is her duty to guard the principles of faith, the *dogmata deposita*, and keep them unblemished and uncorrupted."²⁰ Such an appeal to antiquity depends for Laud as it did for Andrewes on



Scripture being central, and therefore the part dealing with the authority of Scripture is one of the most important parts of his work. Only by holding the two in balance can a true and stable belief be maintained.

While the one faction cries up the Church above the Scripture, and the other the Scripture to the neglect and contempt of the Church, which the Scripture itself teaches men both to honour and obey; they have so far endangered the belief of the one, and the authority of the other, as that neither has its due from a great part of men; whereas, according to Christ's institution, the Scripture where it is plain, should guide the Church; and the Church, where there is doubt or difficulty, should expound the Scripture; yet so, as neither the Scripture should be forced, nor the Church so bound up, as that upon just and further evidence she may not revise that which in any case hath slipped by her.²¹

Therefore Laud contends because Scripture contains all fundamentals not only held by the Church of England but also by the Fathers, and this does not exclude universal traditions, and that all the present articles of the present Church of England are grounded upon Scripture, Anglicanism is content to be judged by the joint and constant belief of the Fathers of the first five hundred years after Christ, which was when the Church was at its best and also by the Councils held within that time.

The Fathers are plain, the Schoolmen not strangers in it. And have we not reason then to account it, as it is, the foundation of our faith? ... and if the Scripture be the foundation to which we are to go for witness, if there be any doubt about the faith, and in which we are to find the thing that is to be believed, as necessary in the faith; we never did, nor never will refuse any tradition that is universal and apostolic for the better exposition of the Scripture; nor any definition of the Church in which she goes to the Scripture for what she teaches; and thrusts nothing as fundamental in the faith upon the world, but what the scripture makes fundamentally "*materiam credendorum*", "the substance of that which is so to be believed," "whether immediately and expressly in words, or more remotely, where a clear and full declaration draws it out."²²

The most important part of the whole work is to be found in the arguments on the authority of Scripture. His overall concern is to limit the extent of 'soul-saving' faith and establish that the foundations of faith were 'Scriptures and the Creeds'. In the settling of doubts concerning doctrines about the faith Laud claims that the 'best judge on earth' is a lawful and free General Council determining according to Scripture. His concern is to narrow the scope of dogmatism, allowing views not necessary to salvation to be freely and publicly discussed by authorised exponents rather than being decided at the bar of an infallible authority.

[d] The Fallacy of Jesuit and Puritan

What Laud is answering is a fallacy he found present in both Jesuit and Puritan, the assumption of God's special guidance overriding man's free will and liability to err.

I have often heard some wise men say, that the Jesuit in the Church of Rome, and the precise party in the reformed Churches, agree in many things, though

they would seem most to differ. And surely this is one; for both of them differ extremely about tradition; the one magnifying it, and exalting it into a divine authority; the other vilifying and depressing it almost below human. And yet, even in these different ways, both agree in this consequent, - That the sermons and preachings by word of mouth of the lawfully sent pastors and doctors of the Church, are able to breed in us divine and infallible faith; nay are the very word of God.²³

For the Jesuit there is the necessity of an infallible Church and for the Puritan the need of an infallible bible. Laud will not allow infallibility in either. For him Church and Bible are mutually dependent and one without the other does not make sense. He provides four possible ways of "proving" that the Bible is the Word of God. First, by the tradition of the Church; secondly, "by the light and testimony which the Scripture gives to itself"; thirdly, by the testimony of the Holy Spirit; Fourthly, by the testimony of natural reason. None of these will stand by themselves, they are mutually inclusive.²⁴ This is in line with Andrewes, except for the addition of the special revelation given to the Holy Spirit, and exhibits Laud's attitude to the Bible as being a reasonable one. In this he follows Hooker and Andrewes and the finest medieval tradition. His concern is to present a reasonable faith and in so doing finds himself confronted by two adversaries in the Jesuit and Puritan. The Laudian position is that "Scripture must not be tested by any man's opinions, neither those of the Pope nor those of Calvin. It is itself the test, and the true interpretation is that placed on it from the earliest times. Its main points are determined in the Apostles' Creed"²⁵

[e] Primitive Tradition and Carolines

R.P.C.Hanson's *Tradition in the Early Church*,²⁶ supports the seventeenth century writers concerning the appeal to antiquity in their claim that the Fathers proved the rule of faith from Scripture, and so disposing of the suggestion that tradition was treated as an independent authority in early times. "The idea of the rule of faith as supplementing or complementing, or indeed adding anything whatever, to the Bible, is wholly absent from their thought."²⁷ Hanson goes on to point out that all the Fathers believed that the rule of faith, was in its contents identical with the contents of the Bible and regarded the rule as open to being proved from the Bible. McAdoo comments, the thought-out quality of what Laud produced is notable and "is the outline of a balanced theology, a middle way, and this position he regards as due, not to a conscious effort to assess the arguments on either side, but to the undifferentiated nature of its sources in Scripture and antiquity."²⁸ It was to the primitive Church that he always looked as his interpreter of the Faith.

I have always lived, and shall, God willing, die, in the faith of Christ as it was professed in the ancient Primitive Church, and as it is professed in the present Church of England. As for the rule that governs me herein, if I cannot be

confident in my soul upon the Scripture, and upon the Primitive Church expounding it, I will be confident upon no other.

Laud's contribution here is of real value, and is clear proof of the injustice of the charge brought against him that he was a Romaniser, one favourable to the Church of Rome. Hooker, Andrewes, Laud and others of their school will always be open to this charge from those who will admit of no other authority than the letter of Scripture. Laud, in line with his Caroline predecessors and successors, found, in the principles which he recognised as primitive and catholic, a defence, not only against a papal Catholicism but also against the dogmatism of Puritanism.

(iv) Episcopacy

One of the chief targets of the Puritans was the episcopal order of ministry, claiming that the organization of the Church should be the same as that which existed in New Testament times. This ruled out episcopacy as traditionally practised. Bishop and presbyter are synonymous in their New Testament context, and the difference between ministers of the Gospel is not one of order but ability. Authority for ministry depends on the inward call of God, not episcopal ordination or the grace of orders, a view quite contrary to the Anglican Ordinal. Against this argument Anglicanism urged that episcopacy had the unanimous agreement of the Fathers concerning not only their Apostolic origin, but also the special position of the Bishops among the other presbyters. Ignatius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, the Cappadocians, Jerome, Augustine and the general consent of the Fathers, testify to this universal order of episcopal government in the Church. There is a threefold distinction between Bishop and Priest from the earliest days. The Bishop not only has authority to ordain and confirm, but he also has the right of jurisdiction and excommunication. The three distinctions derive from the Apostolic origin of the episcopate and ultimately of Christ himself. Bishops hold them *jure divino*, and therefore they are not a purely convenient human institution.

[a] Correspondence with Bishop Hall

The correspondence that Laud had with Bishop Hall²⁹ concurs with this view of episcopacy. Hall had asked the Archbishop for his critical advice on his book *Episcopacy of Divine Right*. Here Laud's concern is not only with the answer to the Puritans, but to express the truly Anglican understanding of episcopacy that lies midway between that of Rome and Geneva. Therefore his point to Hall is that episcopal superiority is not merely one of jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, otherwise not only Archdeacons but the Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly would qualify. It stems from that which is intrinsic and original in the power of excommunication. Furthermore the first feature of the body of a Church is Episcopacy, and

where it has been denied there it is by abdication. He will not allow Presbyterian government as a substitute where Episcopacy cannot be had,

for there is no place where it may not be had if there be a Church more than in title only ... since they challenge their Presbyterian fiction to be Christ's kingdom and ordinance (as yourself expresseth), and cast out episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any mincing terms but unmask them plainly ...

At the same time he wishes to make plain that an Episcopacy that subordinates the bishops completely to the Pope is also contrary to the historic tradition. He also makes the point that the Bishop's is not a mere title of honour in that the distinction between a bishop and a priest is one of Order not just one of degree.³⁰ The Anglican understanding of Episcopacy as defined by our English Reformers is a necessary part of a "right" Church, of the *esse* of the Church, not only of the *bene esse*, and to reject it is to depart from the implicit directions of Christ himself. It is part of that threefold Order of ministry essential to the Church "everywhere, at all times, and by all men accepted." Its abolition would be a betrayal of the Faith.

[b] John Keble's Judgement

John Keble's judgement is, that what came to be the Laudian view of episcopacy rather than Hooker's view, represents the high water mark of Anglicanism.

There is, he says, 'a marked distinction between that which now perhaps we may venture to call the school of Hooker and that of Laud, Hammond and Leslie.' And Mr. Keble goes on: 'He, as well as they, regarded the order of bishops as being immediately and properly of Divine right; he as well as they laid down principles which, strictly followed up, would make this claim exclusive. But he, in common with most of his contemporaries, shrunk from the legitimate result of his own premises, the rather, as the fulness of apostolic authority on this point had never come within his cognizance; whereas the next generation of divines entered on the subject, as was before observed, fresh from the study of St. Ignatius.'³¹

(v) His Achievements

[a] The Real Issue

Queen Elizabeth I is reported to have said, that she knew what amount of concession would satisfy the adherents of Rome, but she never could discover what would satisfy the Puritans. Archbishop Abbot's policy of conciliation failed, even when he had yielded almost everything, but without satisfying the Puritans, because *everything* was not yielded. Laud was more discerning and refused to yield more because he knew they hated the whole Church system in creeds, episcopacy, sacraments, order, ceremonial, vestments, holy seasons and reverence. The issue was not about ceremonial, but was far more fundamental because it was about the very nature of the Church, Catholicism or Calvinism, communion with the primitive ages or Geneva. Their aim was the destruction of the primitive Catholic character of the Church of England. This

was proved after Laud was executed, when their pretence for amendment was exposed in their ruthless sweeping away of everything. Laud knew that the battle was not about rites and ceremonies but for Anglicanism against Calvinism, for the Church of England against Geneva.

[b] A New School of Theology

Nevertheless, the failure of the Laudian reformation was apparent rather than real, its effect on the Church of England being for its ultimate good. In doctrine and discipline the principle of the English Reformation was safeguarded in the appeal to Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Undivided Church in the pure and primitive ages, an appeal which is embodied in its Canons and laid down by its apologists. The same appeal is spoken of in the Prayer Book as being agreeable "to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers." Mozley³² tells us that a new theological race of clergy sprang up under Laud's administration.

The tone of the clerical body was altered; and a theological school, which was a mere handful when he commenced life at Oxford, had spread over the country in all directions. Oxford itself, from being a focus of Calvinism, had come round, and hardly knew its new reflections in the theology of Jeremy Taylor and Hammond. A Puritan remnant remained ... but they felt their occupation of the place gone, and another standard on the ascendant, a new genius loci penetrating the air. The crowds of clergy whom the Rebellion and directory threw out of their places show the strong growth that had been going on in the Church at large, and the change of the Church of England theology that a few years had brought about.

It was in that sense of effecting a doctrinal reformation of the Calvinism that had supplanted Anglican practice, but not Anglican Formularies, that Laud was a theological innovator. He was behind the royal injunctions which ordered the study of the Fathers rather than the moderns in the Universities, and the patronage he gave to Wren, Montague, Taylor, Cosin, Mede, and Bramhall. In their turn, these men trained another generation, and in a great degree influence our own. Here in this Caroline era are some of the most powerful and consistent exponents of Anglicanism, because Laud obeyed the instructions of his Church in following the primitive interpretation of Holy Scripture, and in so doing, effected a revolution in English theology. In less than twenty years of Laud's martyrdom they were able to procure a revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* on its own principles, and to turn the whole current of English theology.

[c] The Fruit of Laud's Theology

It was through these pupils of Laud and their disciples that the fruit of those theological principles for which he was martyred, were to blossom in the Church and prove that he had not laboured in vain. With Juxon at Canterbury, and fellow-bishops in Wren at Ely and Cosin at Durham, Laud's principles lived on in men whom he had taught what the Church of England was, and to them was entrusted the work denied to their leader of bringing the Church's Liturgy

nearer to the models of primitive antiquity. They were responsible for the *1662 Book of Common Prayer* with its more catholic spirit in the restoration of the oblation and the commemoration of the faithful departed in the Liturgy; manual signs in the prayer of consecration, the improvement of the Ordinal and the prohibiting of all but the episcopally ordained from ministering at our altars. The baptismal water is to be blessed and baptismal regeneration affirmed along with the sign of the Cross, Absolution restricted to priests, a table of Vigils, prayers for Ember Seasons, for all sorts and conditions of men and especially for the good estate of the Catholic Church. Requests from the Presbyterians, that the Communion Office be performed at the desk and the season of Lent be abolished, were ignored.

In fact, the greatest triumph for Laud is the adoption by the whole English Church of a prominent position for the altar at the east end and fenced by communion rails where communicants kneel to receive the Sacrament. This illustrates the central focus of Laud's theology in the Incarnation as an objective fact and its organic connection with the Church as Christ's mystical body. This is patristic and quite alien to the Puritans whose theology was certainly Christocentric in making the value of Christ to the soul a central and dominating idea, but the emphasis was on our experience of Christ as Saviour, rather than on the Incarnation as objective fact. Hence for them the efficacy of the sacraments was dependent upon the preaching of the word, reducing the sacraments to a position of inherent inferiority so that the sermon becomes more important than the Sacrament. The logical consequence is, as was discussed in relation to Hooker, preaching becomes valued by the Puritans almost to the exclusion of worship, prayer, and sacrament. Therefore to Laud the position of the altar and the ordering of the Liturgy is crucial in demonstrating that the Christian life and ministry must be centred in the Sacraments whose efficacy does not depend upon an instructive imparting of knowledge, but on divine grace. Laud taught this must be central to all sound restoration.

Such sacramentally centred theology and piety was able to encourage those yearnings after holier and stricter lives, which it is often forgotten, Laud personally fostered, not only by example but by his own pastoral ministry, and issues outward expressions of sanctity. His own life witnessed to the necessity of spiritual discipline in celibacy, his prayers seven times a day, his fastings and vigils and the penitential spirit of his own personal devotions. Such a disposition enabled him to give his patronage to Little Gidding, which the Puritans would have destroyed, and his influence on the saintliness of George Herbert cannot be underestimated. Other systems might make people good, religious, even holy, but not in the highest sense saints, because sanctity is the fruit of humanity's participation in divinity which sacraments effect.

(vi) In Conclusion

Laud takes his stand on the principle of the English Reformation in his appeal against Rome and Geneva to Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Primitive Church. In line with the Reformers, Hooker and Andrewes, he uses the patristic argument at a time when Rome wanted to deny her any catholicity and the Puritans wanted to destroy her identity in primitive ancient Catholic Christianity. Like his study, his mind and spirit was raised above the opinions and system of his age, because his foundation was the apostolic doctrine that found expression in Fathers, Councils and ecclesiastical historians. On this rock this apologist ably safeguards Anglicanism's catholicity in the face of Rome but also prevents the destruction of the patristic nature of Anglicanism by the Puritans. The presence of this patristic mind maintains the Episcopal government of the Church of England and provides Anglicanism with that Laudian school of theology that established itself through a revised *Book of Common Prayer*, in the ethos of an English religious tradition that found expression not only in the ordering of worship, but also in the ordering and care of buildings and the yearnings for sanctity.

As far as doctrine was concerned Laud carried on the teaching of Cranmer and Hooker. He held that the basis of belief was the Bible, but that the Bible was to be interpreted by the tradition of the early Church, and that all doubtful points were to be subjected, not to heated arguments in the pulpits, but to sober discussion by learned men. His mind, in short, like those of the earlier English reformers, combined the Protestant reliance on the Scriptures with reverence for ancient tradition and with the critical spirit of the Renaissance ... What was peculiar to Laud was his perception that intellectual religion could not maintain itself by intellect alone. Hooker's appeal to Church history and to the supremacy of reason had rolled over the heads of men who knew nothing about Church history and who did not reason ... ³³



HENRY HAMMOND

9

The Laudians and Henry Hammond

(i) The Laudians

Laudian describes those who shared the theological viewpoint of Laud, the High Churchmen who were in whole-hearted agreement in their method of defending the Church's interests before and after the Restoration. This does not mean that they were unswerving followers of the Archbishop, nor must any overtones which the word Laudian may have acquired be applied to them. The word *Canterburian* was another term used to describe them in Henry Hickman's *Laudensian Apostasia* (1660).¹ They did not consider themselves a party but believed they represented the true Church of England, and it would be wrong to describe them as such at this stage of the seventeenth century, because groups and individuals were connected by an interchange of ideas and an emphasis on an existing measure of agreement which cut across differences of outlook. Such differences were allowed for by a theological method which was firmly centred but adaptable, and not only capable of contact with a variety of subjects and situations but with a capacity for readjusting emphases in order to cope with new ideas. McAdoo points out that this more than anything else is the basis for that general agreement that existed between individuals and groups which a later age with some justification would assign to

different and more or less opposing schools of thought. In this general agreement we find Hooker and Andrewes. Jeremy Taylor and William Chillingworth, Henry Hammond and Gilbert Sheldon.

It might be described as the spirit of Anglicanism, including as it does the centrality of Scripture and the visibility and continuity of the Church, both confirmed by antiquity, and illuminated by the freedom of reason and liberality of viewpoint. It constitutes the shared attitude of the seventeenth century, and although one group may lay the main emphasis on one aspect and another may criticise it, the awareness of a common ground of agreement was a fact until the appearance of parties as a result of events in the closing years of the century.²

It was difficult to base both faith and practice upon the same foundations as the Church of Rome and raise something quite separate, yet seventeenth century Anglicanism claimed to be rooted in Catholic tradition and historically descended therefrom, while maintaining a vigorous growth through the translated services and the *Book of Common Prayer*. Hence the Romanists and the Puritans continually attacked her official formulae but this dual offensive produced from the Laudian loyalists a spate of explanatory and defensive literature. The added pressure of laws against her required the stressing of the continuity and visibility of the Church and in a large number of works the Laudians set out to illustrate this. The result was a considerable growth of emphasis on the appeal to antiquity in relation to the form of church government. It was a time of *defensive* and *offensive* theology in the face of a concerted attack on the content of Anglican teaching as embodied in the Liturgy. A century before, the *Book of Common Prayer* had been the rallying point of reformed Anglicanism against Popery. Now it was regarded as a popish superstition, and a sign of Episcopal order and the two must stand or fall together.

Henry Hammond (1605-1660) was the leading light and with others preserved the traditional balance of a theological method in which the beginnings of a specific orientation can be seen. Bull, Pearson, Dodwell and Beveridge took it a stage further and as McAdoo points out, combined with the events of the 1689 Revolution produced an alignment so that High Church and Latitudinarian became descriptions of parties in a way that would have had little or no meaning earlier.

(ii) Henry Hammond

When the Church of England was suffering persecution in the time of Cromwell, it was to Dr. Hammond, more than to any other single man, that she owed the continuance of her existence ... It was by his holiness, charity and devoted labours, that a tone was given to the clergy of that period which bore good fruit afterwards.³

He is the embodiment of Anglicanism in the seventeenth century in the tradition of Hooker and Andrewes, expressing himself in the same kind of way, and through his writings illustrating the impact of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* in the thought of the day. It is not surprising to find that a balanced relationship between Scripture, Antiquity and Reason form the core of his theological method. There is a resemblance to Andrewes not only in general approach but in interests, both finding a common concern for antiquity and history, biblical texts and language, liturgical and devotional matters. Their common strain of Arminianism is not surprising in Hammond, who was influenced by Grotius the Dutch Arminian scholar whom he defended more than once from the charges of Socinianism and Papist, and who shared the basic conviction of Hammond's ecclesiology, that the Church of England was "the most careful observer, and transcriber of primitive antiquity."⁴

[a] His Reasonable Theology

At a time when the outward organization of the Church was collapsing Hammond was the first to realize that a defence of Anglicanism must be intellectually sound. The aim of him and his circle was to build an edifice of reasoned theology in support of Laudian Church principles, which not only moderated them but made them intelligible to their opponents. In their respect for the autonomy of reason there is a kinship not only with Hooker and Andrewes but also with the latitudinarians. Reason and the argument from natural law need to be supplemented, but that does not dispense with the need for reasonableness in the supplementary data. What is 'superadded to the law of nature, right reason will of its own accord commend as best.'⁵

Of The Reasonableness of the Christian Religion

McAdoo points out that while Hammond has been regarded a Laudian *pur sang*, it is necessary to highlight where he relates to the underlying agreement of the period. This lies in the "curious similarity in his writings with certain points of view usually looked on as being distinctively Latitudinarian."⁶ On this front he sees a resemblance to Tillotson and Wilkins in the manner of his approach in *Of the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion*. His aim is to demonstrate a valid basis for Christianity and then its advantages, "the first will render the belief rational ... the second will render the belief gainful".⁷ The first point rests on the authority of the biblical records, and McAdoo claims, in the manner of Stillingfleet, he refers to miracles and to "the success which attended it".⁸ Apart from the evidence of witnesses "there is no rational evidence imaginable for those who lived not in that age", nor can there be any more authentic proof of "matter of fact".⁹ Hammond discusses the historical evidence in relation to the New Testament and the points raised against it, concluding that because of the nature of the testimony on which it is based, and the means by which it is conveyed, it may "be concluded a rational

ground of belief".¹⁰ Hammond expresses in detail his awareness of the limitations placed on reason by the authority of this testimony, but as McAdoo goes on to explain, there is a suggestion of the later attitude which is heightened in his words "that which is really advantageous is always most rational, most prudent for man to choose".¹¹

McAdoo identifies this as the true note of latitudinarianism which he sees Hammond developing in the same way as Wilkins, dividing the advantages into outward and inward, the former affecting the public life and the latter the well-being of the individual person and relationships in general. Behind them are the advantages of grace, faith, and hope. He regards present and future advantages as "evidence of the rationalness of religion".¹²

Hence the conclusion is, that right reason is able to judge of all merely moral subjects, whether anything be good or bad morally; of natural objects in matter of fact, whether such a thing be done or no, by the help of the means specified, and by discourse, and analogy from things that we see are done, to judge that such another thing is possible. But of supernatural truths, such things as it never discerned in nature, either in the kind or the like, it cannot judge any further than thus: either first, that though we cannot do it, yet, for aught we know, it is possible (nay it hath being) with God; or secondly, that God hath affirmed it so, therefore I am sure it is; or thirdly, what comes to me from authority, that I have no reason to suspect, but, on the contrary, concurrence of all reasons to be persuaded by it; nay, there are some inward characters in the thing itself, that make me cast off all jealousy or doubt of such affirmations, and therefore I believe it so. But generally, and *in thesi*, it is no way judge of these last kind of controversies.¹³

This is one of those agreements which are unexpected only if the fact of basic and underlying agreement in the seventeenth century is ignored. Whether the work had any direct influence on Stillingfleet and Wilkins is not known, although the date of its publication makes this a possibility, but in itself it is an indication of the way in which this line of thought was not confined to any group but was making itself generally felt in the middle of the century.¹⁴

His *Practical Catechism*

In his concern for practical divinity there is the same importance attached to its reasonableness. The foreward, *To the Reader*, in his *Practical Catechism*, identifies the fundamental error of Christianity in his time. "Christianity hath been taken, if not with the Atheist for an art or trick, yet with the scholastic for a science, a matter of speculation; and so, that he that knows most, that believes most, is the only sanctified person."¹⁵ This expresses the seventeenth century Gnosticism Hammond sought to counter with a method in the tradition of religious teaching, the catechetical method, which had its roots in the Fathers and is liturgical in character. While the aim is to establish a firm intellectual foundation for the faith, it is not to be done by mere speculative methods but by bringing the individual into the life of the visible Church. Its concern is with edification, the building up of a member of the Body of Christ. The design of all Christian teaching is as Hammond understood it, "in effect the reformation of lives,

and the heightening of Christian Practice to the most elevated pitch." Catechizing had been neglected in parish churches and been replaced by discourses and sermons on speculative and national things. As a *Practical Catechism* it presupposed the *Church Catechism*, and by such arguments Hammond was building up an edifice of doctrine that would contribute much to the re-establishment of the Church of England in 1660. It was also necessary in a time of subjective individualism, when introspective illuminism in Hammond's view undermined not only the basis of historicity and reason, but also the implications of the visible Church. The visibility of the Church was to form the essence of later controversy and so it became the concern of Hammond and his circle to set themselves to establish a reasoned defence of the Church of England against the Roman Claims and Puritan teachings. This was done by appeal to Reason, Scripture and the Fathers.

[c] His Approach to the Bible

Hammond brought the same reasonableness that characterised the arguments of his catechetical and apologetic defences to the field of biblical scholarship. "It is not too much to say that Dr. Hammond is the father of English biblical criticism."¹⁶ He was the first English scholar to compare the MSS of the New Testament and examine the language in which it was written to discover its true meaning. Laudian apologetic could not be sustained by 'the Bible only' dictum of Chillingworth, but Scripture must be fundamental in the defence of the Church of England, not only as the ground base of historical and doctrinal arguments but also in the defence of the *Book of Common Prayer* and the teachings, rites and ceremonies derived from it. In Hammond they had a biblical scholar whose primary concern was a critical exegesis of the text, a solid foundation of biblical scholarship against the attacks on episcopacy and the *Book of Common Prayer* from Presbyterians and Independents.

A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament

In 1653 Hammond published *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament*. His forerunner was Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) who had published in 1642 *Annotationes in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, a critical study of the text discarding literal inspiration, though acknowledging the importance of ecclesiastical tradition for a right understanding of the Scriptures, but subsidiary to detailed interpretation of the original text. Hammond supported his methods though did not go as far in rejecting the traditional authorship of I&II John, Jude and II Peter. On 4th January 1652 he wrote to Thomas Smith of Christ's College Cambridge, "Be confident the true Protestant (i.e. Church of England's cause) will never suffer at that Tribunal of the Primitive Church, or Apostolical Tradition, sufficiently testified to be such ... that Grotius saith ..."¹⁷ He acknowledges his debt to Chrysostom and Grotius,¹⁸ but also to James Ussher who was doing a similar job between 1650-54 in his *Annales Veteris et*

Novi Testamenti ¹⁹. His biblical scholarship admits of the 'use of ordinary means', in the study and the interpretation of Holy Scripture, which includes, "the use of learning, study, meditation, rational inference, collation of places, consulting of the original languages, and ancient copies, and expositions of the Fathers of the Church".²⁰ *A Postscript* in the Preface points out that pretensions to a divine illumination or an introspective illuminism which is given precedence over such "ordinary means", is a pretension and leads to the superseding of the 'written canon' undermining not only historicity and reason but also the implications of the visible Church. "The understanding of the word of God contain'd in the Scripture, is no work of extraordinary illumination, but must be attained by the same means, or the like, by which other writings of men are expounded, and no otherwise."²¹ This predates the emergence of biblical criticism but illustrates the path by which it progressed.

[d]. His Understanding of the Authoritative Foundation

Antiquity a Criterion of History

The battle which Hammond and his circle had to fight centred around two main issues, *Episcopacy* and the *Book of Common Prayer*. Defending *Episcopacy* not only involved a close scrutiny of the biblical evidence but a detailed examination of the practice and teaching of the Early Church. Similarly, an apologia for the *Book of Common Prayer* and the doctrines in it would also involve that third strand in the theological method of Hammond, the use of antiquity. It is for him a criterion of history and part of the wider dependence on 'antiquity, or Scripture, or rational deductions from either'²² which constitutes the whole Anglican theological approach.²³ John Fell describes Hammond as "... learned in school divinity, and a master in church antiquity, perfect and ready in the sense of the fathers, councils, ecclesiastical historians and liturgies ..." ²⁴ Fell points out that Hammond took a course of reading quite different from that which was most usual "conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossessed by the contrived and interested schemes of modern, and with all obnoxious authors."²⁵ The use of antiquity is integral to Hammond's whole theological approach, but it is not devoid of liberality, and his understanding of fundamentals that the *foundation* or *depositum fidei* is to be found in Scripture or the Creeds of the universal Church,²⁶ finds agreement not only with Laud, but also with William Chillingworth of the Tew circle.

It is the affirmation of the first writers of the Church, as frequently appears in Tertullian, Irenaeus, &c., and there is no reason of doubt of the truth of it, that all those articles which were thought fit to be laid as the foundation of Christian life, were by them distinctly delivered; and this being a matter of fact, of which - as of the canon of Scripture, or of this or that book in it, - only the records and stories of the first times are competent judges, that Creed which is delivered down to us by the ancient Churches thus planted, I mean those of the first three

hundred years, and by them entitled to the name 'the Apostles', and expounded in the homilies of the fathers, some extant, others mentioned by Refines, *illustrious tractors* which had gone before him in that work, is in all reason to be deemed the sum of that foundation.²⁷

Of Fundamentals

In affirming the catholicity of a reformed Catholicism which protested to Papal supremacy as the criterion of being catholic, it was necessary to affirm what is fundamental and basic. This Hammond identifies in *Of Fundamentals*, as that which is contained in Scripture, or in that which is derived and deduced from Scripture, "the creeds or confessions of the universal Church".²⁸ There is a 'deposit' or 'foundation' that which was handed on, the *paradosis* or 'the faith once for all delivered'. There is a consensus of agreement among the Fathers that this 'foundation' is that which has been handed on to them and Hammond quotes St. Theophylact, "the faith is ... the foundation," and St. Augustine, "this is the faith which being comprised in few words is in the creed delivered".²⁹ That this is consistent with the New Testament Hammond has no doubt, quoting St. Paul that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,"³⁰ which 'foundation' Hammond identifies as the contents of the Apostles' Creed.

Having viewed the Apostles' Creed, and of it premised this one thing, that it was a complete catalogue of all that they, being directed by the Holy Ghost in their ministry, thought fit, to lay the foundation of Christian obedience in every Church, and consequently that there was no more in their opinion necessary in order to this end of working reformation in the world; ...³¹

This credal foundation is what is expounded in the homilies of the Fathers.

The Rule of Faith

What Hammond is really identifying is the 'rule of faith', which is identified with the Creeds, but not a separate and independent authority to Scripture, and is identical in its contents with the contents of the Bible and open to proof from the Bible. This is consistent with Laud's understanding when he asserts that "the Fathers make the Creed the rule of faith".³² The approach is not peculiar to Hammond, and with Laud, as McAdoo points out there is a similarity of approach and coincidence of ideas in questions near the surface, and it is an agreement formed by the free interplay of action upon each other of the elements of a shared method. The method is in turn the outcome and active expression of a deep-seated conviction as to what constitutes fundamentals. So he quotes Chillingworth stressing that "the creed contains all necessary points of belief", noting that it was so regarded "upon the authority of the ancient Church, and written tradition, which...gave this constant testimony unto it."³³ The transmission of such an authoritative foundation Hammond envisages by way of apostolical writings and apostolical traditions, and the test of their authenticity must be the Fathers and Councils who

form part of that same tradition. The criteria for testing such testimonies must be those in the Vincentian Canon, the marks of universality, (in terms of time this is to be understood as the first and purest ages of the Church), antiquity, and consent. Furthermore, such patristic testimony must be consistent with Scripture,

the universal consent of the doctors of the first ages, bearing testimony that such a doctrine was from the apostles' preachings delivered to all churches by them planted, or their general conform testimony herein, without any considerable dissenters producible, is, I acknowledge ... authentic or worthy of belief, and so hath been made use of by the orthodox of all time as sufficient for the rejecting of any new doctrine. ³⁴

This for Hammond, and indeed for Anglicanism, is the authoritative foundation, which excludes for him any solifidian or fiduciary ideas, because they preclude the freedom of the human will. Response and obedience to that authoritative foundation finds expression in the visible Church through its sacramental life, preaching of the Word, catechising and Confirmation, in short through liturgical involvement which has always been the universal practice of the Church.

(e) Episcopacy

Ignatius of Antioch

For Hammond the test of true doctrine in any debate was by way of appeal to that which was the source of apostolical, original doctrine and tradition, and to the trustful and competent testifiers in such doctrine, councils and Fathers universally received or other testimony truly universal. The defence of Episcopacy fell to the Laudian Party and particularly to Hammond, and the most important contribution arose from the Ignatian controversy concerning the genuineness of Ignatius's epistles. Ignatius regarded episcopacy as the best safeguard of the unity of the Church, and without the Bishop's authority the Eucharist could not be celebrated. If it could be proved that the authority of Ignatius support for episcopacy was genuine, a severe blow would be dealt to those opposed to bishops. The works of outstanding critical scholarship which authenticated these epistles were produced by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, who in 1644 published, *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae*; and in 1646 Isaak Voss, a classicist and ecclesiastical historian, a friend of Grotius and Professor at Leyden, edited the corresponding Greek text which Ussher had traced to a manuscript in the Medicean Library at Florence. This not only completed the critical analysis of the Ignatian Letters, but also produced the strongest evidence for episcopacy in the early Church.

Of the Power of the Keyes

In 1647 Hammond published *Of The Power of the Keyes; or Of Binding and Loosing*, in which he examines the evidence of Scripture and the Fathers, to discover into whose hands

Christ placed the power of government in his Church. There is a detailed examination of the support given by the Fathers to the order of Bishops and an especial appeal to the Ignatian letters. With Ussher and Voss he argues for the authenticity of the Ignatian Epistles and their support of episcopacy as a distinct order in the Church. His *Dissertationes Quatuor* was published in 1651 in response to the attacks of Salmasius and Blondel, being four dissertations prefaced by a fifth. Here he asserts the Episcopal ordination of Presbyters and Deacons and in the second dissertation defends the Ignatian Epistles. The third and fourth examine the scriptural evidence for the government of the Church from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. A fifth examines the evidence of Clement of Rome and others in the sub-Apostolic age.

The Dissertationes Quatuor, quibus Episcopatus Jura ex S. Scripturis et primaeva Antiquitate adstruuntur, contra sententiam D. Blondelli' &c., is a fine example of exact scholarship with detailed biblical and patristic references in an age when Latin was still the medium for international discussion ... The whole discussion is a fine piece of apologetic for the government of the Church by bishops, as established from the seven epistles of Ignatius whose genuineness has been proved by Ussher and Voss. The central argument is then supported from Scripture and from the Fathers.³⁵

Dr. Anne Whiteman comments that,

Hammond's comprehensive restatement of a view of episcopacy now commonly held by Anglicans at a time when the need was so keenly felt to assert the identity of the episcopal Church of England was of incalculable importance both during the Interregnum and at the Restoration³⁶

(f) The Book of Common Prayer

Hammond stood firmly opposed to Parliament's attempt to replace the *Book of Common Prayer* with a *Directory of Worship*, and his stance was grounded on fundamental theological principles. The aim of *The Directory* was to replace the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England with a way of worship on Presbyterian lines. It contained no set forms of service and no general instructions for the conduct of worship and the King described it as "a means to open the way, and give liberty to all ignorant, factious or evil men to broach their own fancies and conceits." Hammond's concern for liturgy is integral to his theological vision because it has a theological function in being a general statement of belief. Hence the *Book of Common Prayer* is a general statement of the Anglican position and to abolish it would effectively obliterate Anglicanism.³⁷ The theological function of liturgy, indeed its very prerogative, has always been to act as a hedge to keep out errors, *lex orandi, lex credendi*. Its very existence presupposes creed or catechism. Hammond published his *View of the New Directory* and a *Vindication of the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*. He identifies six Extrinsic Forms of Worship that relate to the action, and fourteen Intrinsic or Parts of the Service, which deal with the actual forms of liturgy.³⁸ He defends each section with Jewish, biblical and patristic evidence, finding

support for set forms of liturgy in the liturgies of St. Basil, St. James and St. Chrysostom, the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and liturgical writers. Chapter Two defends the changes made by the Reformers in the Anglican Liturgy, in that they "retained nothing but what the Papists received from purer Antiquity," so that there was no justification for the charge of Popery. It was Anglicanism's concern for maintaining continuity with antiquity that inspired Casaubon's approval of the Church of England. An interesting point worthy of notice is the comment in a postscript, that his opponents had betrayed their own cause by issuing a book for use on ships which contained a set form of prayer. In the third and concluding chapter he summarizes his argument making the point that having critically examined the difference between the *Directory* and *The Liturgy* he has "demonstrated no-necessity but the plain unreasonableness of the change."

McAdoo aptly sums up the significance of this Laudian theologian.

Hammond's work reveals a balanced theological method by which, building on a clear-cut understanding as to what may legitimately be regarded as constituting fundamentals, Scripture and antiquity are held in such a relationship with reason that the claims of authority and freedom hardly trench upon each other.³⁹

[g] In Conclusion

It was Hammond's biographer Dr. Fell who remarked of him that "his closet was his library, and that he studied most upon his knees", which could also have been said of Andrewes. As with all these Carolines the law of prayer has an integral part in establishing the law of belief through a life of devotion soaked in the primitive and medieval tradition of contemplation that gives a richness to their doctrine because it issues from something far deeper than mere reason. This did not depreciate Hammond's concern for reasonableness in his catechetical and apologetic writings, because it was an appeal balanced by the reasonableness of his biblical scholarship that was tested by the tribunal of the Primitive Church. Such patristic testimony, the authoritative foundation identified as the Apostles' Creed, must be consistent with Scripture, and finds expression in the sacramental and liturgical life of the Church, making continuity and visibility essential marks of authentic church life.

Literature and Laudians

Space precludes detailed analysis of other significant members of the Laudian circle, but a summary over-view of the thought and some of the literature it produced, will suffice.

(i) Richard Field (1561-1616)

Richard Field who took his master's degree in 1584, and was appointed to the 'Catechism Lecture', a private lecture he made so interesting that he drew hearers from the whole university. He was famous for his knowledge of school divinity and had the reputation of being one of the best disputants in the University. Though Field pre-dated the Laudians, the influence of his published work *Of the Church*, cannot be underestimated. The first four books of this work were published in 1606, the fifth in 1610, then in 1628 a considerably enlarged second edition was published. It was directed mainly at the Romanists, those who would unchurch the Church of England and disclaim her catholicity. His attitude towards the Romanists was more extreme than Hooker, who was attacked by his opponents for describing the Church of Rome as " a part of the house of God, a limb of the visible Church of Christ."¹ Field declared that the Church of Rome is "the synagogue of Satan, the faction of antichrist, and that Babylon out of which we must fly, unless we will be partakers of her plagues."² This affirmed a position from which the Church of England, in its official statements, had been careful to abstain so that we would agree with

Hooker rather than Field. Yet despite this extremist attitude towards Rome his work is a piece of constructive theology and contains his permanent contribution to Anglican theology. At a time when the visibility and continuity of Anglicanism was threatened and there was much confusion about visible and invisible Church, it was destined to have an influence on the Laudian theology of the Church. He defines the Church as,

... the multitude and number of those whom Almighty God severeth from the rest of the world by the work of His grace, and calleth to the participation of eternal happiness, by the knowledge of such supernatural verities as concerning their everlasting good He hath revealed in Christ His Son, and such other and other precious and happy means as He hath appointed to further and set forward the work of their salvation.³

Field asserts that the visible and invisible are but two aspects of one and the same Church. The visibility of the Church finds expression in Creeds and Formularies, ministry and sacraments, and those participating can be properly identified, since those are "discernible who participate therein". What cannot be discerned are the elect who are known only to God, in the sense that Nathanael was identified by the disciples as an Israelite, but only by Christ as a true Israelite,⁴ in respect of those most precious effects and happy benefits of saving grace wherein only the elect do communicate.

The Church is distinguished by three permanent marks or notes.

First, the entire profession of those supernatural verities which God hath revealed in Christ His Son; Secondly, the use of such holy ceremonies and Sacraments as He hath instituted and appointed to serve as provocations to godliness, preservations from sin, memorials of the benefits of Christ, warrants for the greater security of our belief, and marks of distinction to separate His Own from strangers; Thirdly, an union or connexion of men in this profession and use of these Sacraments under lawful pastors and guides, appointed, authorized, and sanctified, to direct and lead them in the happy ways of eternal salvation ... these are Notes of the Church ... and they are essential, and such things as give being to the Church, and therefore are in nature more clear and evident, and such as that from them the perfect knowledge of the Church may and must be derived.⁵

On the question of apostolical succession, Field claims the need for more than a mere succession of persons, such a succession of bishops must also hold 'the faith their predecessors did'. This is entirely patristic in principle, for the faith the Fathers defended was something not peculiar to themselves, but something they had all received and shared with each other. Field's sole work breathes the spirit of antiquity in the writings of which he is well versed. The 'power of ordination'⁶ is invested in 'bishops alone'; while bishops and priests share the same power of order, he claims that in extreme cases such as Episcopal apostasy in a Church or country, the priests remaining Catholic may elect their own chief and with him continue to ordain. On the

question of Councils⁷, he accepts six and with some reservations seven, admitting that the complete certainty of a General Council cannot be undoubtedly affirmed, nevertheless, "unless we most certainly know the contrary," the presumption is so strong that they are to be accepted.⁸ He allows 'a primacy of honour and order found in blessed Peter,' but not in terms of the Papacy⁹ and while the whole Church, meaning all believers since apostolic times, is 'freed from error in matters of faith,' and that in such matters it is impossible also that any error whatsoever should be found in all the pastors and guides of the Church thus generally taken¹⁰. However, all might be deceived 'in things that cannot be clearly deduced from the rule of faith and word of divine and heavenly truth.' Baptism¹¹ is the means of salvation, and is the beginning of the justified and sanctified life, the root of the life of faith, hope and love, while in the Eucharist¹² the elements of bread and wine after consecration signify, exhibit, contain and communicate the Body and Blood of Christ in a sacrificial commemoration of Christ's passion and death.

(ii) John Bramhall (1594-1663)

It is not surprising that when the continuity and visibility of the Church was threatened, Field's handling of the appeal to antiquity should commend itself to John Bramhall. Not only was Field's influence strong, but so too was that of Andrewes and Hammond, and the tradition of Hooker in which Bramhall stood, behind which was Aquinas. It was Samuel Ward, the Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, who first turned his attention in the direction of antiquity. He told him that it was impossible,

that the present controversies of the Church should be rightly determined or reconciled without a deep insight into the doctrine of the primitive fathers, and a competent skill in school theology. The first affordeth us a right pattern, and the second smootheth it over, and planeth away the knots.¹³

The nature of the task confronting him takes the form of responses or vindications. He wrote his *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, in response to the charge of being in criminal schism, *An Answer to de la Milletiere*, was written in answer to a letter to the King by de la Milletiere inviting him to become a Roman Catholic. Other literary responses coming from Bramhall included, *A Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon's Survey, Schism Guarded, The Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated, A Fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, A Vindication from the Presbyterian charge of Popery*. McAdoo comments that "In his writings he is not simply meeting issues as they are raised but rather confronting them from

a stable and coherent standpoint. His approach is a positive and constructive application of Scripture, antiquity and reason."¹⁴

Bramhall's position is consistent throughout his writings and its criterion is antiquity linked with continuity. In his *Just Vindication*, he makes the point that the Britannic church is more ancient than the Roman, since it was planted by Joseph of Arimathea in Tiberius Caesar's reign (AD.14-41) whereas St. Peter did not establish the Roman Church until the second year of Claudius (AD.41-54). Aside from the truth or falsity of the legend the point he is making is that from the beginning the Britannic Church was free from Papal jurisdiction, and therefore the Catholic Church has gone on continuously from the time of the apostles and continues as the Church of England while the Roman church is in schism. For the sake of the unity of the Church Bramhall defines what he would accept,

... if the Bishop of Rome were reduced from his universality of sovereign jurisdiction JURE DIVINO, to his 'PRINCIPIUM UNITATIS', and his court regulated by the Canons of the fathers, which was the sense of the Councils of Constance and Basle ... secondly, if the creed or necessary points of faith were reduced to what they were in the time of the four first Oecumenical Councils, according to the decree of the third general Council (who dare say that the faith of the primitive Fathers was insufficient?) admitting no additional articles, but only necessary explications; and those to be made by the authority of a general Council ... and lastly,"

he wishes things which cause offence to be removed. The same is summarized in *Schism Guarded*, "to reduce the present Papacy to the primitive form, the essentials of faith to the primitive creed, and public and private devotions to the primitive liturgies."

In his funeral oration Jeremy Taylor describes Bramhall's apologia for the Church of England as demonstrating "that the Church of England only returned to her primitive purity, that she joined with Christ and his Apostles, and that she agreed in all the sentiments of the primitive Church."¹⁵ He goes on to say that "in him were visible the great lines of Hooker's judiciousness, of Jewel's learning, of the acuteness of bishop Andrewes." As in Hammond, so in Bramhall there is that which is fundamental, the authoritative foundation, the "ground for unity of faith is the creed; and unity of government, the same form of discipline which was used in the Primitive Church, and is derived from them to us".¹⁶ That foundation is "the authority of the primitive Fathers and the General Councils, which are the representative body of the universal Church."¹⁷ or again, "the old faith of the whole Christian world, that is the creed of the apostles, explicated by the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, and Chalcedonian Fathers."¹⁸ "We retain whatsoever the primitive Fathers judged to be necessary, or the Catholic Church of this

present age doth unanimously retain ... We know no other necessary articles of faith but those which are comprehended in the Apostles' Creed."¹⁹

For Bramhall therefore catholicity means the keeping together of this authoritative foundation and continuity, which implies the acceptance of the authority of the universal Church and its representative a General Council, the maintenance of communion and avoiding change without lawful authority on sufficient grounds. Continuity in an uninterrupted line of apostolic succession is integral to it, as are the acceptance of Scripture and the unanimous and universal practice of the Church. Like other Laudians he was pro-catholic but anti-papal, and his identification of Anglicanism with the catholic doctrine of the Primitive Church brought the charge of Popery from Puritans and Presbyterians who were unable to distinguish between the Primitive and the Papal.

... one of the principal motives why we rejected the Papacy as it is now established, with universality of jurisdiction by the institution of Christ, and superiority above ecumenical councils and infallibility of judgement, was the constant Tradition of the primitive Church.

Yet his concern for the unity of the Church enabled him to propose such a primitive doctrinal basis for such union, a point of contemporary relevance for today's ecumenical movement. It also embodies that liberality of outlook on secondary questions that one finds in the Carolines.

Bramhall's writings furnish an instance of the combination of the appeal to Scripture and the appeal to antiquity with the liberal approach to other matters, an approach which stems as much from an attitude to reason and the reality of freedom as it does from the conviction that only fundamentals are authoritative.²⁰

(iii) Herbert Thorndike (1598-1672)

The Church of England in the seventeenth century in the opinion of Herbert Thorndike, was fighting for the preservation of two things it believed necessary to the life of the Church, the episcopate and the liturgy.²¹ To this end his first publication in 1641, *Of the Government of Churches*, enlarged into a new edition in 1649 as *The Primitive Government of Churches*, was concerned to expound the patristic understanding of episcopacy. A liturgical work, *Of Religious Assemblies and the Publick Service of God*, first published in 1642, was also reissued in a new edition, and enlarged with a Review in 1649 as *The Service of God*. The latter appeared because of the prescribed use of *The Directory*.

His principal work, *Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England*, was published in 1659. His fundamental point is that the Reformation, as a durable settlement, would only work on the basis of a return to the discipline and teaching of the primitive catholic Church. It is a

clear and unhesitating exposition of the doctrine espoused by the Laudians, not something peculiar to them, but that which had been received, inherited from the Reformation and their historical ancestry. His principle was the appeal to Scripture as interpreted by the Primitive Church.

Whatsoever then is said of the Rule of Faith in the writings of the Fathers is to be understood of the Creed; ... I would not have any hereupon to think that the matter of this rule is not, in my conceit, contained in the Scriptures. For I find St. Cyril (Catech.v.) protesting, that it contains nothing but that which concerned our salvation, selected out of the Scriptures ... And to the same effect, Eucherius, Paschasius, and after them Thomas Aquinas, all agree that the form of the Creed was made up out of the Scriptures, giving such reasons as no reasonable Christian can refuse; ... I will think I give sufficient reason why God should provide Tradition as well as Scripture to bound the sense of it ... For I beseech you what had they, whosoever they were that first framed the Creed, but Tradition, whereby to distinguish that which is substantial from that which is not?²²

He claims Origen's support for his exposition of Tradition from the preface to *De Principiis* and the *Vincentian Canon*. Outside of this there was no compromise possible for churchmen. His work was written in Latin in order to secure a wider circulation though he did not include either the Roman Church nor the continental Protestants in his plan of reunion. His chief aim was to define the patristic integrity of Anglicanism as the basis of a non-papal Catholicism, that *peculiar character* which distinguishes her from every other reformed communion. To this visible catholic church so defined he professed an allegiance to which his duty to the Church of England itself was subordinate. In *Just Weights and Measures* (1662), Thorndike maintains that the standard of the Primitive Church is that by which all change must be measured in its concern for visible unity. The arguments of the *Epilogue*, and treatises on the same subject, were refined and recast in more methodical and finished form in 1670 in the first part of *De Ratione ac Jure finiendi Controversias Ecclesiae Disputatio*.

In 1661 he was appointed to assist at the Savoy Conference and on his appointment to Convocation he took a leading part in the revision of the Prayer Book. He saw the Eucharist as central to the Church's life, in which is to be found the whole content of the Christian religion. Not only is it the centre, the crown of the liturgy, but on it the liturgy depends for its true functioning. Newman regarded Thorndike as the only writer of any authority in the English Church who held the true catholic theory of the Eucharist. In arguing for the Real Presence in the Eucharistic elements but rejecting the theories of Transubstantiation, Zwinglianism, Calvinism, and Lutheranism, he maintains in a long and elaborate argument that the consecration of the elements is effected, not by the recital of the words, *This is My body, This is My blood*, but by the use of prayer. This is scriptural, because when Our Lord had said these words he had

already by actions of blessing and thanksgiving made the elements to be His body and blood. He supports this with the evidence of the ancient liturgies and Fathers who agree that prayer is the means of consecration²³.

In his unpublished PhD thesis (Oxford 1990),²⁴ Dr. Ernest C. Miller Jr, discusses the principles of Thorndike's theological method as he expounds them in the first six chapters of his *The Principles of Christian Truth*. The 'truth' he seeks is an understanding of the credal profession of the one catholic Church and his commitment is to a rational theological exercise in the tradition of Aquinas and Hooker. Reason is to be brought to bear on the content of the divinely revealed message in Scripture, using any means, which enables him to bring in tradition as a reasonable aid in the search for scriptural truth. In Thorndike's own words,

there will be no cause why the tradition of the Church should not be joined with the Scripture, in deciding the controversies of faith ... to clear and determine the sense of Scripture". Miller goes on to say, "This is the theological basis upon which his appeal to history and the fathers, such distinctive features of his writings, is based."²⁵

Such an appeal to an interpretative church tradition must not be allowed to inhibit his foundational appeal to reason.

(iv) John Pearson (1612-1686)

The remarkable achievement of the schoolboy Pearson is that he had read many of the Greek and Latin Fathers before leaving school. It is not surprising that among his generation he could be described as 'the ablest scholar and systematic theologian'. "Burnet describes him 'in all respects the greatest divine of the age,' Menage 'le plus savant des Anglais,' and Bentley writes of 'the most excellent Bishop Pearson, the very dust of whose writings is gold'."²⁶

Archdeacon Cheetham claimed that,

Probably no other Englishman, few of any nation, had the same accurate knowledge of antiquity which Pearson possessed, and the same power of using it with skill and judgement ... No English theologian has less claim to originality or imagination; he proceeds always upon authorities, and his distinctive skill is in the discrimination and use of authorities.²⁷

His two greatest works, on which his reputation rests, is his *Exposition of the Creed* (1659), and *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii*, the latter of which is discussed in Chapter 13 on *The Ignatian Controversy*. A quotation from the dedication to his *Exposition* will illustrate his theological approach; 'in Christianity there can be no concerning truth which is not ancient; and whatsoever is truly new, is certainly false'. There is a resistance to novelty and innovation in doctrine. Pearson's concern is to expound 'the first faith' and nowhere can there be 'a more

probable guide than the Creed, received in all ages of the Church' for it brings us to that in which the Rule of Faith was conceived, 'the Scriptures from whence it was first deduced'.

His work has remained a standard book in English divinity. Henry Hallam, the eminent historian and critic, said of it that

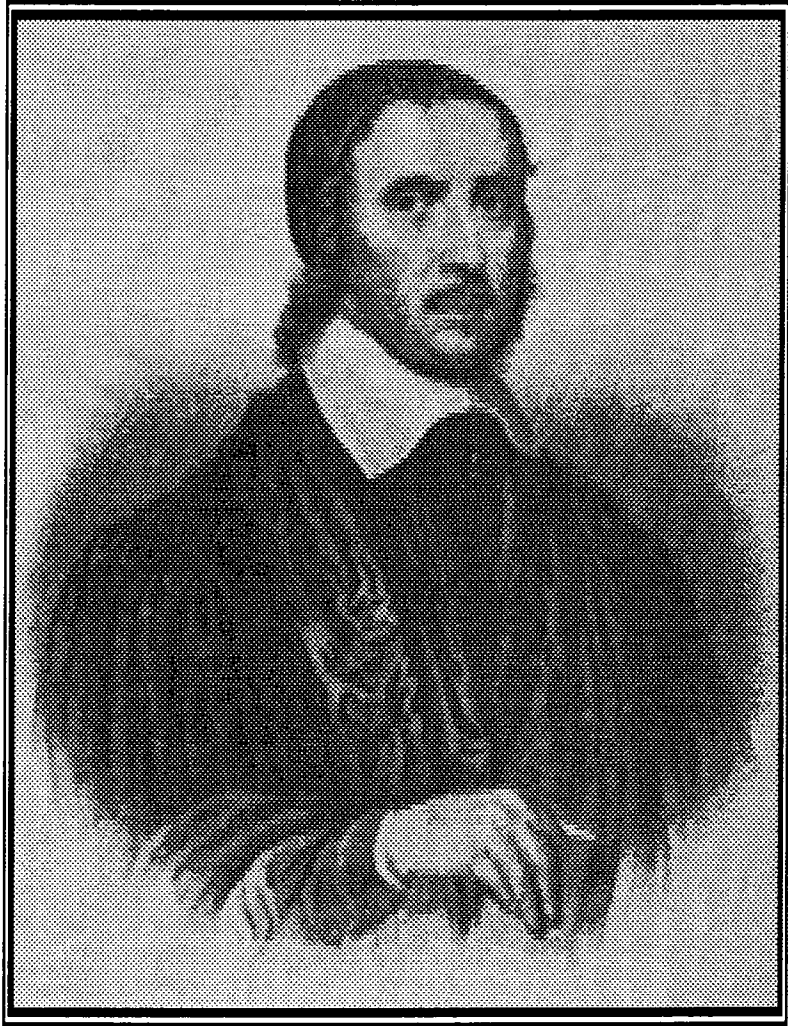
It expands beyond the literal purport of the Creed itself to most articles of orthodox belief, and is a valuable summary of arguments and authorities on that side. The closeness of Pearson and his judicious selection of proofs distinguish him from many, especially the earlier, theologians.²⁸

The work emerged from a series of addresses he preached at St. Clement's Eastcheap, and the resulting exposition has been described, within its limits, as the most perfect and complete production of English dogmatic theology. The notes within the *Exposition* are a rich quarry of patristic and general learning, providing a rich catena of the best authorities on doctrinal points. Numerous editions of the work were published until the nineteenth century. Like Peter Gunning (1614-84), he was well read in the Fathers and Councils and his purpose is to illustrate the consonance between Creed and Scripture from such sources, "so my design aimeth at nothing else but that the Primitive Faith may be revived."

Darwell Stone points out that a complete impression of his thought and methods can be formed only by comparing the *Exposition*, written for ordinary readers, with the *Minor Works* written for scholars. While he sees the most valuable part of the *Exposition* in the noted quotations from the Fathers, it expresses a clear grasp on the truths concerning the being of God, the Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation. Stone's qualified criticisms are that he omits a sufficient treatment of any other than the intellectual elements of faith, his emphasis on a supposed time-scale for creation, his ignoring of the intermediate state and his apparent view that the material particles of our present bodies will be restored and reunited in the resurrection, and finally that the extent to which he associates local movements 'through all the regions of the air, through all the celestial orbs' with the Ascension of our Lord. Nevertheless, despite the qualifications " ... it remains a splendid example of strong and solid treatment of fundamental theology and a permanently valuable exposition of orthodox belief."²⁹

(v) John Cosin (1594-1672)

John Cosin became a member of the Laudians through Bishop Neile of Durham, in whose London residence, Durham House, they met. On his son's defection to Rome a correspondence with the French Roman Catholics reveals the shaping of his thought. He views the Church of England as Catholic and Protestant, and draws a distinction between the catholicism of antiquity and that of Trent. In exile he produced three large scale works of



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polemical scholarship: a series of letters on the *Validity of Anglican Orders*, *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis* (1656), and *A Scholastical History of the Canon of Holy Scripture* (1657). Geoffrey Cuming points out that today Cosin's reputation rests chiefly on his liturgical work, "but these writings reveal him as a very learned patristic scholar ... the approach is historical rather than doctrinal, the appeal to antiquity rather than to unaided reason."³⁰ At the Savoy Conference 1661, Richard Baxter "commends him for his excellent memory for canons, Councils and the fathers ..."³¹

He was almost without a rival in any age for acquaintance with Liturgical lore, the decrees of Councils, and Patristic teaching. In his early days he had sat at the feet of Andrewes and Overall, [He owed so much to Overall that he used to designate him his 'lord and master.' He became his librarian in 1616] and afterwards, when Chaplain to the Bishop of the See to which he succeeded, he drank in the opinions of Laud and other like-minded divines, for Durham House in London was the centre of high Ecclesiastical society.³²

Luckock comments that the Presbyterians must have felt somewhat dismayed when he joined their opponents at the Savoy Conference, for while of generous temper he stood firm and unbending to the principles for which he had suffered. These principles Cosin set out in a letter to the Countess of Peterborough in which he sets out in two sections: first, the differences between Roman Catholics and the Church of England, and then second, points of agreement which Anglicans profess and are ready to embrace, if Roman Catholics would be ready to affirm themselves. He summarises each section in fourteen points that gives a general overview of the main tenets of Caroline theology, allowing that some individuals might differ in certain particulars.³³

(vi). **Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667)**

As a theologian, moral theologian and writer of devotional works, Jeremy Taylor was erudite and expert in the patristic tradition, but had a sharp independence of mind that contained a quality of liberality. Taylor's Anglicanism was rooted in the Scriptures as well as the faith and practice of the primitive Church, and this determined his theological method which was rooted in Scripture, antiquity and reason. Like his fellow Laudians he had a sense of the visibility and continuity of the Church as well as a profound knowledge and love of the Fathers. His use of the Fathers was not credulous but critical, an understanding and grasp of that patristic sense of tradition that sees it as nothing less than an expression of the Scriptural mind.

That the Scripture is a full and sufficient rule to Christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the Will of God, is therefore certain, because we have no other. For if we consider the grounds upon which all Christians believe

the Scriptures to be the Word of God, the same grounds prove that nothing else is. These indeed have a testimony that is credible as any that makes faith to men, the universal testimony of all Christians; in respect of which St. Austin said *Evangelio non crederem, etc.* 'I should not believe the Gospel if the authority of the Church' (that is of the Universal Church) 'did not move me.'³⁴

In the first chapter of the Part I of the *Dissuasive*, he shows that the faith of the Church of England is Catholic, Apostolic and Primitive. whereas because 'the Roman Church has added new articles and introduced innovations she cannot make this claim in these instances. The Scriptures, the Creeds, the Four General Councils and 'that which is agreeable to the Old and New Testament and collected out of the same by the ancient fathers and catholic bishops of the church' are the foundation upon which the Church of England rests. This was and is the faith of the primitive Church. He then elaborates on this in relation to what the Church of England rejected in the Roman innovations and where she stands *vis a vis* antiquity in relation to them. The Second Part was written in response to the criticisms of the Roman apologist John Serjeant and an anonymous critic A.L., both of whom attacked Part I.

In *Episcopacy Asserted* (1642) he contributed to the debate concerning the government of the Church by Bishops, arguing from Scripture and the Fathers for its divine institution. As with all the Carolines the aim of the appeal to antiquity was to establish identity of doctrine with the Primitive Church, and not the establishing of tradition and the writings of the Fathers as a separate and independent source of received doctrine. In the *Liberty of Prophesying* he emphasizes that no new truth can be added to the Creed because Christ and the Apostles proclaimed all things necessary to salvation, and these truths are enshrined in the Apostles' Creed. Deductions can be made from the Creed but cannot be made articles of faith.³⁵ The foundation of the Church is Christ and is therefore unchangeable, and since the faith was not evolved by but committed to, the Church, the Church cannot enlarge it. The function of the Church is to bear witness to, and make 'more evident', the faith once and for all time delivered to the saints. This is not inconsistent with the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the Church, for the Spirit's task is that of guiding the Church to interpret unchanging truths in terms of the thought and life which prevail at any given time. Only in this way can the faith become intelligible and convincing. Again we return to the important premise of Caroline theology, that which is fundamental, Hammond's authoritative foundation which must remain constant, and that which is secondary. For Taylor that rule of faith is the Apostles' Creed, and while he accepts the Council of Nicaea, he regrets its extension to the Creed. He sums up his position with a quotation from Tertullian:

This symbol is the one sufficient, immoveable, unalterable, and unchangeable rule of faith, that admits no increment or decrement; but if the integrity and

unity of this be preserved, in all other things men may take a liberty of enlarging their knowledges and prophesyings, according as they are assisted by the grace of God.

Nevertheless, in his discussion of the general features of Taylor's theology in *The Eucharistic Theology of Jeremy Taylor Today*, McAdoo can write,

... he is no modernist, subordinating tradition to harmonise it with current concepts and fashions. Yet there is in his thought, and frequently expressed, a certain quality which is congenial with the way we think nowadays and which makes us feel, for a passing moment, that somehow Jeremy Taylor is our contemporary too.³⁶

(vii) William Beveridge (1638-1708)

This account would be incomplete without the mention of a number of eminent patristic scholars whose work made a major contribution to the continuing presence of the patristic mind within Anglicanism. William Beveridge, though not included in Bosher's list of Laudians, stands in the High Church tradition despite his Calvinistic views on predestination.³⁷ However, in the Preface to his works The Editor claims "... his mind was too essentially practical to entertain Calvinistic opinions."³⁸ He also tells us that,

... the circumstances of Beveridge's early years would either involve him in the confusion and disputes of those troubled times, or they would throw him, as in fact they did, for direction, and guidance, and comfort, amidst these confusions and disputes, on the earlier and better ages of the Church, and on the study of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, yet ever with a view to the elucidation of fundamental truth, and the promotion of practical piety.³⁹

His first published work at the age of twenty was a treatise on the *Importance and the use of the Oriental Languages*, especially Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan, together with a Syriac Grammar (1658). The same Preface speaks of a "... coincidence in the lives and pursuits and writings of Bishop Beveridge ... with that of William Cave", another giant in the patristic field at this time, in birth, locality, education, and then later as parish priests, but also in their scholarship and writings".

Two great works by which he is best known are the *Συνοδικον, sive Pandectae Canonum SS. Apostolorum at Conciliorum, necnon Canoniarum SS. Patrum Epistolarum cum Scoliis. (Oxford. 1672)* and the *Codex Canonum Eccl. Primitivae Vindicatus, ac Illustratus. (1679)*, are connected with the Canon Law of the Early Church which is still followed by the Eastern Orthodox Churches. It is a collection of the apostolic canons and decrees of the councils received by the Greek Church together with the canonical epistles of the Fathers. It is not only the production of accurate text, but the claiming of apostolic origin and sanction for what were long post-apostolic. These works include an exposition of primitive doctrine and practice as

defined in these source documents and seen to be consistent with the claims of the Church of England in its appeal to antiquity. They are quoted by the nineteenth century author William Andrew Hammond in his *The Definitions of Faith and Canons of Discipline of the Six Oecumenical Councils, with the Remaining Canons of the Code of the Universal Church*, added to these are *The Apostolical Canons*. (Oxford 1843) and Hammond points out that the translation of these canons is made from the copy in Beveridge's *Synodicon*. Almost all the notes he has added on the Canons are from Beveridge's *Annotations* but there are a good number from Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, and they come at the end of each series of translations.

Beveridge earned for himself the title of "*The Great Reviver and Restorer of Primitive Piety*," for the spirit of this divine is pastoral not purely academic. This is evidenced in his works of practical divinity, his preaching and catechizing, the aim of which is, the recalling of the Church of England to conformity to the primitive doctrine and models she claims as her authoritative foundation. His sermon on *The Exemplary Holiness of the Primitive Christians* is the best example in his preaching. Pointing out that it is not sufficient to be baptized, but in the words of his text, it is necessary to continue "steadfastly in the Apostles' Doctrine and Fellowship, and in the Breaking of Bread, and in the Prayers."⁴⁰ the first and great thing that Christians in all ages ought to be steadfast in, is the doctrine which Christ and his Apostles taught. He points out that the Church of England requires nothing to be believed but what the Apostles taught as expressed now in the New Testament,

... and what the Church of Christ in all ages hath believed to be consonant to the doctrine delivered in their writings ... the surest way is to keep close to the doctrine of our Church, contained in our Articles and Common Prayer Book, which is plainly the same with that of the Apostles in all points, ...⁴¹

The second section points out the need for continuing in fellowship and communion, "not only receiving and believing the doctrine", "but likewise observing the rules and orders which they appointed, and using all the means of grace and Salvation as administered by them, and such as were deputed by them in the Name of Christ to do it;"⁴² The third section points out that the purpose of this communion and fellowship is for the celebration of the Eucharist, and is critical of those who laid more emphasis on the sermon. A fourth section lays emphasis on the need of coming together for "the public prayers of the Church".

In short, I know nothing that can contribute more effectually to keep up a due sense of God, and the true Christian religion in any place, than frequent Communion and daily prayers. This was the way wherein the Saints of God walked in the Apostles' days: ...⁴³

In commending such principles of Christian devotion and life as necessary for our salvation, there is certainly no trace of Calvinistic predestination.

He returns to these themes in *The Great Necessity of Public Prayer and Frequent Communion*, and the same spirit breathes in his *Catechism*, seeing Anglicanism declaring its primitive and catholic character in the ordering of Daily Services and frequent Communions, and a vigorous discipline in awakening her members to a higher and livelier estimation of the ministration and ordinances of the Church. It is not surprising that he opposed the proposal of *The Directory of Worship*.

A work of great weight is his *Ecclesia Anglicana Ecclesia Catholica*,⁴⁴ and is a discourse on the Thirty-Nine Articles, expounding the doctrine of the Church of England as consonant with Scripture, Reason, and the Fathers. In the *Preface to the Reader*,⁴⁵ Beveridge tells us that his method,

... was first to shew that each article for the sum and substance of it is grounded upon the Scriptures, so that of it be not expressly contained in them, howsoever it may by good and undeniable consequence be deduced from them. Having shewn it to be grounded upon the scriptures, I usually prove it to be consonant to right reason too, even such a truth, that though scripture did not, reason itself would command us to believe it. And lastly, for the further confirmation of it, I still shew each article to be believed and acknowledged by the Fathers of the primitive church, that so we may see how though in many things we differ from others and from the present church of Rome, yet we recede not in anything from the primitive and more unspotted church of Christ. These are the three heads I ordinarily insist upon ..."

He then goes on to cite Augustine's authority for the basis of his method, keeping in his mind that Father's words, "NO sober man will think or hold an opinion against reason, no Christian against the scripture, and no lover of peace against the church"⁴⁶ Already it has been acknowledged that Cary's *Testimonies of the Fathers*, (1835) cites this work as a source.

In a discussion of authority in 'Confessional' formularies,⁴⁷ Gillian Evans cites Beveridge's *Ecclesia Anglicana* in relation to autonomy in a Church's authority. Beveridge picks out 'two things', 'the decreeing of ceremonies' and 'the determining of controversies'. Due consideration has to be given to the legitimate existence of traditions which are 'customs of the Church produced by the frequent and long continued usage of the great part of the community' and rightly precious to that group of Christians; and also traditions of the Church universal, of the whole community over time. Variety in practice is possible when it does not conflict with theological consensus. "The difficulty is to define the limits of that variation which must operate

if there is not to be a consequent division in matters of faith." No doubt the same principles would operate in relation to matters of order.

(viii) William Cave (1637-1713)

William Cave, whose reputation as a patristic scholar rests upon his writings on church history, was described by J.H.Overton as, " ... a classical divine, whose 'Primitive Christianity' and 'Historia Literaria' ought to live as long as the English language lives."⁴⁸ His writings are voluminous and valuable, and include numerous historical works on themes of *Primitive Christianity, Lives, Acts, Deaths and Martydoms of Apostles and Fathers, Writings of Eminent Fathers, Arianism, Paganism, and other sects, the Government of the Ancient Church, Sermons*. In his letter to Nathanael, Bishop of Durham, he writes, "Our inbred thirst after knowledge naturally obliges us to pursue the notices of former times, which are recommended to us with this peculiar advantage, that the stream must needs be purer and clearer, the nearer it comes to the fountain;" Describing the character of the times,

... wherein religion is almost wholly disputed into talk and clamour; men wrangle eternally about useless and insignificant notions, and which have no tendency to make a man either wiser or better: and in these quarrels the laws of charity are violated, and men persecute one another ... And ... the peace and order of an excellent church ... is broken down ... To avoid the press and troublesome importunity of such uncomfortable reflections, I find no better way, than to retire into those primitive and better times, those first purest ages of the gospel, when men really were what they pretended to be, when a solid piety and devotion, a strict temperance and sobriety, a catholic and unbounded charity, an exemplary honesty and integrity, a great reverence for everything that was divine and sacred, rendered Christianity venerable to the world, and led not only the rude and the barbarous, but the learned and politer part of mankind in triumph after it.⁴⁹

As the Preface to Beveridge's Works puts it, while the *Historia* shews the working of a mind weary of controversy and gradually feeling back as best it could to primitive doctrine and practice, the *Dedications* and *Prefaces* to his English works, "evidence a mind throwing itself back upon the contemplation of the Primitive Church, as seen in its government and worship, and exemplified in the lives of the early Christians".⁵⁰

He began his great work early in life, the *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria*, in two volumes., folio 1688-98, is the most valuable piece of work. The best edition is Oxford 1740-43 (superintended by Waterland). It is the most elaborate of all his works and what is called today *reader friendly*. His style and method is to divide his subject into fifteen sections

defined in terms of the age in relation to *Apostolicum*, *Gnosticicum*, &c. each introduced with a short summary, and then an exhaustive account of the writers in it.

His *Primitive Christianity* reached a fourth edition in 1682 and was reprinted in 1839 and 1849. The first part deals systematically with the charges against the early Christians in the novelty of their doctrines, their mean condition and the manner of their life before concentrating on 'the positive parts of their religion, their piety, places of worship, fasts and festivals, ministry and sacraments.' Part Two surveys the character of these early Christians in relation to their religion, humility, heavenly-mindedness, sobriety of dress, temperance, chastity, religious constancy and patience in suffering. Part Three concentrates on their religion in relation to other men such as their justice and honesty, love and charity, unity and peaceableness, obedience to civil government, and discipline and penance.

The Lives of the Apostles was republished in a new and carefully revised edition by Henry Cary in 1840. His Introductory, *To the Reader*, explains his concern to present the state of things in the preceding periods of the Church, to let him see '... what methods God in all ages made use of to conduct mankind in the paths of piety and virtue.' After the failure of patriarchs and prophets, God sent His Son, 'and being born of a virgin, conversed in the world, and bore our sorrows and infirmities, that by rescuing human nature from under the weight and burden of sin, he might exalt it to eternal life. A brief account of these things is the main intent of the following discourse.' *The Lives of the most Eminent Fathers of the Church* was also popular, and covered the first four centuries, with an historical account of the state of Paganism under the first Christian Emperors. Again it was republished in a carefully revised edition in two volumes by Henry Cary in 1840, who found that Cave's references needed some correction because of his use of inferior editions of the Fathers. As Cave states in the *Preface*,

For herein, as in a glass, we have the true face of the Church in its several ages represented to us ... those divine records, which are the great instruments of our eternal happiness, have through the several periods of time been conveyed down to us ... With how incomparable a zeal good men have 'contended earnestly for that faith which was once delivered to the saints;'⁵¹

In the *Preface* to Volume Two Cave writes,

The work contains the noblest work of church history, this being, in many respects, the most considerable age of the church. For besides what concerns particular persons, whose lives and actions are here related, he will here find an account of the fall and suppression of paganism ... of the conversion of princes to the faith; the adopting of Christianity to be the religion of the empire; the acts and proceedings of the first two general councils; the advancement of the Church to its greatest height of splendour; and those lamentable ruptures that soon after were made in it by schism and faction, by covetousness and ambition, and 'the cunning craftiness of those that lie in wait to deceive.'⁵²

J.H. Overton states that Cave's merits as a writer consists in " ... the thoroughness of his research, the clearness of his style, and, above all, the admirably lucid method of his arrangement." The charge against him of Socinianism was groundless but as Overton points out there is a little more reason in the charge by Le Clerc that he wrote panegyrics rather than lives, and also that he forced the Arian Eusebius to the side of the orthodox and made a Trinitarian of him.⁵³

(ix) Joseph Bingham (1668-1723)

Joseph Bingham ranks as one of the greatest in a long line of scholar parish priests, whose claim to such esteem lies in his outstanding contribution to the knowledge of Christian antiquity, making him one of Anglicanism's greatest patristic scholars. He was deprived of his Fellowship through involvement in the Trinitarian controversy in Oxford, after a sermon he preached in St. Mary's in which he felt a responsibility to proclaim what the Fathers rather than the Schoolmen had to say on the Trinity. His text was 1 John V.7. "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one". It was a masterly exposition of the patristic understanding of *persona*, but he was misunderstood and accused of heresy. Later in his life he wrote a preface to the sermon, which was never published, but illustrates that his primary concern was an appeal to Christian antiquity, pointing out that his only concern was to follow the doctrine of the primitive Fathers and the judgement of antiquity. In no way does he deny the three Persons to be *unius substantiae*, of one substance or consubstantial, in any sense that the Primitive Fathers believed them to be so. His concern is to defend one substance and three Persons in the sense in which the first four General Councils understood these words, which is how the Church of England has always understood them. Endeavouring to reduce these words to their 'first and primitive signification' is no innovation, much less heresy or Tritheism.⁵⁴

He went to the living of Headbourne Worthy near Winchester and in May 1696 and September 1697 he was invited to preach two Visitation sermons. Again he defended his University sermon, appealing with copious reference to Scripture and the Fathers, ending his first sermon with these words:

Therefore I cannot but think, that all calm and sober men, who consider things impartially without heat and prejudices will bear a just regard to that hypothesis, which besides its Catholicism and antiquity, contributes so much towards a clear understanding of all the necessary articles of the Christian faith. And if that be the true advantage of this hypothesis then it can be no disservice to the Christian religion to have endeavoured to give a fair and just account of it: if such an attempt deserves no more, yet I hope it may pretend to deserve a favourable

construction; which I am willing to persuade myself Gentlemen, it has already had from you ...

His began writing his *Antiquities of the Christian Church* in 1702, despite his lack of patristic sources, though he did have the use of Bishop Morley's patristic library bequeathed to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester. Twenty years later his work was completed. He had gone through the whole state of the Primitive Church, giving an account of the several parts of her public worship and offices of Divine service. This had been his aim when he began this work. He claimed that another Book, more of miscellaneous rites might be added, but having worked for twenty years, with frequent illness inhibiting hard study, and the things themselves being of no great moment, he chose to give the reader a complete and finished work with an index, rather attempt too much be forced to leave it incomplete.⁵⁶

Bingham, a faithful parish priest in the best Anglican tradition, had little acknowledgement for this great work of scholarship, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, on which his fame rested. There had been no other work of its kind, on the hierarchy, ecclesiology, territorial organization, rites, discipline, and calendar of the primitive Church. Its basis was the original documents but Bingham also had an immense knowledge of the later literature on this subject. He laboured from 1702-1722, staggering the publication in ten volumes as they were completed. Books I and II covers such subjects as the *Titles and Apellations of Christians*; the *Names of Reproach cast upon the Church*; the; the *power and independence of bishops*; the *privilege of Bishops to intercede for criminals*; of *Primates, Metropolitans, Patriarchs, Presbyters, Deacons, Archdeacons, and Deaconesses*. Book III considers the inferior Orders and Book IV the qualifications and method of electing clergy. Book V contains information relating to the privileges, immunities and revenues of the clergy in the primitive Church while Book VI considers the laws and rules relating to the employment, life, and conversation of the Clergy.

His work is not a mere catalogue of information but a compendium of critically evaluated evidence for the living tradition of patristic church life. He discusses second century Metropolitans,⁵⁷ pointing out on Eusebius's evidence that Irenaeus had the superintendency as such in the Gallican dioceses, and listing other examples, which are the acceptable proofs of the existence of Metropolitans, but he points out that they do not prove this matter. Presiding in Council does not necessarily infer metropolitanical power, as they may only be presiding as senior bishops, citing Eusebius's example, Palmas bishop of Amastris because Heraclea and not Amstris was the civil metropolis of Pontus and Palmas was presiding as the most ancient bishop among them. Similarly, he disagrees with Blondel who concluded from this evidence that in the

second century the senior bishops were the metropolitans. Only in Africa was this the case. His wider knowledge of the Roman Empire assisted him in the evaluation of evidence and the establishing of conclusions, particularly in the immunity of the clergy from civil taxation.

Book VII discusses *ascetics and monks, virgins and widows*, Book VIII *church buildings, baptisteries, consecration of churches and the origin of asylums and places of refuge in Christian places of worship*. Book IX describes *the geography of the primitive Church*. Books X-XII describes *the origin of the Catechumenate, the classes of catechumens, the origin of the Creeds, the rites and customs associated with Baptism, Confirmation and other post-baptismal ceremonies*. Book XIII discusses *Worship*, Book XIV the *Missa Catechumenorum*, Book XV the *Missa Fidelium*, Book XVI, *Unity and Discipline in the Early Church*, Book XVII *Clergy Discipline*, Book XVIII, *Orders of Penance*, Book XX *Festivals*, Book XXI *Marriage Rites*, Book XXII *Funeral Rites*, Book XXIII, *The Method of Burying the Dead*.

While others have superseded various areas of the field Bingham covered, his work is a remarkable achievement for one man, such immense erudition, critical judgement and reasonable application. He must be the foremost patristic scholar of his generation. His concern which he sets out in his prefaces is solely to recover what the early Church believed and release it for the enlivening of God's Church in succeeding generations. A concluding quotation will suffice to indicate a way forward:

if ... we have that zeal which we profess, we shall be careful to demonstrate it in all our actions; observing those necessary rules and measures, which raised the primitive Church to its glory ... confining ourselves to the proper business of our calling and not intermeddling or distracting ourselves with other cares; employing our thoughts and time in useful studies, and directing them to their proper end, the edification of the Church ...

(x) Conclusion

What is illustrated here in relation to the Laudians characterises these Caroline divines as a whole; they read the Bible and the Fathers for themselves, and found that their theology was consistent with what was ancient rather than with the modern or 'new theology' of their day. Hence, in starting from the Bible and the statement of Anglican Formularies they discovered that the interpretation of Holy Scripture was to be in accordance with that of the ancient doctors of the Church. For them the government of the Church is Episcopal, and while some saw it as the *bene esse*, the majority believed it was of the *esse*. Andrewes may be regarded as the father of this school. but Laud is its most prominent member, and while among them there were differences on points of detail and expression, they were of one mind concerning the main principles of Church government and doctrine. T.S.Eliot described them as bringing into the Church a breadth of culture and an ease with humanism and Renaissance learning, both hitherto

conspicuously lacking. Their intellectual achievements and prose style did for the Church of England what thirteenth century philosophy did for medieval Christianity; they completed its structure and gave it form and shape⁵⁸

What characterises them is a singleness of purpose, that of restoration, not the producing of something new, nor the emasculation of Christian truth by adapting it to the spirit of the age. They set out to restore the grandeur of Christian truth, and teach it once again to their contemporaries who had forgotten it in the turbulence of the Reformation. In their *return to the Fathers*, their theology is given a wholeness with its centre in the Incarnation and in this they found what Dean Church described as something " ... to enrich, to enlarge, to invigorate, to give beauty, proportion and force to their theology."⁵⁹ With the *consensus patrum* as the ground of their theology it becomes something *sui generis*, and by no means provincial, giving it what distinguished it from some of the new and prevalent conceptions of Christianity planned in the minds of theologians and having no connection with the past. Hence it was something quite different from Tridentinism and Continental Protestantism⁶⁰ Small wonder that they were given the title *Stupor Mundi* and found themselves with a reputation in Europe, as they restored the dignity of theology that made it once more the Queen of the Sciences. What further differentiated them was the pastoral orientation of their theology, emanating as it did from the parishes in which they ministered among ordinary people, rather than the cloister or university. What resulted was a theology in the language and form that the laity of their day could understand, in sermons to ordinary congregations as well as learned treatises.

In consequence, Patristic Church Creeds and Doctrine, Patristic Canon Law, Patristic Liturgies and church practice were all investigated with rigour and presented as the perennial basis on which the Reformed Church of England sought or ought to be structured. This was done, not in a blindfolded way, but positively, critically, and constructively, and especially preserving continuity and consensus with the primitive Church of the Apostles and Fathers.

Part Three : Objections and Responses

11

Direct Objections and Responses I

(i) Fathers and Controversy

The Fathers are no strangers to controversy for it was in controversy with those intent on distorting or destroying the faith once delivered to the saints that their works were conceived and born. In their own day it was the heretics who assailed them on every side but within the Church, "During the fourth and fifth centuries, which are the Augustan age of ecclesiastical literature, the numerous authors who then flourished prove, by continual quotations, the integrity of the antecedent writings that have come down to us. They speak of their predecessors, not indeed in terms of blind zeal and indiscriminate attachment, but with respect and confidence: and this testimony is weighty, because it is immediate, moderate and reasonable."¹ That same moderate and reasonable testimony to the integrity of the Fathers is demonstrated here in the English Reformers and the Caroline Divines, in their claim that the catholic integrity of Anglicanism is patristic not papal.

Continental Protestantism had always claimed that the Reformation within Anglicanism did not go far enough, and in the struggles for Anglican identity the pressure from that ethos and polity has always tried to pull it in that direction, even to the present day. It would seem that the attacks on the Fathers were to some extent part of that design, for to undermine the very patristic foundation which Anglicanism claimed authenticated its polity and catholicity, would be an effective way of adjusting it to the claims of Continental Protestantism. At the same time there

was the argument against the Roman Church's misuse of the Fathers, in that they were read and quoted not for the illustrating of the great truths of Christian doctrine, but in support of established institutions. The doctrines of the Church were not to be regulated by the sentiments of the Fathers, but the Fathers were to speak the language of the Church. The method was to bring forward quotations that were often partial and perverted in their meaning and sense and sometimes quite mistaken. It was a time when genuine copies of the texts were rare and catenae of quotations were used as working texts which were appended to texts of scripture but without order and exposition. "... the authority of the Fathers was not only exaggerated ... their sentiments were also partially extracted, and misrepresented: and the credit of their influence ... directed to extend a temporal jurisdiction."² Hence the Fathers came to be seen as being more favourable to the Papal cause, though this was a generally supposed impression of the primitive writings than one based upon strict examination of these texts. Fr. Tavard SJ [quoted in Part. 1. of this thesis] maintained that in making Scripture and Tradition the mutually inclusive and self-evident basis of Anglicanism, she maintains a consistency with the patristic spirit that makes her a better representative of the catholic eras, patristic and medieval, than many of the Catholic writers of the Counter-Reformation period. It was not surprising that Protestantism should be suspicious, even perhaps confused, when Anglicanism found in these same Fathers the source of their catholic integrity, and that Anglican protest to Rome in Reformers and Carolines should be concerned with maintaining catholic doctrine and institution in their primitive similitude. Hence the fundamental point of Anglican protest is that catholic need not be synonymous with papal and this protest rested on the appeal to Scripture and antiquity.

In his Bampton Lectures,³ Collinson (a former Rector of Boldon (1840-57) who is buried in the churchyard], makes the point that it was Erasmus who led the way in attacking the method of the School-Divines, "and reduced within legitimate bounds the credit of the Fathers." Luther followed in one of his tracts in 1520, where in response to the Pope's bull of excommunication he makes a plea for the setting aside of "an implicit dependence on all human writings," and " let us strenuously adhere to the Scriptures alone."⁴ This mood within Protestantism was assisted by the invention of the printing press which made available editions of the works of the Fathers before 1530 in Germany, Venice, and particularly at Basle by Froben overseen by Erasmus, and Henry Stephens in Paris. The Centuriators of Magdeburg published their Church history from its beginnings to 1400, which was divided into centuries. It was published in Latin as the *Historia Ecclesiae Christi* at Basle, 1559-74. Its principal author was M.Flacius and his rigid Lutheranism and anti-Romanism dominates the work. He depicts the pure Christianity of the New Testament as coming progressively under the power of the Papal Anti-Christ, until liberated by Martin Luther. "In its breadth and conception the work was a

landmark in ecclesiastical history; but its inaccuracies, and esp. the liberties it took with the texts of original documents, made it an easy target for C. Baronius in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*."⁵ A counter-polemic of the Roman Church came towards the end of the 16th century in the *Annals of Baronius*, which was twenty years in the making, issued under the express patronage of the Papacy, and whose primary aim was to vindicate Papal Catholicism in its appeal to antiquity.

Polemic was the aim and context of the approach to the Fathers in this 16th century, on the one hand, the affirmation of them to vindicate catholic doctrine and institutions, papal as well as Anglican, on the other, a negating of them to make credible Protestant doctrine and institutions. A new turn emerged in the controversy with the publication in 1631 of Jean Daillé's *Treatise Concerning the Right Use of the Fathers in the Decision of the Controversies that are at this day in Religion*. The first edition was published in French followed by a Latin translation, but then in 1651 came an English translation by Thomas Smith, Fellow of Christ's College Cambridge. Daillé (1594-1670) was a French Reformed minister, a theologian and controversialist. This was the beginning of a number of direct attacks on the Fathers, a second, coming not from ecclesiastical but from jurisprudential auspices. It originally came in the form of Barbeyrac's *On the Morality of the Fathers*, an incidental attack by a Professor of Law at Gröningen in a Preface he wrote to Puffendorf's *Right of Nature and Nations*. A reply came from the great French Benedictine patristic scholar Rémi Ceillier (1688-1763), to which Barbeyrac responded with an essay too large for inclusion in a new edition of Puffendorf, resulting in its publication as an independent essay. J.J.Blunt comments that the only object of these authors "is to single out whatever imperfections they present, and place them before their readers in continuous succession, and without one lucid interval of merit."⁶ Nearer home other direct attacks came from the historian Edward Gibbon (1737-94) in the 15th and 16th chapters of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and from the Puritan John Milton (1608-74), poet and controversialist, in his *Treatise of Prelatical Episcopacy*, and again in his *Dissertation Of Reformation in England*, that are in Vol.I. of his *Prose Works*. In 1748 Dr. Conyers Middleton severely attacked the Fathers in his *Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers ascribed to the early Christian Church*, which in 1790 Henry Kett refuted in his *Bampton Lectures*. Related to these direct attempts to discredit the Fathers is the *Ignatian Controversy*, which centred around the doctrine of episcopacy, and if this was to be validated as apostolic, then the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles must be vindicated.

The indirect assaults on the Fathers took the form of doctrinal attack in the resurgence of *Arianism*, the rise of *Socinianism* and its English form *Unitarianism*, along with *Deism* and *Rationalism*. Not only was their open contradiction of patristic doctrine, but misrepresentation of

the Fathers by the attempts to demonstrate that the writings of these first three centuries are not inconsistent with the modern tenets of *Unitarianism*.

The authenticity of primitive tradition and its records, of scripture and its doctrines, and of Christianity as a revelation, stand or fall together. It is not the defence of any particular doctrine which is involved in the question of the credibility of tradition: the whole fabric of Christianity is vitally connected with it. In former ages infidelity openly assailed the truth of Christianity: in later times it has assumed the name of Christianity itself, in order to pursue with more success its plans for the subversion of the faith.⁷

In Tract 89, *On the Mysticism Attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church*, which Church⁸ described as an inopportune piece of work, John Keble asserts that it is curious how the assailants of Primitive Antiquity have shifted their ground, since the beginning of the seventeenth century. The feeling at the Reformation was that the Fathers were against them, whether in theological enquiry or ecclesiastical practice.

"It was not until divines of his class had thoroughly wearied themselves in vain endeavours to reconcile the three first centuries with Calvin and Zuinlius, that Daillé published his celebrated treatise "Of the Right Use of the Fathers;" in which, under pretence of impugning their sufficiency as judges between Papist and Protestant, he has dexterously insinuated every topic most likely to impair their general credit;..."

As Keble points out, Daillé became the standard author for all who took that side of the question, but differs from those who came after him in the ground and substance of his argument. First, his concern is to confine himself to those points at dispute between Protestant and Romanist, and secondly he puts the chief emphasis of his objections on the scantiness of the remains, corruption and interpolation and the difficulty of ascertaining their real sense. When he challenges their authority he is careful to cite their own disclaimers to such authority before instancing their supposed errors and inconsistencies. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the same quotations are appealed to, the same particulars insisted upon, but with more open defiance and a more direct and avowed purpose of impugning their credit in all questions of Christian religion. Whitby declares his debt in his *Preface* to collections of patristic expositions of Scripture, that he wishes to exclude appeals to Antiquity, as to the transmission of the Rule of Faith (ie. the great fundamental doctrines), no less than in facts of general history, or in controversies between England and Rome. In 1749, Confers Middleton published *Introductory Discourse, etc., to the Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the Earliest Ages through Several Successive Centuries*. It is in this work that he claims to be able to prove that the Fathers were characterised by a weak and crafty understanding that only confirmed those prejudices with which they happened to be possessed, especially where religion was the subject.

In *The Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity*, Daniel Waterland claimed that, like Athanasius and Basil, the concern of the Church of England was not for something modern, but for the pure and ancient faith. In making antiquity the handmaid of Scripture, she appealed to Scripture first, speaking for itself and so proving its own reasonableness according to the rules of grammar and criticism. After that she referred to the faith of the ancient and undivided Church for confirmation of the same rational and natural construction. On this foundation a distinctively Anglican tradition was built, which was neither that of Rome or Geneva. At a time when episcopacy and liturgy were under attack, the Protestant concern was to undermine the integrity of the Fathers as guides for the Post-Reformation Church, Daillé's concern being to demonstrate that there is no *consensus patrum* that is relevant or authoritative in settling the controversies between Papist and Protestant. For the Romanist, the primary aim of the appeal to the Fathers was the vindication of Papal Catholicism. Therefore, for the Roman and Anglican there is a positive and negative approach in their appeal to the Fathers, the affirmation of catholic doctrine and institution, on the other, for the Anglican, the negating of Medieval accretions to the Primitive Faith, for the Romanist the negating of Anglicanism and Protestantism. The same negative and positive approach is found in the Protestant, but the aim was to undermine the Fathers as arbiters and authorities in the settling differences in doctrine and practice between Rome and Geneva, and thereby affirm Protestantism.

(ii) John Daillé and *The Right Use of The Fathers*

The work was printed in London "for John Martin, and are to be sold at the sign of the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard MDCLI." The late Baron of St. Hermine had told Daillé that people who wanted to win support for the Roman Church and despise the Reformed, used as their chief argument, *Antiquity*, and the *general consent* of all the Fathers of the first ages of Christianity. Though the baron claimed to know the "vanity of this argument of theirs", nevertheless, he invited Daillé to discover for him, "the very Bottom, and Depth of this business." It was Collinson who commented that, despite the efforts of patristic scholars and editors in different parts of Christendom, " ... it should seem that since M.Daillé's publication, the writings of the Fathers have not recovered in public estimation that veneration which before attached to them."⁹ An introductory chapter sets out *The Design of the Whole Work*, which is in two books, making the point that the Fathers cannot be judges of the sixteenth century controversies between Papist and Protestant and giving two main reasons. First, because it is difficult to find out what their sense is "touching the same". Secondly, their "sense of judgement" of these things (supposing it to be clearly understood), cannot claim infallibility or freedom from error and therefore is an insufficient authority for the satisfying of the understanding. Such understanding

cannot, nor ought it to believe, anything in religion but what it knows to be true. The First Book argues from eleven proofs to validate the first reason, and The Second Book deals with six such proofs in support of the second reason.

In The Preface, Daillé presupposes two things. First, that if passages from the Fathers are to be used to substantiate certain things, then the meaning and sense of them must be clear and their authorship not in doubt. Secondly, in deciding these controversies from the writings of the Fathers, it means attributing to them very great authority. If such authority is lacking, the two things which need examination are, whether we can know clearly now, for certain, the opinions of the Fathers about these differences and whether their authority is such that anyone clearly knowing their opinion on any Article of Religion, can receive it as true. If the Church of Rome can and is able to prove both these points, then there is no dispute, but if either or both these things be found doubtful then the way of proof they have used hitherto is insufficient, and therefore, of necessity they ought to seek a more sound way of proving the truth of the said opinions which Protestants will not receive.

Daillé's arguments are considered here in relation to the direct responses made to them by Anglican divines. These responses came in various works which included Matthew Scrivener's *Apologia pro Ecclesiae Patribus adversus J. Dalleum De Usu Patrum* (1672); *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii*, John Pearson (1672); *The Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity with respect to Controversies of Faith*, in Daniel Waterland's Works; *An Essay on the Right Use of the Fathers*, William Reeves (1709) [Apostolic Fathers of the 2nd Century, Vol.2. Wake and Burton p. 195]; preliminary Discourse in *The Apostolic Fathers* by Archbishop Wake.[Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Books edition]; *On the Right Use of the Early Fathers*, J.J.Blunt, Two Series of Lectures delivered in Cambridge in 1845-46.

(a) Daillé's first general objection is that the testimony of the Fathers is vague, uncertain, and obscure.

Daillé then lists his reasons and this obscurity of the Fathers takes up half his treatise. Waterland observes that Daillé's declamation of the Fathers is frequently laboured, and since he wrote, many things have been cleared up, some by himself and more by others after him. He notes that several answers have been given to him, listing Scrivener's *Adversus Dalleum*, Reeves's *Essay* and Beveridge's *Cod. Can. Vindicat, Proem Sect. viii*, but also new editions of the Fathers and Bibliothèques or critical dissertations.

There are eleven points that Daillé brings to support his first objection. His first point is, that it is difficult to know what the true sense of the Fathers was because most of the writings

for the first three centuries have been lost. They might contain something quite different to what is found in the extant writings. This point has been answered by several critics. Reeves rightly argues that this objection is not grounded in the true sense of the Fathers which we have, but in a presumptive question grounded in the lost writings which we do not have,¹⁰ so that without evidence the objection is imaginary. As he puts it, "Historical certainty is at an end if the loss of some writings invalidates those in being." In our view, no reason precludes the conclusion that such lost writings should not confirm the writings in existence, for the lost writings were once extant, read, and approved, and many fragments are preserved by Eusebius and others. Blunt, another critic argues that Daillé's claim that except for the Apostolic writings very little was written by others and his use of Eusebius's¹¹ point in support of this, is misconstrued. As Blunt¹² points out, Eusebius meant that no writings specific to ecclesiastical history or regular Church annals were written that would serve him as a precedent, so Daillé is wrong, in using Eusebius's point to give the impression that only fragments of the Fathers have remained. Daillé is equally wrong in listing from Eusebius authors and titles deprecating their value on the ground of fragmentariness. Blunt¹³ is not alone in saying this; he cites Dr. Routh, who gathered such fragments, editing them with notes, and regarding them as valuable documents throwing great light on points in the primitive Church that were otherwise obscure, "and as worthy of acceptance for their piety, learning and authority." We fully agree with Blunt for such titles are now in circulation in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, where in Clement's letter light is given on the churches of Rome and Corinth, and in Hippolytus there is scriptural commentary, histories and treatises of doctrinal significance.

Secondly, Daillé claims that it is difficult to know the sense of the Fathers, because these writings of the first centuries are concerned with matters far different from contemporary controversies. Daillé may be right in saying this, but he fails to acknowledge that it is impossible to find in the Fathers, a kind of point by point rule book in which is defined every controversy and its treatment from the beginning of the Church onwards. Hence, there may be no relevant comments on specific controversies of Daillé's time, i.e. controversies about Papal Supremacy, Infallibility, Image Worship, Auricular Confession, etc., because, as he writes, "through the body of these whole writings nothing is expressly urged for or against these opinions." Nevertheless, this does not diminish the significance of the patristic heritage. The perennial value of the patristic writings lies in the principles they supply by which one may distinguish rightness or wrongness, without particular attachment to the variety of forms these principles might take. The same point may be made about the Scriptures, in as much as they do not supply direct evidence for polemical discourse or treatise on controversial issues between

Papist and Protestant. Nevertheless the Scriptures indicate the first principles of theological discourse. Patristic literature, on the other hand, enlarges on the Scriptures, elucidating hints and obscure passages, explaining apostolic traditions, rites and customs, and addressing themselves to heresies on which Scripture is silent. As Blunt says, "unless there is patience and precision in reading them, much will be lost."¹⁴

Thus, for example, Justin is not only concerned with idol worship but giving the first accurate account of Sunday public worship, valuable information about primitive ecclesiastical usage. Clement's *Paedagogus* provides valuable evidence for the practice of Infant Baptism among precepts relating to the application of Christian principles. In his clash with the Gnostics Irenaeus prescribes the necessary circumstances for guaranteeing the truth of tradition, and in his discussion of Aeons he refers to the Eucharist, illustrating indirectly that there was a set form for the Eucharist. In our view, such seemingly casual passages, a characteristic feature of patristic literature, have a perennial relevance, even for Daillé's time. Indeed, this is well illustrated by Blunt when he argues that what Irenaeus, Cyprian, Tertullian and Justin, say about the Eucharist and Real Presence, may contribute decisively to the debate on Transubstantiation, or what Clement of Rome says on his authority, and the exchanges between Irenaeus and Victor of Rome or Cyprian and Stephanas on church authority, may be used as indirect evidence on the controversy over Papal Supremacy, between the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Daillé's time. In using them and several other examples, Blunt's concern is that the Fathers should not be misrepresented as irrelevant by Daillé, whom he believes to be deliberately misleading the kind of people who would not check such authorities.

Daillé's third point is that writings attributed to Ancient Fathers, are not all authentic; (a). Many of them are suppositions or forgeries, in earlier or later times, while (b). Others are fraudulent inasmuch as they quote as authoritative, works lacking any such authority. As examples of (a) he mentions Rufinus, whose treatise on *The Apostles' Creed* is attributed to Cyprian, or Rifinus of Aqualeia, who, to vindicate Origen's honour wrote *An Apology* under the name Pamphylus, a renowned martyr, having taken part of it out of the 5th and 6th Books of Eusebius, who had written on the same subject, and part being his own invention, or certain Latin monks and clergy from the eight century onwards who invented, interpreted or changed texts whenever it was to the advantage of their own religion. As examples of (b) he mentions Justin and Theophilus for using arguments from the *Sybil*, claiming for them an authority which they did not possess.

To these points adequate responses were supplied by Blunt¹⁵ instancing evidence for incidents in Christ's life in the *Acts of Cyrenius*, or those of Pilate, and for the mystical power of the Cross to Plato¹⁶. In case (a) Daillé failed to acknowledge that the spuriousness of many of the patristic works he mentions had long been admitted and dismissed as required reading and therefore there is no argument here to invalidate genuine works. In case (b) the Fathers used sentiments known to the pagans to establish the facts and doctrines of revelation. The *Sybil* which had been interpolated with several Hebrew prophecies,¹⁷ had been a point of contact with pagans and was used as a medium to attract the attention of the heathen world to the Gospel. Blunt lists similar examples from the Epistles of Barnabas and Hermas which had been used by Clement as genuine. In our view Blunt's responses have been enhanced by modern patristic research, which has distinguished what is genuine from what is not, and proved that lack of historical accuracy does not necessarily imply doctrinal error. False attributions do not devalue the genuine works. To devalue patristic authority on one level and then use it on another, as in the case of establishing the Canon of Scripture, betrays and unacceptable inconsistency.

Daillé's fourth point is that the legitimate writings of the Fathers have been, in many places, corrupted by Time, Ignorance, and Fraud, both pious and malicious, not only in later ages but in earlier times. He lists his evidence from complaints of the Fathers concerning the interpolations of heretics, to the Church of Rome itself in preventing the publication of the Acts of the Council of Trent because they were prejudicial to the Roman Church. Rufinus is accused of 'licentiously confounding' the writings of Origen, Eusebius and others, and Jerome is accused of suppressing everything "that was not consonant to the common judgement and opinions of his Time", while Daillé¹⁸ accused Hilary and Eusebius of similar behaviour. He instances alterations to the Liturgies, accusing the Latins¹⁹ of subtracting and adding to the Canons of Councils.

The practice is as old as Marcion whom Tertullian told us took a knife instead of a stylus to Scripture, not to corrupt it but to cut it to his liking. Reeves reminds us that Augustine was well aware of this practice, but also that he was aware of how a critical approach to the texts prevented the Fathers from being misled by spurious texts.

But does not St. Austin tell Faustus, that if any dispute arises about various readings (i.e. Scripture, which are but few in number, and sufficiently known to the learned, we have recourse to the books of those countries, from whence we received our copies and religion together, and are willing they should determine the controversy, or if there still appear any difference, the greater number of copies ought to be preferred before the less; those which are most ancient, to those of a later date, are the original languages to all others. Thus do they proceed, who, when they meet with any difficulties in the Holy Scriptures,

search and examine things with a desire to be instructed, and not merely for dispute and cavil.²⁰

This same rule should hold for the Fathers as well as the apostles, for as Blunt says, Daillé's argument can be used for any ancient book when the subject-matter is not to our taste. Joseph Priestley²¹ (1733-1804) illustrated this when he used this same expedient to dispose of the evidence of the Socinian question and the divinity of the Son, which was an extraordinary way of conducting an historical enquiry.²² For Daillé this argument helps him dispose of the Roman question.

In our view the tools of the critical art allow errata and frauds to be detected and remedied by the comparison of manuscripts and the checking of early translations in Greek and Latin, pre-900, before the corruptionists began, and many passages appear as fragments in other authors authenticating old translations. This has been proved in the texts of *Barnabas*, *Hermas*, and *The Ignatian Letters*. The charges that the Romanists have tampered with texts previous to Cyprian can be discounted by looking at the context to prove otherwise, and particularly in Justin where passages contrary to Transubstantiation²³ and Purgatory²⁴ are to be found. Similarly with Irenaeus, there is no way in which it can be construed that the text has been tampered with and given a bias towards Rome, as for example in the text III.c.iii. 2, cited as favouring Roman supremacy. The argument in its total context is against it as are other passages in Irenaeus. What he writes about the Blessed Virgin, comparing and contrasting her with Eve, [c. xix. 1.] is to demonstrate to the Gnostics that Old and New Testaments worship the same God; and in Bk.III.c.xxii. 4., Mary is seen as the remote cause of our salvation. Justin who obviously influenced what Irenaeus wrote about the Blessed Virgin cannot be seen as the ground-base of Roman mariology. Anyone tampering with his text because of its appalling translation would not have been able to disguise the fact. Furthermore as Blunt goes on to point out, Irenaeus's understanding of Tradition is consonant with Anglicanism rather than the Papal understanding, and this surely would have been altered by a textual tamperer.

Finally, Daillé is wrong in attempting to give the impression that doctrines have been built on suspicious or doubtful passages. This is quite alien to the spirit of the Fathers, who, furthermore, would not build any doctrine upon the thinking of any single Father, but upon the unanimous consent which clearly can be deduced from many of their works, and many places within them which are without question. The Fathers as they stand corrected in the best editions agree with the Scriptures in faith, manners, and church polity. Blunt admits that his line of argument, which he takes to great lengths in Lectures 4 and 5, is not conclusive as to the purity of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, but insists that such cases of adulteration must be examined on their

merits. His concern is to neutralize the effects of those vague and indefinite insinuations of mutilation, against these Fathers by Daillé, and by the Puritan and Calvinistic party generally. Their concern is "to undermine their credit and bring them into general suspicion, to check any curiosity about them, and divert people from a course of study which would not be favourable on many accounts to the class of opinions they are disposed to support and propagate."²⁵ He points out that the general aspect of the writings of the Fathers does not bear any evidence of having been submitted to the Roman authorities, the damage being from neglect rather than from interference and that the Romanists were saved from the temptation to debase these texts by their ignorance of their contents. This is borne out by Dodwell,²⁶ who points out that the old Ante-Nicene Fathers were neglected and in most cases dropped out of sight, so that the Romanists were not used to test their decrees (as they ought to have done) by such Fathers, but, on the contrary, they indulged themselves in the most harsh censure of the most ancient Fathers, on the strength of modern decrees and established dogmas and in ignorance of these Fathers rather than informed judgements. Daillé cites the Pope's legate Paschasinus as fraudulently interpolating a canon of the Council of Chalcedon, but as Blunt points out, he was guilty of misreading the 6th Canon not fraud.

In his fifth point Daillé turns his discussion to the the style of the Fathers. His charge is that it is complicated with figures and rhetorical flourishes &c., "that there is hardly any knowing what they would be at"²⁷. Daillé asserts that it is more difficult to understand the Fathers than the Scriptures, exaggerating their obscurity, claiming that a knowledge of Latin and Greek is essential if their sense is to be understood and that they are irrelevant to modern controversies. To justify this point he selects original Greek passages from their Latin translations and highlights the mistakes, accusing the Latin translators of lacking the necessary knowledge of Greek²⁸ and concluding that the translators are not to be trusted because they make their authors speak more than they meant.

Daillé's point is that the Fathers wrote before the contemporary controversies of his own time and could not have written with any reference to them. This is true concerning direct reference to the controversies of Daillé's day, but in the theological concerns of the patristic writers there may well be certain fundamental matters of principle that have an indirect reference to the very controversies. The writings of those Fathers who predated the Arian controversy can have only an incidental value and the same holds in the religious disputations of our own time. However, it is in the incidental nature of their evidence claims Blunt, that the value of these patristic writings lies. Though Daillé can cite incautious expressions concerning the nature of the

Son in Justin and Tertullian, this does not detract from the main thrust of their evidence which leaves no doubt about their belief in the Son's divinity and consubstantiality with the Father. It was a time when exact technical theological language was not available, so that one can look at any Ante-Nicene Father and the result will be the same. The testimony of the Fathers even before the Arians is against Arius, as Bull²⁹ and Waterland³⁰ have maintained, and expressed it in a language of their own.

The same can be said about writings on the Eucharist, but Daillé seems blinkered by a continental Protestant bias which deprecates the authority of the Fathers on the Eucharist and magnifies the difficulty of getting at their sense. He accuses them of *wilful* obscurity on the ground that they did not think it expedient for ordinary people to have the mysteries of the faith disclosed, and more especially the Sacraments. In defence of the Fathers it can be said that there was a certain natural reserve in a time of persecution, yet despite such pressures there is certainly an openness to be communicative for the sake of the Gospel, as for example in Justin's³¹ description of Baptism and Eucharist to the Emperor, and Irenaeus and Tertullian would bear this out. Complete pictures of rites are not available because the subjects being dealt with did not provide opportunities to describe them. Daillé uses Clement of Alexandria's³² deliberate reserve to vindicate his point, which Clement claims is a safeguard against misleading his readers. Clement's concern is not to hide or mystify the Gospel, but to communicate the truth in a manner that would recommend it to the heathen people to whom he writes. Hence his reserve is a prudence for fear of giving offence. In our view it is Daillé who is not reading these writings within the context of the times in which they were written and which laid upon these Fathers certain constraints that inevitably affected the way in which they thought it best to communicate the Gospel. In the light of these considerations such charges of obscurity of style are misplaced when the evidence is pointing to a wise exercise of prudence in the communication of the Gospel that is required by the circumstances of the time.

Blunt claims that Daillé's concentration on obscurity of style has an aim beyond the obvious, and that is to weaken the testimony of the Fathers to the dignity of the Eucharist, to the claims of episcopacy, and in general to what are called "high church views, as it is now the fashion ignorantly to call them", on controverted points. He senses in Daillé a strong Post-Nicene influence, where some inflated expressions might justifiably be modified, but there is no justification for this in the Ante-Nicene Fathers where even figurative language cannot be misunderstood. Irenaeus's³³ language on the Eucharist in terms of sacrifice, epiclesis³⁴ on the elements, mixed chalice, episcopacy,³⁵ representing the office of government from the apostles,

is what Daillé would not support. Nevertheless, it is impossible to reduce these Fathers to the sense in which he would want to reduce them.

Daillé further objects to the style of the Fathers because the meaning of words has changed and is a cause of obscurity. He sees the ancient discipline, the Canons, Baptism and the Eucharist and Ordination as defunct. A new age calls for new customs. Words such as Pope, Patriarch, Mass, Oblation, have changed their meaning. His argument is that rather than restore such words and institutions to their former meaning, correcting them by the old standard, they should be discontinued as antiquated. Surely if such offices and institutions as discipline, Orders and Sacraments observed in the modern Church have been distorted from what they were in the Primitive Church, it is the distortion that should be charged with obscurity and corrected. The original form of these should not be charged with obscurity and we should conclude that they are no longer what they were in the least corrupt period of the Church. Therefore, instead of dismissing the Fathers with complaints of their obscurity, we should cherish them because they witness to a continuity with antiquity when they are found within Anglicanism.

Figurative language is not an invention of the Fathers, Scripture itself is full of such language, as converted Jews speak to unconverted Jews and Gentiles, more often than not, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in an idiom that will make contact with the hearers. This does not weaken the historical part, and so too in the Fathers, the way they write does not weaken their testimony in matters of fact. Our concern is not with figures of speech but whether the Fathers have expressed themselves intelligibly in matters of fact.

Daillé's sixth point accuses the Fathers of concealing their own private opinions, and speaking of things in which they did not believe, when they report the opinions of others, or when disputing with an opponent. He has three kinds of literature³⁶ in mind, and these can be categorised as Commentary, Homily and Polemic or Disputation.

Jerome is cited in his *Epistola ad Pammah et Marc* and *Apologia adversus Rufinus* as defining a commentary to be the placing of various interpretations and expositions before the reader without comment or clarification. Daillé finds Jerome's view strange because it leaves the reader uncertain about the true interpretation in a commentary when no intimation is given. Therefore with the Fathers using the same mind and method it is difficult to ascertain the author's opinion, and so the sense and opinion of the Father whose name such a commentary goes under, cannot be clarified because they express the words and opinions of others as if they were their own. Reeves³⁷ claims Daillé is being dishonest here, because he leaves out a passage that would completely alter what he is saying, where Jerome does say that in such commentaries

it was openly declared which opinions were catholic and which heretical. Reeves continues, that such a way of commentary is not confined to the ancient Fathers but features in modern commentators so why should it be less reliable in the Fathers? What is even more strange is the fact that Daillé who is so doubtful of Jerome's reliability should depend on him to such an extent. This raises a question about other Fathers who are not commentators and who have written testimonies of fact concerning the faith and manners of Christians in their time; are they merely giving the opinions of others?

Daillé further accuses them of being arrant jugglers in their preaching, meaning by this, that in expounding Scripture they would extract their text from its context and use it for the purpose of amusement, especially if the catechumens were present, and if preaching on the sacraments they would use their text to disguise these mysteries. In our view, such an accusation is contrary to the spirit of catechetical instruction among the Fathers, which Justin Martyr's *First Apology* makes known. Great care was taken and strict discipline adhered to in the instruction of these catechumens in the way of reverence, knowledge, and probation for initiation into these Christian mysteries. The whole spirit of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Lectures* completely destroys any such accusation as does the seriousness of the Lenten preparation for the celebration of the *Paschal Mystery* and the admission of the catechumens into church membership.

Another objection³⁸ Daillé brings against them is that in their polemics they stopped at nothing in order to secure the victory, urging arguments which were in their favour, though they knew them faulty, and suppressing arguments which they knew to be sound. For this reason Daillé would abandon the Fathers, because in his view this adds a further difficulty preventing us from knowing the real sentiments of the Fathers. This accusation is justified by the single authority of Jerome from a long quotation, which Reeves points out proves nothing except that like fencing, in the art of disputing, "we threaten one part to hit another; and moreover, that they often argued from the concessions of an adversary, which are a good argument, *ad hominem*, whether the concessions be true or false."³⁹ This is a common argument with the Fathers and it creates no difficulty for those who approach it in the regular study of these authors because the general drift of the reasoning establishes the point. However, they must be read carefully in order to discern the complexion of their argument and the basis on which it is built so that the necessary allowance for the circumstances can be made. It is an easy matter to choose from the whole some detached passage, and a meaning will be assigned to it quite at variance with the real sentiments of the authors. An example of such an approach to the Fathers is present in the Socinians who are a prime example of using the Fathers in this way, taking extracts out of

context and giving the impression that the Fathers were Socinians, which would succeed if these extracts had been the only surviving fragments from their works.⁴⁰

It is true, and this can be proved by examples from the Fathers that they often silence their opponents with arguments that serve their purpose, but do not produce any general conviction. For example, pagans cannot stumble at the article that Christ was a messenger from God to men for that was the office of Mercury, and similarly, if Christ according to the Christians ascended into heaven pagans should not resent that article of faith because according to them so did Belleophon. In the Fathers use of this kind of argument there is no danger of mistaking one's author because the context is always plain and one's general knowledge of his principles must be one's guide, so that in placing the Incarnate Christ in juxtaposition to the messenger Mercury there is no claim that the evidence is the same. There is no difficulty in discerning when a Father is arguing for truth or for victory and it is the perception of this difference that must have preceded and suggested the complaint to Daillé. In using such arguments the Fathers were in no way trying to conceal their true opinions, but attempting to harness to their aid, everything in the environment around them that would assist them in communicating the Gospel. If concealment of their true opinions was their aim there would not have been such a willingness among so many of them to die for truth when a lie could have saved them.

In his seventh charge against the Fathers, Daillé claims that they have not always held one and the same beliefs; and have sometimes changed some of their opinions, as their judgements have matured through study or age. His argument is that non-biblical writers do not have an inspired knowledge of divine things, but an acquired knowledge by means of *Instruction, Reading and Meditation*, so that their writings are not all of the same weight and value, since these depend on their maturity of vision which progressively increases. Daillé maintains that those who after maturer deliberation and further study have changed their opinions are to be discredited, which invalidates most people and books, for the expectation is infallibility. The point needing proof is that learned and honest men when they make a mistake are not to be trusted again in anything they write, and because St. Augustine retracted many things, therefore he is to be credited in nothing. Daillé quotes Augustine in his *Retractiones* and a confession of Origen's recorded by Jerome in *Epistle 65*, that they repented in their old age of many things they had written and taught in their youth. Such alterations in their sentiments do occur and will be found if the Fathers are compared with themselves, which would be the case with any writer.

Blunt⁴¹ explains apparent inconsistencies in Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, making the point that in the peculiar circumstances an explanation is found. For example Clement of Alexandria and most of the primitive Fathers are at variance with themselves on the subject of the corruption of human nature, sometimes arguing extremely, at other times arguing as if it were trifling. So Clement writes "the heart of natural man is an habitation of devils"⁴² but also "man being by nature a high and lofty animal that seeks after what is good".⁴³ Blunt points out that the Fathers were embarrassed not only by what Scripture expressed on this subject and the testimony of their own hearts, but also by the Gnostic heresy that viewed the world as evil and corrupt, created by an evil demiurge, a view quite contrary to the Christian doctrine of the Creator God who had made all things good. Clement is also inconsistent with himself on the question of asceticism, but in Tertullian the inconsistencies are more numerous and unequivocal. Daillé exaggerates this feature and its effects, in his efforts to undermine the general testimony of the Fathers.

Daillé also accuses them of not holding *one and the same belief*. It is proven fact that there were differences among the Fathers, but the issue is the significance of difference not the fact. Such accepted differences are found in the observance of Easter,⁴⁴ and on the Rule of Faith in Tertullian.⁴⁵ These examples only illustrate patristic acceptance of differences in the relative importance of questions they handled from time to time, and because it is difficult to ascertain the emphasis with which they spoke on any given subject, it does not detract from their value. The same objections could be brought against the Scriptures, Creeds, Churches and Liturgies. There must be a considerable margin of opinion in which the individual is left to range, so that we cannot expect the Fathers to be categorical on subjects which do not admit of it. Hooker and Andrewes distinguished between belief that was primary and fundamental and necessary for salvation, and that which was secondary and allowed a measure of liberality of opinion. There is no evidence concerning fundamental difference of belief on the Creed, the divinity of Christ and the necessity of church-communion, so that if the Fathers are unanimous in these matters, and they lived to a ripeness of understanding and never recanted to their dying day, it is reasonable to suppose that they would not have recanted if they had lived longer.

Finally, such ripeness of judgement would only affect their reasonings, not their testimonies concerning matters of fact, which they are not going to retract because they live to see and hear longer. Whatever his age a man must be capable of discerning facts, such matters in dispute in the time of Daillé, and that means that the Fathers too must be credited with the discernment that would enable them to know whether writings were Scripture and what practices were valid in the Church of their time, and thereby be of value in settling what in the 17th

century was not in accord with antiquity. In our view the objection is whimsical and an unfounded scepticism.

The eighth point of Daillé's argument that it is necessary, but very difficult, to discover, how the Fathers have held all their several opinions; whether as necessary or as probable only; and in what degree of necessity and probability. He introduces this argument with a long account of the nature of necessary and contingent propositions, claiming that it is necessary to know not only what the Fathers believed or did not believe, but how they believed or did not believe, whether they held them as propositions necessarily or probably, either true or false, and in what degree of necessity or probability they placed them. He illustrates his point from two propositions; that Christ is God, and Christ suffered death when he was thirty-four or thirty-five years old. The former proposition is necessary, because Christ could not but be God and we cannot deny it without denying Christianity. The second is contingent since he could have delayed his suffering until he was older, and though taken from Scripture it may be denied as false without great danger. However, both are expressed in Scripture, not as necessary but as true, and it is not a matter of necessary or contingent but whether it is a matter of divine revelation which cannot be dismissed without great danger.

It is evident from what has been written earlier that the Fathers did recognize a great difference in the relative importance of questions they handled from time to time, a point, which scarcely required proof. The Fathers were reasonable men, but they might not be prepared to draw up a scale or the exact estimate they took of such differences. It seems odd that their writings should be devalued because of the difficulty of ascertaining the *emphasis* with which they spoke on any given subject. When Jesus asked the blind man whether he believed in the Son of God, he did not question whether his reply *Lord I believe* was held as a necessary or a probable proposition. The testimony of the Fathers to the Scriptures, the apostolic doctrine and the customs and polity of the Church, is not dependent on how they held some opinions, whether as necessary or probable. How they held them does not matter, since an error in opinion can never prejudice a testimony concerning fact. One only has to note how they proclaimed the faith among pagans and heretics, instructed the catechumens, expounded the creed, defined the Faith in Council and ruled the Church in Canon; "to object against the Fathers for not letting us know how they held their opinions, is very disingenuous, not to say dishonest; and this objection I am afraid, falls heavier upon the apostles than their successors, who surely are more large and explicit in their expositions of the Christian religion, and in their condemnation of heresies, than the apostles were, as strange doctrines increased in every age."⁴⁶

The last three points to support Daillé's first argument, nine, ten and eleven, are so similar that they can be discussed together. Rather than know the opinion of one, or more of the Fathers, we need to know the opinion of the whole ancient Church, and it is very difficult to discover this, and also whether the opinions of the Fathers concerning the controversies of Daillé's time were received by the Universal Church or only by part of it. It is necessary to know this if their allegations are to be of any use. Furthermore, it is difficult to know exactly what the belief of the Church has been, Universal or particular, concerning the controversies in Daillé's time.

It is not a difficult task to find out the opinion of the ancient Church in what is to be believed as necessary to salvation. Is it likely that when so few Christian writings have been preserved by the Church, those should have happened to be preserved, which were not on the whole in accordance with her? The Church must have seen some merit in them as expressive of the mind of the Church. The heretical writings were lost except for fragments preserved in those who wrote against the heretics. Furthermore, the Church historian Eusebius in his *History*, adopts the Fathers as his authorities, using not only many other Fathers whose works are now lost, but great use of those volumes we now possess. In them he finds witnesses to the life and doctrine of the ancient Church.⁴⁷

The status and character of these Fathers identifies them with their respective churches. Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Irenaeus of Lyons, Cyprian of Carthage, were all bishops and among them were distinguished presbyters. As for the further objection of Daillé that recognition of a doctrine by the Universal Church is the only guarantee of its soundness, then one only has to note that these very Fathers are drawn from all parts of the Christian world. In almost all of the substantial questions of the Christian Creed they will be found to concur, including many points which touch Daillé and come within the category of controversies. There will also be found differences and contradictions which Daillé disparages, questions about the Baptism of heretics and the date of Easter, and the Millenarianism which confronted Justin. Allowances have to be made that this is before the age of General Councils, and these Fathers are the raw material out of which these Councils might emerge, and they are not equivalent to General Councils. What is certain is that the interpretations and testimonies of the earliest Fathers (many of which are now lost) were the great helps and authorities and became the basis on which later councils condemned heresy, established Creeds and settled the Canon of Scripture. Yet Daillé wants to find in the Fathers, tracts against the Papal Supremacy and transubstantiation &c, controversies which came centuries later. The fact is that the Fathers are silent on such matters, though as Blunt maintains, there is incidental evidence as to where

their sympathies would have been in these controversies. The fact of silence on direct evidence becomes an argument to dismiss their relevance and usefulness in relation to such controversies, but the same silence becomes a negative argument in their polemic against the Romanists, where it is claimed that no article ought to be imposed as necessary, which was unheard of in the purest times of Christianity. Such a reason can affect notions only and opinions, and not testimonies about fact which are the main things for which subsequent generations of Christians are dependent upon the Fathers. Is it reasonable to reject such testimony concerning the Sunday Eucharist or the writings of apostles, because some may have held the contrary but did not write about it or their writings are lost? While some would answer this question negatively, our view is that such a conclusion would be an unsubstantiated supposition, in which imagination has run riot and been allowed to supplant argument.

[b] Daillé's second general objection : that even if the testimony of the Fathers was clearer, they are not of sufficient authority to decide modern controversies. This is the argument of Daillé's Second Book and he makes six points in its support.

First, the Testimonies given by the Fathers, concerning the belief of the Church, are not always true and certain. For Daillé the Fathers may have erred in giving us an account of matters of fact, because they are of a more compounded and perplexed nature than matters of right, and therefore their testimonies in such cases ought not to be received by us as infallibly true. Even the most honest people can be mistaken in what they thought they had seen and, like the Fathers, be innocently deceived. Goodness does not render people infallible. However, as Reeves points out, he had always thought

a matter of sense, of sight especially, no such perplexed matter; and to see a king de facto full as easy, as to know a king de jure. If goodness then will not render them infallible, I hope it may render them credible witnesses of fact, or else why do we receive the canon of Scripture upon testimony? Or where shall we find credible witness upon earth, if it be so, he must needs be infallible?⁴⁸

The point being laboured is the supposition that none of them could see and hear well enough to be believed and the instances used to invalidate their testimony are some philosophical disputes about the traduction of human souls⁴⁹ and the corporeity of angels.⁵⁰ Such opinions were never claimed as beliefs of the Church. Daillé⁵¹ also instances Petavius's correction of Epiphanius concerning the Eucharist being celebrated three times a week by Apostolical Institution and Petavius's correction of an error in the Venerable Bede.

The second point Daillé makes is that the Fathers themselves testify against themselves, that they are not to be believed absolutely, and upon their own bare word, in what they deliver in matters of religion. Testifying against themselves is surely proof of their honesty and fallibility that must give their testimony credibility. Nevertheless, they do not declare that they are not to be believed on their own bare word in their relating of matters of fact. Daillé's anxiety that their writings are regarded with equal authority to Scripture is unfounded and his citing of Augustine on the authority of the Greek writers⁵² is to make the point that the writing of the Fathers are grounded, not upon their bare authority but upon their reasons. We are to examine the Fathers by the Scriptures and not the Scriptures by the Fathers, and not to accept the truth of any Father until it has been proved by Scripture and Reason. This has been the way of Anglican divines, who have regarded the Scriptures only as divinely inspired, and therefore as binding in themselves, and the Fathers as interpreters of the Scriptures with better qualifications than the moderns. This has been repeatedly stated throughout this thesis. Daillé heaps up quotations from numerous Fathers, including Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose, to prove that the opinions of the Fathers are binding only in so far as they are consonant either with Scripture or Reason. "... therefore all this outcry against appealing from God to man, from Scripture to the ancients, is mere paralogism; for the appeal is only to the best human judges, about the meaning of the Word of God."⁵³

Daillé's third point is that the Fathers have written in a way that makes clear, that when they wrote, they had no intention of being our judges in matters of religion. Daillé grounds this claim on a hasty statement by Jerome⁵⁴ in which he claims⁵⁵ that he had allowed himself three days for the translating of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles, and that he did almost everything at full speed and in haste. Some writings were extempore utterances as in Origen, and in occasional homilies of Augustine and Chrysostom. Writing with such incaution, carelessness, and negligence, says Daillé, only indicates that these Fathers did not regard themselves as oracles whom we were to listen to.⁵⁶ His illustrations of errors come mainly from the Post-Nicene Fathers, though he does include Origen's *off the cuff* homilies. Such utterances would be a poor authoritative basis for the doctrines of the Church, but then only a small part of Ante-Nicene theology is contained in homilies.

Daillé lists several errors from Justin⁵⁷ who misdates David 1500 years before Christ and claims the Egyptian King Ptolemy sent messengers to Herod for copies of prophets' writings, when it was two hundred years earlier he sent Eleazer the High Priest.⁵⁸ Despite his numerous errors Justin is described by one of his editors, as *aetate antiquissimum, auctoritate*

gravissimum,⁵⁹ and Blunt says such would be the impression on anyone who read him carefully, fairly, and candidly, for these are accidental lapses and comprise a small proportion of his work. Blunt goes on to say that this is what gives effect to Daillé's criticism in the whole of his second book, "that ranging over the writings of the Fathers, he selects nothing whatever from them but their mistakes and defects; and having done this with an air of seeming triumph, he exclaims, these are the authors you are disposed to regard with reverence."⁶⁰ The same criticism could be made about the Bible but would not be allowed to invalidate the biblical witness. So Justin's inaccuracies do not materially affect his credit as a witness of the Church of his own time, whether as to ordinances or doctrines. They are mere slips of memory and may be due to the difficult circumstances under which he wrote, a man who lived in persecution not a quiet scholar's study, and died a martyr.

Another class of errors shaking the authority of the Fathers stems from their ignorance of Hebrew which finds particular expression in their attempts at etymology, as in Justin's⁶¹ derivation of *Satanas* from *Satan* an apostate and Irenaeus's⁶² saying that *Jesus* in Hebrew means "that Lord who contains heaven and earth". Clement of Alexandria is also cited among others.⁶³ The Fathers' ignorance of Hebrew, with one or two exceptions, cannot impair their authority as witnesses of the practices and doctrine of the Primitive Church, though it may make them less able expositors of the Old Testament. Their value and authority lies in their nearness in time to the apostles on whom the Holy Spirit had been outpoured and who was leading them into all truth, and being themselves entrusted with high office, they can scarcely fail to have reflected and communicated the doctrine and ordinances to be observed, which were not dependent on their knowledge of Hebrew. Similar was their use of allegory, which Daillé draws mainly from the Post-Nicene Fathers, though the Ante-Nicene Fathers are governed by a figurative interpretation of Holy Scripture. Its primary aim was to illustrate that the Scriptures speak of a Saviour, or in other words that an evangelical construction of Scripture was sanctioned by the Primitive Church. Individual extravagances in an allegory might damage an individual while he was in pursuit of using an allegory to point to Christ, "their authority as witnesses, that the interpretation of Scripture went very much upon that principle, would not suffer by it; nay, would be rather promoted. And this, we must always remember, is the matter at issue, what authority is due to the Fathers as witnesses of the character of the Primitive Church."⁶⁴ Waterland's⁶⁵ comment is that they were probably in most instances not intended to be interpretations of Scripture, as uses or improvements of it, pious meditations upon Scripture to attract attention and win hearers.

In taking points four and five together, it is noted that Daillé claims that many of the Fathers have erred in divers points of religion: and moreover, strongly contradicted one another, and maintained different opinions, in matters of very great importance. Daillé⁶⁶ deals with these two accusations, making a list in his second book, Ch.4. As Reeves points out, their several errors fall into the categories of grammar, history, philosophy, chronology, geography, astronomy, some of which may be errors, some in dispute in Reeves' own time, but most of them cleared up and vindicated by critics of another sort. The inference is that because the Fathers have erred in these matters then their authority in matters of faith is destroyed. The same accusation could be brought to the biblical writers and personages on the basis of similar kinds of error in the Scriptures. Justin and his views about the Millennium, Irenaeus⁶⁷ contending that Our Lord was between forty and fifty years old when he died and Clement of Alexandria⁶⁸ teaching that the Gentiles were justified by philosophy to name but a few. Such errors are private conjectures on speculative points of subordinate importance, which do not affect the great doctrines of Christianity on which all these Fathers are agreed. Furthermore no one has claimed infallibility for them, which would then have put this argument in a different light.

Their disagreement with one another is an old accusation of Father against Father. Among the Ante-Nicene Fathers are the various opinions about the millennium, the observance of Easter, the baptism of heretics, and differences between Cyprian and Stephanus, the age of Jesus at his crucifixion and the difference between Irenaeus and Tertullian, Justin and Tertullian's difference concerning the soul of Samuel. Then come the differences between Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene, as Tertullian's differing view from Augustine on the nature of the soul's generation and the Post-Nicene Fathers differing from one another. The discrepancies between the Ante-Nicene Fathers are few and unimportant, and those who would devalue them, always raise the Baptismal and Paschal controversies. Their determination to stick out for what both parties considered primitive usage is an indication of how certain we might be that the same persons would not have submitted to any unsound compromise on matters more serious. Our conclusion can be that if on such matters they are so unanimous, their unanimity is the result of their confidence, that the faith they hold in these particulars was that once delivered to the saints.

Daillé's sixth and final point in support of his second argument claims that neither the Church of Rome, nor the Protestants, acknowledge the Fathers for their judges in their disputes, but accept and reject them at pleasure, and in a degree that suits their own convenience.

Reeves points out that it is a shrewd sign that the Church of Rome is conscious of the weakness of their cause, that it will not stand the test of antiquity. However our own Reformers appealed to the judgement of the Fathers, not only for the refutation of Romish novelties, but also for the establishment of the primitive doctrine that Anglicanism claimed as its foundation base. They were not viewed as infallible, but as the best appointed judges since the apostles, for it is not the part of a judge, (as the objector seems all along to suppose) to make laws, but to interpret those already made.

Protestants admit nothing but the canonical Scriptures as their rule of faith, which Daillé claims is the very cornerstone of the Reformation, citing Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, Luther, Beza, though admitting that the chief among them did refer to the works of the Fathers. John Jewel is introduced in this respect, but he says that the English Reformers used the Fathers not to establish their own opinions but to refute the Romanists. The discussion of John Jewel in the first part of this thesis would contradict this, so too would Jewel himself who in the beginning of his *Apology* proposes to make the works of the Fathers an element of his demonstration that the Reformers had right on their side. Nor would the Sixth Article, which would contradict Daillé concerning his maxim of the Reformation in which he involves the Church of England. It contains nothing but of what he claims. To quote Daniel Waterland,

We allow no doctrine as necessary, which stands only on Fathers or on tradition, oral or written; we admit none for such, but what is contained in Scripture, and proved by Scripture, rightly interpreted. And we know of no way more safe in necessities, to preserve the right interpretation, than to take the ancients along with us. We think it is a good method to secure our rule of faith against impostures of all kinds, whether of enthusiasm or false criticism, or conceited reason, or oral tradition, or the assuming dictates of an infallible chair. If we thus preserve the true sense of Scripture, and upon that sense build our faith, we then build upon Scripture only; for the sense of Scripture is Scripture. Suppose a man were to prove his legal title to an estate, he appeals to the laws; the true sense and meaning of the laws must be proved by the best rules of interpretation; but after all it is the law that gives the title, and that only. In like manner, after using all proper means to come at the sense of Scripture (which is Scripture), it is that, and that only which we ground our faith upon, and prove our faith by. We allege not Fathers as grounds, or principles, or foundations of our faith, but as witnesses, and as interpreters, and faithful conveyors.⁶⁹

(iii) The Ignatian Controversy

(a) The Epistles and Episcopacy

This controversy concerning the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles has already been discussed in relation to its bearing upon the debate about episcopacy and the work of Henry Hammond, in which it was the most important contribution.⁷⁰ As Lightfoot points out, in

England the question can hardly be said to have been considered on its own merits because of the burning question of episcopacy, which was crucial in predetermining the sides of the combatants but also their attitude towards this question.⁷¹ The Ignatian Epistles which had begun to be published from stray Greek and Latin copies in 1495 settled into what came to be known as the Longer Recension of twelve Greek and three Latin Epistles. They became the storm-centre of untold controversy because of the way in which they vigorously asserted the necessity of episcopacy. Calvin, the first to grapple with them, condemned them as *impudent forgeries*. Chemnitz, a Lutheran theologian, and after him Whitaker, noted that the twelve published letters do not correspond with references to Ignatius in Eusebius and Jerome, who only mention seven and not twelve; while a quotation from Ignatius in Theodoret does not appear in the published edition. Baronius and Bellarmine discount the three Latin letters, accepting the twelve Greek as undoubtedly genuine, but Socinus dismisses them all. Casaubon defends the antiquity of some but Petavius regards them all as interpolated.

(b) Ussher's Work

An attempt to separate the spurious from the genuine Ignatian literature was made in 1623 by Vedelius, a Genevan professor, but the question remained insoluble until 1644 when James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, published his *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolare*, an outstanding work of critical scholarship in the 17th century. He observed quotations in three medieval English theologians referring to St. Ignatius for that very passage which was found quoted from Ignatius in Theodoret, and yet was not to be found in the twelve letters. He concluded that Faber's text, the Long Recension, must be spurious and that some genuine MSS probably existed in England which represented the Ignatius known to Theodoret. His search uncovered two Latin copies of Ignatius's letters; one in Caius College, Cambridge, the other in Bishop Richard Montagu's library in Norwich. These copies of the text corresponded with that quoted by the Fathers, and not with the Long Recension. Lightfoot⁷² while describing Ussher's work as one of marvellous erudition and critical genius he claims that it is marred by one blot. Ussher will only receive six of the letters mentioned by Eusebius, disclaiming the *Epistle to Polycarp* on the authority of Jerome who misunderstood the language of Eusebius and confounded the *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* with the *Epistle to Polycarp*. Jerome's error was based on ignorance which Ussher failed to spot, for the letter to Polycarp, substantially the same in all three recensions is the best standard and the safest test of the style of Ignatius. While this part of Ussher's theory was universally rejected, his main argument was beyond dispute. His work was further assisted by Isaak Vossius, a Genevan professor, who in 1646 edited a Greek text of the Middle Recension from a MSS Ussher had traced to the Medicean Library in Florence. Vossius published six out of the seven epistles of the Middle Recension, the missing

Epistle to the Romans being due to the MS being imperfect at the end. This epistle, says Lightfoot,⁷³ must have been incorporated in the *Acts of Martyrdom* of the saint, with which the volume would close, as was the case in the corresponding Latin version, and both together must have disappeared with the missing sheets. Fifty years later the missing Greek *Acts of Ignatius* with the incorporated *Epistle to the Romans* were discovered in a MS belonging to the Colbert collection, and published by Ruinart (Paris AD 1689) in his *Acta Martyrum Sincera*. Thus the Greek text of the seven epistles of the Middle Recension was completed.

(c) Opposition

The work of Ussher and Vossius, "not only completed the critical analysis of the Ignatian Letters but also produced the strongest evidence for episcopacy in the early Church."⁷⁴ It could not be denied that the seven epistles contained passages as difficult to be overcome by the advocates of Presbyterianism as any in the Long Recension, so it is not surprising that the first opposition came from those who were anti-bishop, the French Protestants, claiming that the testimony of the epistles to the early spread of Episcopacy to be untrue. In 1645 Claudius Salmasius (1588-1653) a French classical scholar declared himself against the Ignatian letters in *Adparatus ad Libros de Primatu Papae*, declaring them to be the false lies of an impostor, in the days perhaps of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius, and he is quoted by Pearson.⁷⁵ The following year David Blondel (1590-1655) goes still further in his *Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris*,⁷⁶ maintaining that the epistles are spurious and of a later date. As Lightfoot points out, "It did not occur to them to ask whether Ussher's discovery did not require them to reconsider their fundamental position as regards episcopacy."⁷⁷ The part played by Henry Hammond in this controversy has already been discussed, a response also occasioned by the English Puritans who used the weapons of the French armory.

(d) Daillé's Response

Daillé had already dismissed the Ignatian Epistles as spurious in his *Right Use of the Fathers*, where he argues that if the epistles Eusebius⁷⁸ mentions had been extant in the time of Irenaeus, he would have known them and used them against the heretics as he used Clement of Rome and Polycarp, and they would not have escaped the attention of Clement of Alexandria or Tertullian. This argument cannot be sustained because the epistles are concerned with such simpler matters as denials of the divinity and humanity of Christ, while Irenaeus is concerned with more elaborate and more complicated heresies. A paragraph in Irenaeus, preserved in Eusebius, concerning *one of our brethren*, who when condemned to the wild beasts saw himself as *corn being ground into pure bread*, might well be a reference to Ignatius and identical to the same passage in his *Letter to the Romans*. Daillé admits this but claims it is a forgery to give the

epistle a colouring of truth. Blunt⁷⁹ produces from Bishop Bull⁸⁰ evidence of another reference from Ignatius in Irenaeus⁸¹. Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philipians*,⁸² speaks of the epistles of Ignatius being sent to him by Ignatius himself, and is decisive against Daillé in having *said* instead of *wrote*, proving that there were written epistles for Irenaeus to read. Polycarp⁸³ describes them and uses them with their many phrases and peculiar forms of speech. Clement of Alexandria is said never to quote from these epistles but there are many distinguished writers before him he never mentions, and Tertullian is also cited as never mentioning Ignatius, but *De Carne Christi* c.v. has a passage that resembles one in *Ignatius Ad Ephes.* § vii. Daillé completely by-passes Origen, the next Father to Tertullian and prior to Eusebius, because he directly and repeatedly testifies, not to the sayings, but to the Epistles. As Blunt goes on to say, Daillé's suppressing of a witness because he is against him can only suggest a less than honest search for truth.

In 1666 Daillé published his famous work *De Scriptis circumferuntur libri duo*. The spuriousness of the Areopagite writings has been endorsed and maintained. Lightfoot's view is that his treatment of the Ignatian writings does not deserve the same praise.

It is marked indeed by very considerable learning and great vivacity of style; but something more than knowledge and vigour is required to constitute genuine criticism. The critical spirit is essentially judicial. Its main function is, as the word itself implies, to discriminate. The spirit of Daille's work is the reverse of this. It is characterized throughout by deliberate confusion.⁸⁴

(e) The Response of John Pearson

In 1672 Pearson's great work, *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii*, appeared. The vindication rests on two main arguments: (1) Ignatius certainly wrote the letters: (2) The seven letters of Vossius are certainly the letters attributed to Ignatius by Eusebius. With these propositions as his starting point, he analyses the attack of Daillé, and sifts the various editions, concluding that the seven can hardly be other than the genuine work of Ignatius, recognized as they are by Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Theodoret. Lightfoot described it as,

incomparably the most valuable contribution to the subject which had hitherto appeared, with the single exception of Ussher's work. Pearson's learning, critical ability, clearness of statement, and moderation of tone, nowhere appear to greater advantage than in this work. If here and there an argument is overstrained, this was the almost inevitable consequence of the writer's position, as the champion of a cause which had been recklessly and violently assailed on all sides ... The true solution was reserved to our own age, when the correct text has been restored by the aid of newly discovered authorities. But on the whole, compared with Daillé's attack, Pearson's reply was light to darkness. In England at all events his work seemed to be accepted as closing the controversy.⁸⁵

(f) J.B.Lightfoot

Lightfoot makes the following points. First, while stating the facts concerning the different recensions in the light of Ussher, he treats the whole of the Ignatian literature as if it was the work of one author, making the Vossian letters bear all the odium of the charges brought against the letters of the Long Recension. Secondly, half of his sixty-six objections against the Ignatian Epistles only apply to the Long Recension and several others are chiefly, though not entirely, occupied with it; and two or three deal only with the medieval Latin correspondence. Ussher had already discounted the spurious and interpolated letters. Thirdly, his arguments and positions would be discounted by sane critics today. These were that the Ignatian writings were unknown until they were forged in 300AD, that Origen's quotations from Ignatius were by a Latin interpolator, and that a reference to evangelical narratives or incidents not contained in the Canonical Gospels is an argument against the early date of the writings which contain them, or that an author who persistently distinguishes between bishops and presbyters could not have written in the second century.

The literary ability of this work is undeniable; but it has contributed nothing, or next to nothing, of permanent value to the solution of the Ignatian question. Its true claim to our gratitude is of a wholly different kind. If Daillé had not attacked the Ignatian letters, Pearson would not have stepped forward as their champion.⁸⁶

(g) Conclusion

Daillé's objections that the testimony of the Fathers is vague, uncertain, and obscure, and that even if their testimony was clearer, they are not sufficiently authoritative to decide modern controversies, strikes at the foundation upon which Reformers and Carolines established their English Catholicism. By implication it destroys the integration of the threefold appeal to Scripture, antiquity and reason, while his dismissal of the Ignatian epistles attempts to destroy patristic authority for the necessity of Episcopal government. His aim had been, not to examine the Fathers for themselves alone, but to find reasons in support of an argument he wished to prove, that the Fathers cannot be authoritative judges in the Post-Reformation controversies between Papist and Protestant. As Blunt pointed out in his Preliminary Lecture, Daillé's only concern in fulfilling this aim was to single out whatever imperfections they present, and place them before his readers without one lucid interval of merit. "For were the writings of the Fathers, such as they are here represented, the reader, but especially the translator, ought both to be sent to the workhouse for better employment."⁸⁷ He goes on to point out that that anyone wishing to malign anyone can find something to pin on the wisest and best and might well imitate Daillé by describing David by his adultery or Peter by his denial. "It is a much easier matter to

cut than cure, to be witty than wise, and a very ordinary hand will serve to deface, what a Pearson or Grabe only can restore and beautify." ⁸⁸

Direct Objections and Responses II

(i) John Barbeyrac and *The Morality of the Fathers*

Another attack on the Fathers came from a different direction in 1723, not even from the ecclesiastical environment but from a jurisprudential source. It originated as an incidental attack in a *Preface to The Law of Nature and Nations*, subtitled, *A General System of the most important principles of Morality, Jurisprudence, and Politics*, [translated from Latin by Basil Kennett, DD. 5th Edition. 1769. London. Bodleian Library]. The preface by John Barbeyrac, a Professor of Law at Groningen, contains *An Historical and Critical Account of the Science of Morality and the Progress it has made in the world, from the earliest times to the publication of this work*. [translated from the Latin by Mr. Carew of Lincoln's Inn]. *The Preface* contains thirty three sections, in which sections IX and X beginning on page sixteen, contains the attack on the Fathers. Here Barbeyrac writes,

In fact it appears, both by those books we have transmitted down to us, and by the catalogue of such as are lost; that the greatest part of those we call the Fathers of the Church, scarce ever took pen in hand to write on any other subject, besides matters purely speculative; or relating to ecclesiastical discipline. It was but rarely, if at all that they handled points of morality, and that too only occasionally; and always in a very inaccurate and careless manner. The sermons which they sometimes made on this subject, were so stuffed with vain ornaments of false rhetoric; that the Truth, as it were, lay smothered under a heap of metaphors and pompous declamations. And the greatest part of those moral reflections, which they scattered here and there in their Works, were extracted by force and far-fetched allegories, from a thousand different places of Scripture, where the pure literal sense itself made nothing to their purpose. To be convinced of this we need only read those Collections, which some of the most extravagant admirers of Ecclesiastical Antiquity have given us of the most shining passages which they found in the Works of the Fathers. Besides, these ancient Doctors, even in their very best treatises of morality, perpetually confound the Duties of Mankind in general with the particular duties of the Christian, precisely considered as such; as well as the principles of morality purely natural, with those of Christian morality. On the other hand you will often find them putting too great a difference between the Man and the Christian; and by pushing this distinction too far, run themselves into the absurdity of laying down Rules that are impracticable.¹

This attack was responded to in 1718 by the French Benedictine patristic scholar Rémi Ceillier, in his first great work, *An Apology of the Morality of the Fathers against the unjust accusations of John Barbeyrac*. The work was a dissertation of forty pages devoted to establishing the authority of the Fathers in which Ceillier follows step by step the arguments of Barbeyrac, and defends individually those Fathers whom he attacked - Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, and others. He accuses Barbeyrac of plagiarising Daillé's treatise and from the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, to which Barbeyrac's rejoinder was that he may as well have made the same accusation in his use of those writers he quoted, such as Du Pin, Ussher, Fleury, Grabe and others. Barbeyrac's defence of his choice of examples in *The Preface* is, that he had purposely chosen his examples because of their appearance before and their citation in "very common books". The success of this Ceillier's work led him to undertake another, similar in character, but wider in scope, and dealing with all the sacred and ecclesiastical writings. Barbeyrac's response to Ceillier's *Apology*, was a longer essay too large for inclusion in subsequent editions of the *Preface* and in consequence it was published separately with the title, *On the Morality of the Fathers*.

Another response, *The Spirit of Infidelity, Detected*, was published in London in 1723 by A Believer, and was printed for T. Payne, near Stationers Hall. The title page points out that it is *In Answer to a Scandalous Pamphlet, entitled. The Spirit of Ecclesiasticks of all Sects, and Ages, as to the Doctrines of Morality; and more particularly the Spirit of the Ancient Fathers of the Church, Examined by Mons. Barbeyrac*. It points out that *The Fathers are vindicated, the Gross Falsehoods of that writer exposed, and his innumerable inconsistencies, as well as those of his Infidel Prefacer, are fully lay'd open*. The author deplores the spirit of Barbeyrac's essay in response to Ceillier, comparing it to Milton's in his *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, in which he describes the Fathers as "an undigested heap and fry of authors which they call antiquity"; and the deists, Toland, the author of *Christianity Not Mysterious*, and Tindal, who wrote *The Rights of the Church Vindicated against Romish and all other Priests*, where he describes the religion of the clergy of the fourth and fifth centuries as consisting mostly of cursing. It is the manner in which these authors run down the Primitive Fathers and Martyrs that the Believer deplores. His suspicion is that the Prefacer of Barbeyrac's essay is a clergyman, and "the universal belief is that he assumed the guise of a Quaker, in order to vilify and traduce some of the most worthy and valuable men of his own order." *The Spirit of Infidelity* is a page by page approach to Barbeyrac's essay and replies to his criticisms from the Fathers themselves which illustrates the Believer's considerable patristic knowledge. He accuses Barbeyrac of having very

little knowledge of the Fathers, a knowledge limited to their names,² regarding him as a Deist and a Sceptic.

The Revd.J.J. Blunt delivered two series of lectures on *The Right Use of The Early Fathers* in the October terms of 1845 and 1846 in the University of Cambridge. In the first series not only did he address his remarks to Daillé's *The Right Use of the Fathers*, he also dealt with Barbeyrac's criticisms, "... so far as they affect the credit of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, especially as I shall thus have a convenient opportunity of clearing away *in limine* certain objections to the study of the Fathers, which one constantly hears alleged, for they comprise nearly all." His concern was to prepare his students for the positive advantages of the study of the Fathers. Blunt³ claims that the two books by Daillé and Barbeyrac have contributed more to deprecate the Fathers than any other work, probably affecting even people like Chillingworth and giving his theology the bias it has. As for Barbeyrac himself, Blunt claims that,

... it seems very doubtful whether its author had carefully read the Fathers, on whose morality he comments; or had his mind imbued with the spirit, which the actual perusal of them would have left on it. Indeed the review of them which he takes, extending over the first six centuries, renders it impossible that he should have mastered all the Fathers on his list; or should have known more or many of them than he could get at second hand from indexes, abridgements, and extracts, which others might have furnished him with.⁴

Blunt's approach is different to the approach in *The Spirit of Infidelity*, in not following through in order the instances Barbeyrac considers to be defective morality in the Fathers, but using them as convenient illustrations of his proposition, that one defect pervades his reasoning throughout almost all of them, that of not taking into account the *peculiar character* of the times in which the Fathers lived. This defect is the result of Barbeyrac not having carefully read the writings for himself and thereby "not having possessed his mind thoroughly with a full and correct impression of those times." He has merely been content to use passages supplied by others, passages detached from their contexts on which he has hung his accusations.

What follows is a selection of some of the accusations Barbeyrac brings against the Fathers and how the Believer, Daniel Waterland and J.J.Blunt have responded.

(ii) *The Spirit of Infidelity* by A Believer, A Response to Barbeyrac's Accusations

(a) Athenagoras and the Worship of Angels

Barbeyrac,⁵ admitting that he had been misled by du Pin's *Ecclesiastical History*, wrongfully accuses Athenagoras of teaching the worship of angels in his *Apologia*. Athenagoras speaks of the Trinity and then of angels as part of a hierarchical order and God's creation, implying no more than guardian angels. Justin Martyr agrees and a great many of the

Fathers. Baronius had tried to prove the worship of angels from Justin and from him Du Pin quoted Athenagoras instead of Justin.⁶ Citing Bull and Reeves, who retrieved it from this mistaken sense and proved it incapable of such an interpretation, the Believer discounts this accusation against Athenagoras. Bull and other Protestant scholars resist this interpretation of the passage but the Romanists do not, so it became a *notorious bone of contention* between the two parties and therefore is unlikely to have escaped his notice if he had actually read Justin.

(b) Clement of Alexandria.

Barbeyrac completely misunderstands the purpose of Clement of Alexandria, whom he criticises for not explaining a single virtue in a way that would enlighten and convince a person to practise it as he ought, and for not setting a single duty on its right foundation and developing it as it should be.⁷ Quoting Du Pin⁸ the Believer upholds Clement's *Paedagogue* as a moral discourse, and that "There is no author that reproves vice more severely, that exhorts more powerfully to the Practice of Vertue and that gives better rules and instructions for leading a Christian life. You cannot have too great an opinion of the sanctity of St. Clement."⁹ He goes on to quote Jerome, "That all his works are full of instruction and eloquence, as well what he wrote upon Scripture, and Divinity, as his treatises upon other subjects."¹⁰ Against Barbeyrac's accusation that Clement deliberately covered up his teaching so that only the very intelligent could understand, the Believer¹¹ explains that Clement's concern was that the holy traditions of the Church might not be exposed to those outside her. Furthermore, Barbeyrac has misunderstood Clement's meaning of the rich man, which is not to be confused with material possessions but in the biblical sense.¹² This is no diverse paradox as Barbeyrac accuses, for the true Christian is truly rich. As the believer quotes " ... those are not the rich men who possess a great deal of worldly wealth, but those who use what they have, in Works of Justice and Beneficence."¹³ If it is considered with what goes before and what comes after, it becomes obvious that it is far from the paradox Barbeyrac represents it to be. To accuse Clement¹⁴ of justifying the idolatry of pagans in his appreciation of their knowing something of the Creator through their contemplation of sun, moon and stars, is a nonsense. His point is that in discovering the Creator in his works they might be led to the worship of the true God and as he points out¹⁵ Christians are the only persons free from idolatry who worship God in the manner prescribed. He continues, that the first commandment in the Decalogue proves against the heathens that there is but one God.¹⁶ His *Exhortation to the Heathen*¹⁷ opens in the first chapter with an exhortation to abandon idolatry for the adoration of the Divine Word and God the Father. As the Believer¹⁸ illustrates, not having read Clement, Barbeyrac is ignorant of the context in which Clement writes and therefore mistakes his meaning. If Barbeyrac had read Clement he would have seen what the purpose of his work was and his criticism would not have

arisen, nor would he have found anything extraordinary in Clement making his Gnostic a Stoic by exempting him from all passions, and at other times denouncing the Stoics as holders of impious opinions. Barbeyrac would have discovered not contradiction but reconciliation in Clement's own attachment to an eclectic philosophy, in which he was able to pick and choose the good from all the schools, maintaining that such good came from God who sowed the world with good principles that in time were to be ripened into a perfect knowledge of his will through direct revelation.

(c) Tertullian

Tertullian is accused of carrying the austerities of the Montanists too far in asserting that a Christian in all conscience cannot be a judge, which is a completely mistaken notion, “whether through ignorance or design”, the Believer is not prepared to say. Tertullian's real concern is that Christians should not be committed to idolatry, the sin rather than the office. Being a judge would not allow him to be free from this, though it was permissible to be a magistrate, because in such an office this involvement with idolatry would not arise.

(d) Cyprian

Barbeyrac, citing Cyprian who had been married before his conversion, yet preserved his chastity, claims that in the opinions of those times there was a sanctity about remaining unmarried. The Believer thinks he picked up this notion from Le Clerc, whose was no lover of the Fathers, since if he had read Pontius's *Vita* he would quickly realise that it was false. There is doubt whether Cyprian was married and though in the *Vita*, the reference, “the persuasion of his wife did not influence him” convinced Bishop Fell that he was, others are not so convinced and see this as a reference to Job's wife of whom Pontius had been speaking. The reference to Cyprian's chastity is no proof that he was married nor that he *put away* his wife on his conversion, as Barbeyrac falsely accused.

His quotation from Cyprian's *De Habitu Virginum*¹⁹ about the use of ornaments and blackening the hair illustrates that there is nothing in it disagreeable to the rules of morality but is merely reiterating what is frequently reprov'd in Scripture about adorning and painting the body. The misrepresentations of Barbeyrac are countered by quotations from Cyprian's works, such as *De bono Patientiae*,²⁰ making the point that Cyprian is commending Abel for dying a “humble, patient, and guileless” person rather than promoting a general rule that would preclude self-defence in the face of a murderous brother. Similarly, in his *Epistola ad Florentius Pupianos*²¹ he is not equating bishops to apostles, though in their ordinary powers they were certainly the same, nor is he maintaining “that it is insupportable insolence to pretend to judge them.” Cyprian's concern is for the dignity of the priesthood, instancing Pilate's response to Our Lord as teaching that reverence for the priest's character was to be maintained inviolate. All he

does more is to prove the position of Florentius in setting himself up as judge on a Bishop duly elected and ordained.

To accuse Cyprian of being no more than a *declaimer* flies in the face of more informed estimations of him, which the Believer then quotes. Lactantius²² wrote, " The famous Cyprian obtained the greatest credit from his profession of Rhetorick and wrote an abundance of things which are excellent in their kind; it is hard to distinguish whether he was more eloquent in speaking, more easy in explaining, or more powerful in persuading." Jerome²³ compares him to a pure fountain which is smooth and sweet. Erasmus²⁴, more versed than Barbeyrac in the Fathers, described Cyprian as,

Among all ecclesiasticks ... the only writer that attained purity of the Latin tongue; his style is very natural and easy, nothing elaborate or affected in it, which favours of craft or ostentation. Such everywhere is the tenour of his language that you will think you hear a truly Christian bishop, and one designed for martyrdom. His mind was inflamed with piety, his speech answerable to his mind, he spake eloquently, and yet things were more powerful than elegant; nor did he speak powerful things as live them.

Dr Cave²⁵ wrote, "It is to the commendation of Cyprian's judgement that he could drink so freely of Tertullian's writings and suck in none of his odd and uncouth opinions, and that the greater part of his work are letters which promote peace and order in the Church."

(e) **Lactantius**

Four accusations are brought against Lactantius. The first is that he maintains that a truly good man ought not to carry arms. His concern is not so much the avoidance of carrying arms, but the returning of evil for evil, the revenging of injuries.²⁶ For the Christian the difficulty in bearing arms was that the military oath was taken in the name of the heathen deities or Roman Emperor with which the Christian could not safely comply. The second, is Lactantius's condemnation of usury as a kind of robbery. The general attitude among the Fathers regarded usury as unlawful. While not taking is thus far, Lactantius is stressing that a Christian helping someone in need should avoid benefiting from the situation, "Let him take no use of it ... " ²⁷ Thirdly, Lactantius has carried beyond all bounds the obligations of Christian patience. Barbeyrac has produced here the opinion of Puffendorf,²⁸ who is not blaming Lactantius, but mentions him to reprehend the opinions of Tully in his *Offices*. Tully claimed that the good man must do good to as many as he is able, and never do an injury to anyone unless he is provoked. Lactantius's observation on this is that such a person cannot be a good man who will return an injury of any kind.²⁹ The fourth accusation is that Lactantius claims that no one should be accused of a crime punishable with death, and without distinction he treats such action as murder. Lactantius affirms no such thing,³⁰ but claims that a person who orders someone to be

executed purely for pleasure excites his conscience and is guilty of murder. No one ought to accuse anyone of a capital crime out of private revenge, and this is in accordance with the 24th Canon of the Council of Arles, which states that anyone falsely accusing their brethren of capital crimes will be barred from Communion until death, if they do not make satisfaction proportional to their crime.

(f) Athanasius

The few principles of morality that Barbeyrac claims are handled by Athanasius are, according to him, not so fully handled as they might be. Against this accusation the Believer cites Photius³¹ who describes the works of Athanasius as clear, simple and natural with much strength of reasoning and gravity in them. He shows “a copiousness of invention, and easiness of thought; he makes use of testimonies from Holy Scripture and draws from thence demonstrative proofs of what he advances.” Du Pin³² claims

that this was Athanasius great excellency in all his works, that they appear simple and open and yet being closely considered, one may perceive that they are composed with wonderful artifice ... he so insinuates himself into the mind, by his manner of expressing things, that one entertains his reasons, and feels himself often persuaded before he is aware.

(g) The Cappadocians

The way in which Basil defined a murderous act is called into question. This definition is found in Basil's first canonical letter³³ to Amphilocius, Bishop of Iconium and summarised in Canon 43 of *The Canons of Basil*³⁴. Here Basil states that a person who gives a mortal wound to another, whether as an act of aggression or self-defence, is a murderer. He certainly meant no more than that where the person attacked might have saved his own life without killing his attacker and yet did kill him, he is guilty of murder. As the believer points out, in Canon Thirteen, Basil allows a person to take the life of another in a lawful war, without the imputation of murder.

Basil³⁵ is accused of regulating the behaviour of monks in a spirit contrary to Christ in St. Matthew's Gospel chapter 6 vv 16-17, recording Our Lord's words about fasting, that we should be circumspect and not appear to be fasting. This Barbeyrac is applying to a completely different situation, that of monasticism, with which Basil is concerned, and in this instance with the humility of the monk which Basil says the monk ought to discover in his dress and looks. Using Nathan's description of David as one with “His mind sorrowful, his eyes cast down, and he negligent in his dress”, he proposes rules for monastics that they might discover a humble and lowly disposition so that they might not be thought lovers of themselves. The first of Basil's homilies is on *Fasting*, in which he alludes to Matthew ch.6 vv16-17. Barbeyrac has completely misunderstood Basil. The Believer quotes Gregory Nazianzen speaking of Basil's moral works,

that “ ... they inform me, they instruct me, they change me, and lead me unto virtue.”³⁶ Du Pin³⁷ agrees. Photius³⁸ claims that Basil comes near to Demosthenes and the ablest authors of antiquity.

Gregory of Nazianzen is dismissed as one who writes without much order, his style being full of metaphors, incorrect, and sometimes harsh. Barbeyrac is echoing Le Clerc’s estimation of Gregory. Le Clerc was no friend but rather the enemy of the Fathers and was rather partial to the opinions of the Arian and Macedonian heretics whom Gregory denounced, and hence Le Clerc’s antipathy towards Gregory. Du Pin sees Gregory’s character differently; he wrote that,

It can’t be doubted but he won the prize of eloquence from all the best of his age, for he does certainly excel them. The purity of his words, the nobleness of his expressions, the ornament of his discourse, the variety of his figures, the justness of his comparisons, the beauty of his reasonings and the sublimity of his thoughts. His style approaches very near to that of Socrates, how lofty soever it be ...³⁹

Gregory is falsely accused of writing to Bishop Nectarius telling him he could not understand how his holiness and gravity could suffer the Appollinarians to meet together, then generalising from this supposed instance that this was the manner of treating bishops in those days. As the Believer points out, in four letters to Nectarius, 51, 52, 226, 227, out of a correspondence of two thousand one hundred and thirty two, none of these allegations hold, nor is the Appollinarian heresy mentioned. Furthermore there was a formality of respect even to heretical bishops, the holy Basil being an example in this and Augustine too, addressing the Donatist bishop, the most holy Emeritus and Petilianus.

(h) Ambrose

The criticism against Ambrose is his supposed exaggerated estimation of celibacy and virginity and his regarding of marriage as indecent. Obviously, maintains the Believer, Barbeyrac had not read Ambrose’s Commentary on St.Luke⁴⁰ chapter sixteen, where he speaks positively about marriage, but following St.Paul he gives virginity preference on some counts, elaborating on the conveniences and inconveniences of each state, quoting Fleury, who wrote that however highly they esteemed continence, their esteem for marriage was equally high, “considering it as an emblem of that union which is between Christ and his Church.”⁴¹ The accusation that Ambrose said that before the Law of Moses, and the Gospel, adultery was not forbidden, is unfounded. His observation is that there was no positive law or command of God about adultery. Punishment of a crime follows from transgression of a law and where no exists there is no breaking of the law. Abraham did not commit adultery to gratify a lascivious inclination but to pay a debt to nature. Abraham is not found fault with in Holy Scripture.

Ambrose's *Treatise of Offices*, a work about the duties of the clergy, is, claims Barbeyrac, modelled on Cicero's *Offices*, but is infinitely inferior to the original in purity, style, composition and the solidity of the thoughts and justness of expressions. According to Du Pin it is an excellent treatise on the duties of the clergy and is actually based on Tully's *Offices*, in which Ambrose corrects the imperfect, refutes the false and adds infinitely more excellent and sublime content. Du Pin⁴³ speaks highly of Ambrose's writings in general saying that "His works of morality are certainly the most excellent of his works, and there he took much pains about."⁴²

(i) Jerome

The accusation that Jerome forbade all oaths without exception is blatantly false. Jerome⁴⁴ speaks of refraining from lying and swearing, esteeming truth as sacred as an oath, quoting Jesus's words "Swear not at all". This is a rule for common conversation. Oaths are allowed particular occasions, and in a letter to Augustine⁴⁵ he mentions having taken an oath but he does not blame him on that account. Jerome⁴⁶ also states that he joined with others in taking an oath which he would not have done if he thought it illegal. He also relates the solemn oaths by which John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Rufinus⁴⁷ confirm their assertions, and though his enemies he does not blame them for swearing but only for acting inconsistently with their oaths.

Quoting his Commentary on Matthew chapter seven, Barbeyrac claims that Jerome forbade payment of taxes to infidel princes is not true. There is nothing in this passage about the payment of taxes. Other passages in the commentary⁴⁸, chapter 22 verse 21 refer to Jesus paying tribute to Tiberius and his command that others are to render their due. Similarly, in his Commentary on Romans 13 he says that Christian clergy are not exempt from paying taxes to princes.

(j) Augustine, Leo and Gregory the Great.

Barbeyrac is mistaken in his view that Augustine's attitude towards the heretics was that they should be persecuted and forced to embrace the orthodox faith or be rooted out. Several letters⁴⁹ beg the favour of magistrates on behalf of the Donatists who had committed crimes of murder against the orthodox, asking them to act agreeably to the great mildness and levity of the Church. He claims that it would dishonour the sufferings of the murdered to put to death the murderers and that if death is the only sentence, then the Church, which delighted not in the blood of adversaries, would cease to demand justice against them. The general rule of the Church was never to seek the death of any man, rather the more humane penalties of banishment or a pecuniary penalty. Barbeyrac's description of Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms* as a "continued thread of lownesses heap'd together" like any Father's book, rests on nothing but prejudice and ignorance. Du Pin⁵⁰ claimed that while it was not a good commentary on the Psalms, nevertheless, it was a wonderful collection of Christian and moral notions. He describes

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Augustine as a man of great exactness and great force of mind; “his ordinary method was to lay down principles from which he draws an infinite number of consequences, which have great connexion with one another.” Even Daillé⁵¹ describes Augustine as “a cautious man free from rashness, deserving of the great esteem he had obtained by his immortal writings.” As the Believer points out, everyone conversant with Augustine’s writings concludes that a complete system of morality might be drawn from them, by anyone who had abilities.

Barbeyrac claims that in the opinion of Du Pin, Leo did not abound much in points of morality. Yet Du Pin⁵² is most praiseworthy of this Father’s character describing his literary style as,

... polite, and over-elegant ... he has a rhyming cadence of words, which is very wonderful; it is swelled with noble epithets, fit appositions, suitable antitheses ... this renders it pleasant to the ear ... It may be said that the Church of Rome never had more grandeur and less Pride, than in this Pope’s time; and yet he carried himself with more humility, wisdom, sweetness and charity.⁵²

Similarly of Gregory the Great, Barbeyrac only quotes Du Pin to denigrate Gregory as tedious and prolix in his explications of morality, and does not give a full account of what Du Pin said. He describes Gregory as having “ ... a genius proper for morality; and that what he composed was an inexhaustible fund of spiritual and moral thoughts ... His words are not very choice ... but it is easy, coherent, and always uniform; he has nothing that is very sublime, or lively, but what he says is truly solid.”⁵³

What has been written so far is more than enough to illustrate that the celebrated Fathers of the Church are not the monsters of immorality that Barbeyrac imagines them to be, but it also illustrates the argument of the Believer in proving this to be so. As the Believer goes on to say, if Barbeyrac is the author of the book, and he claims that there is some doubt, his traducing of the Fathers will not redound much to his credit, considering the influences behind him in Le Clerc, and Mons. Bayle, “whose errors and falsehoods have been sufficiently confuted”. He goes on to say that if he had been such a faithful and generous adversary, he would not have taken too much on trust from such detailers of scandal, but would have proved the opinions of the Fathers directly from their own writings, and not from such sworn enemies of the Fathers who have with design both misquoted and misapplied them.⁵⁴

The morality of the Gospel has been as immutable as its doctrine ... But it has moreover this advantage, that though there have been abundance of wicked and lewd Christians in the world, who lived in a manner contrary to the rules of evangelical morality; yet there were never any persons found, in all antiquity, so rash as to overthrow the rules of this morality, or to establish maxims opposite to it.⁵⁵

This excellent system of morality was not only to be found in the writings of the first Christians, but it appeared and glittered in their lives and actions. ‘We say

not great things (says one of the ancients) but we live them.' *Non magna eliquimur, sed vivimus.*⁵⁶

(iii) Daniel Waterland (1683-1740) Responds to Barbeyrac

In his essay *The Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity*, Waterland⁵⁷ dismisses Barbeyrac's strictures on the Fathers as no more than a satire, which the RC Benedictine Rémi Ceillier, already referred to, had formally answered. On page 295 he refers to the author of *The Spirit of Infidelity* as "an ingenious gentleman", defending "the Fathers against the injurious accusations of the *author* himself; which he has effectually performed, with good learning and solid judgement." Anyone forming his idea of the Fathers from what Barbeyrac has written, would says Waterland, "go near to make it the very opposite of their true and just character." He points out that Barbeyrac is careless about the facts upon which he grounds his censure, taking them upon trust from others, transcribing their oversights or partial accounts. Apologising for so much he took at second hand, he "designedly pitched upon examples which had been already remarked and produced by others, and are extant in books most common and easy to be had."⁵⁸ Barbeyrac, says Waterland, should have checked the authenticity of his sources and the judgement of learned replies, rather than rely on people prejudiced against the Fathers. Being deceived and deceiving with false facts, even some which may be true, in part, scarcely puts them in a true light. The hardest construction is put on any fault, real or seeming, without qualification and counterbalance, so that the impression Barbeyrac gives is the reverse of the true and just character of the Fathers.

(a) Athenagoras and Second Marriages

After dismissing the false accusation that Athenagoras encouraged the worship of angels, and Du Pin's glaring mistake, Waterland takes up Barbeyrac's accusation against Athenagoras for disallowing second marriages, which claims Waterland is true in a sense, but the question remaining is what is the nature of these second marriages Athenagoras is disallowing. Waterland⁵⁹ points out, that it has been claimed that what Athenagoras meant was marrying again after wrongful divorce, which is favoured by Athenagoras, grounding his doctrine upon the Lord's own words relating to such second marriages⁶⁰ and that marriage contracted in adultery could not be corrected by death, retaining its primitive impurity and being wrong from the first. The doctrine charged upon Athenagoras was condemned by the Church in the Montanists and Novatians and would justify this interpretation. J.J. Blunt feels that Waterland had misgivings about the soundness of this defence, and the fact that there are many places in the Fathers which seem to indicate in them a distaste for second marriages, without any such

distinctions.⁶¹ Combined with these, others even commend abstinence from marriage altogether when it can be abstained from with continence.

(b) Clement of Alexandria

Waterland takes up three criticisms of Barbeyrac against Clement of Alexandria, that he taught stoical paradoxes for Christian doctrine, maintained that Christ and his Apostles had no passions at all, and justified the idolatry of pagans. If Clement is using Stoic language in which to commend Christian principles then this is something good. The second charge has been proved to be a misconstruction by Dr. Cave⁶² and others.⁶³ The third he maintains is a conclusion without premises to support it, "a false inference ... in contradiction to the whole tenor of Clement's teaching".⁶⁴ More general charges against Clement include a want of method and coherence and being full of declamation and mystical allusion, but a person must make allowances for the circumstances of the times and realise that methodical collections can be useful and have their proper commendation. Le Clerc, on whose views Barbeyrac relied, charges Clement with rigidity and remoteness from the contemporary. According to Waterland Le Clerc is prejudiced by his principles against the primitive Fathers,

... jealous of their reputation which he saw stood in his way, and much afraid of their superiority. His censure may be more an argument of the *present* degeneracy than Clement's austerity. Before blaming the ancients for a too strict morality, ... the need is for familiarity with the circumstances of the time, a diversity requiring the application of the same general rules, and prescribing as different a conduct.⁶⁵

(c) Barbeyrac's Claim

Barbeyrac pretends to have demonstrated clearly that the Fathers of the first six centuries were bad masters and poor guides in morality. In Waterland's view he has demonstrated nothing, making the point that there is an artificial confusion in throwing six centuries together. Waterland distinguishes between the later and the former times, pointing out that corruptions crept in gradually after the *world* crept into the Church. It is eminently clear in various works⁶⁶ which make it clear that the morals of that world were the admiration of the heathen. It is no commendation of modern morality to "set it at *variance* with primitive Christianity: to *differ* from that standard in anything material is to come *short* of it, supposing *circumstances* to be the same. Neither is want of *artificial* method any objection against the *ancients*, than against *Scripture* itself, the best ethics of any."⁶⁷ Quoting Dr. Wootton, in a treatise in which he intended to extol the *moderns*, and adjudge them the preference as often as he could, Waterland informs his reader that he took great care to give this testimony to *ancient* Christianity:

It is certain, that many of the ablest of the ancient Fathers were excellent casuists; as indeed every man who has a right judgement, and honest mind, and

a thorough acquaintance with the design of our blessed Saviour revealed in the Gospel, must of necessity be. And if at this distance many of their decisions seem over severe, there is as great at least (if not greater) reason to suspect, that the complaints nowadays raised against them may arise from our degeneracy, as from their unwarrantable strictness.⁶⁸

Church history is flatly contrary to the general character of the Fathers which Barbeyrac presents.

(d) Propagators of the Christian Religion

Barbeyrac thinks this title should be confined to the Apostles, (pp.26-27), but as Waterland claims, these Fathers may not have been as eminent as the apostles but they were without doubt as much propagators of Christianity. No one has ever attributed infallibility to the Fathers, but there is a wide distance between regarding them as infallible and representing them as bad masters and poor guides. Nevertheless, the reason why they are men of true piety and knowledge, in a greater sense than those of the tenth and eleventh centuries, is because they were tried and purified in persecution. Unlike Barbeyrac, Grotius was fed by the Fathers and greatly esteemed and valued them as his works testify, especially his *System of Morality*, that illustrates how he understood the valuable use of them for morality.⁶⁹ According to Waterland Barbeyrac's French edition of Grotius, has notes of correction on those passages in which Grotius esteems the Fathers, but he also condemns Grotius and the Fathers. Barbeyrac is indebted to Grotius and Puffendorf who profited by the Fathers, though his debt to the Fathers is at second or third hand. "But the first hand is undoubtedly the best; and if any man would expect ever to come up to Grotius, it must be, not merely by reading Grotius, but by reading as he read, and doing as he did."⁷⁰ In a footnote Dr. Wooton is quoted

Constant reading of the most perfect *modern* books, which does not go jointly with the *ancients* in their turns, will, by bring the *ancients* into disuse, cause the *learning* of the men of the next generation to sink; by reason that they, not drawing from those *springs* from whence those *excellent moderns* drew, whom they only propose to follow, nor taking those measures which these men took, must for want of that foundation which their *modern guides* first carefully laid, fail in no long compass of time.⁷¹

(e) Waterland's Conclusion

The inaccuracies and errors imputed to the Fathers by Barbeyrac, have not, claims Waterland, affected the preservation of the fundamental doctrines of religion and morality among Christians. The Fathers are given no credit for this. Waterland points out that the explication of fundamentals is left to a famous treatise of Le Clerc at the end of Grotius's *de Veritate Religionis Christianae* (AD.1709). His comment is that this work is loose and indefinite,

advocating the judging of important truths, not by the Word of God, soberly understood, nor by Catholic Tradition, nor by the reason of things, but by the floating humours and fancies of men;

... as if all Christian doctrines were to be expunged out of the list of *necessaries*, which have had the misfortune to be *disputed* among us, and a *short creed* to be made out of the remainder. That treatise ... takes no due care for preserving the vitals of Christianity; ... I presume one principal view was, to throw out the doctrine of the *Trinity* ; (though it might lead a great deal farther) and it was that consideration chiefly, which induced him, and many others, to vilify the *ancient Fathers* of the Christian Church.⁷²

Waterland's plea is, not that we view the Fathers without their mistakes and human failings, but that they are not blamed for errors not belonging to them, nor that the errors they committed are aggravated beyond reason, nor that because one offended they are collectively blamed. What is required is truth, justice, equity, candour and humanity.

(iv) J.J.Blunt's Response and *The Right Use of the Early Fathers*

The manner of Blunt's approach is quite different from The Believer and Waterland. His concern is to deal only with the accusations against the Ante-Nicene Fathers and to show that one great defect pervades Barbeyrac's reasoning throughout his treatise, *On the Morality of the Fathers*. That defect is his failure to take into account the *Peculiar character* of the times in which the Fathers lived, and it has arisen because he had not carefully read the writings of the Fathers for themselves and so failed thoroughly to form in his mind a full and correct impression of those times. He had been content, not with the texts, but with passages detached from the texts and gleaned from others at second-hand.

(a) Martyrdom

Blunt illustrates his point from the attitude of the Fathers to martyrdom and marriage, and especially of second marriage. He first answers⁷³ Barbeyrac's charge that Justin encouraged volunteering martyrdom,⁷⁴ Here Justin's purpose is to describe the kind of sufferings Christians were undergoing in Rome under Urbicus and why they are unwilling to lie to escape the punishment of death. Not only is the unlawfulness of suicide affirmed, but also the unlawfulness of saving life by telling a lie. The circumstances of Justin's case alter the whole complexion of Barbeyrac's argument while the same false accusation is easily refuted in those other Fathers. Clement of Alexandria⁷⁵ quoting Matt.X.23. interprets this to mean that Christians are to take care of themselves in persecution, and though Our Lord does not want Christians to flee from it as though it were an evil or for fear of death, they are not to be the cause of ill to anyone, themselves, the persecutor or the murderer. Perfection⁷⁶ is not to be equated with blind courage, but true bravery expresses itself in the person who takes with good courage whatever befalls him and differs from those self-styled martyrs who use the occasion for

themselves by throwing themselves in danger's way. Tertullian⁷⁷ makes the same point. Origen⁷⁸ also cautions those who would needlessly court martyrdom. A reading of Cyprian, whose own personal experience of persecution and his action within it, represents a spirit towards persecution and martyrdom that is common to the Fathers and discounts the accusation of Barbeyrac.⁷⁹ He sets an example by moving from Carthage when persecution is near, writing to his clergy⁸⁰ with directions in his absence,⁸¹ and waiting to be informed when it is safe to return.⁸² Such is the spirit of moderation in which the Fathers face martyrdom, so that contrary to Barbeyrac's accusation they were well aware of the duty of not throwing away their lives without reason.

Some of the language in which they speak of martyrdom could give the impression to one who had not read the Fathers, or read selections of them out of context, that there was an extravagant disregard for life, bringing the kind of censure we meet in Barbeyrac. It is, however, the language in which they speak of martyrdom which is extravagant rather than their attitude towards human life, yet a language consistent with the spirit of scriptural language. Tertullian⁸³ describes Christians as not being alarmed by the persecutions they have to suffer, and "a hardship we desire to suffer",⁸⁴ and martyrdom as a second Baptism.⁸⁵ Origen's language is similar in his *Exhortation to a Martyr*, where in encouraging two presbyters to stand fast in persecution⁸⁶ he speaks of the baptism of martyrdom and the cup of salvation.⁸⁷ Similarly with Cyprian there is language describing martyrdom as a baptism of blood.⁸⁸ There is in Scripture this same perception concerning martyrdom and persecution which harmonises with the spirit of Our Lord's words, "Can you be baptized with the Baptism I am baptized with?" Paul is ready to die for the name of the Lord Jesus and in the Book of Revelation encouragement is given to the Church in Smyrna.

Such familiarity with the circumstances in which the Fathers wrote and the context of their writing would be beyond Barbeyrac's perceptions, since he was not acquainted with them nor the critical times in which they lived, not having read them. It was a time when the value of the Martyr was of inestimable importance, instanced by Justin⁸⁹ for whom the attitude of these early Christians to suffering and death influenced him to become a Christian. Tertullian⁹⁰ claims that Christians are the only people who do not fear persecution and martyrdom, which bears its fruit as seen in Justin. Cyprian⁹¹ writes of the glory and blessing of martyrdom,⁹² speaking of the powerful effect it had on the cause of the Gospel. There was also the other side mentioned by Cyprian,⁹³ those who fell away when trials came, claiming that the name of God was merely a convention and it did not matter whether they called him Jupiter or whatever. It was natural that with numbers lapsing and apostatising, the martyr should be eulogised and praised. Reservation and caution are required of those in more peaceful times when tempted to make judgements

about the Fathers and their attitude to martyrdom, or they may fall into the error of Barbeyrac who has not read the context in which the Fathers wrote and therefore cannot understand the language he criticises.

(b) Marriage

Blunt⁹⁴ turns to the criticism of Athenagoras for disallowing second marriages. There are many places in the Fathers which seem to indicate in them a distaste for second marriages, without distinctions, a point already noted in relation to Waterland⁹⁵. Combined with these, are others which even commend abstinence from marriage altogether when it can be abstained from with continence, Blunt⁹⁶ argues that there was an objection among them to second marriages in general. While admitting that their arguments may not be valid today, Blunt affirms that there was a peculiarity in the people they were addressing and the times in which they wrote that caused such arguments to be differently appreciated. It was the circumstances of the times that coloured their sentiments on the question of marriage. St. Paul, whose views on marriage Barbeyrac censures as harsh, speaks of the present distress, circumstances of the times, which constrain them to think and speak of marriage, first or second, in the spirit they did. Barbeyrac, not having read the Fathers, again is unable to give sufficient consideration to this.

The passages he instances from Athenagoras turn upon these circumstances. Christians were continuously being slandered for debauchery, because their meetings were in secret. The Fathers' line of argument was to emphasize the demands of purity that the Gospel laid upon them, and in order to reinforce this they would point to those members of both sexes living in voluntary celibacy. It was natural that with such pressures upon them the Fathers would be concerned to stress continence, and as far as was consistent with the parties involved, celibacy rather than marriage, and one marriage rather than two. Such prudence was for the good of the Church in such circumstances. "The question was not whether celibacy in the abstract was a better estate than marriage, or one marriage better than two; but whether at that special crisis, the inculcation of such forbearance from a lawful indulgence was not wholesome."⁹⁷ The prevalence of persecution and its effects on all domestic relations was another factor, since age was not a protection, and therefore the Fathers would not want to encourage parental ties being multiplied when there was the threat of such violent disruption.⁹⁸ Barbeyrac is oblivious to this contextual framework of life in which these early Christians lived, and therefore what conditioned the statements of the Fathers and the style of living they embraced. His sentiments on celibacy would seem to have been inflamed by the prejudices of Protestantism and hence its reaction to convents and monasteries and the abuses of later historical situations than the wholesomeness of these early Christians living in the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. If he would but consider the context in which a Christian husband like Tertullian could write on

such matters of second marriages to his wife, he would discover why he should be concerned about her marrying again should he die, and particularly if that second husband not be a Christian it would lead to all sorts of compromises and difficulties.

(c) Trades and Idolatry

Barbeyrac charges Tertullian⁹⁹ with condemning every trade and profession that is of use to the pagans in carrying out their idolatrous worship, whatever the difficulties entailed in earning an alternative income. Such occupations create difficulties for Christians in identifying them as accomplices in fostering pagan worship, and Christian teachers having to teach stories about pagan gods and continue old-established pagan usages of the school. Tertullian is concerned that such trades should be renounced. In the same tract Tertullian condemns the profession of arms,¹⁰⁰ but again, it was because of the close contact it brought to idolatry in the swearing of military oaths by false gods, carrying the standard, a rival object of worship to Christ. Barbeyrac claims these were civil duties and therefore justifiable, but Tertullian's concern is to divert Christians away from pagan involvement, and places of seduction and brothels, which is quite a different matter from Barbeyrac's concern for the lawfulness of military service in the abstract. Again he is ignorant of the context. Similarly, in the matter of Christians becoming magistrates he is unaware as Tertullian¹⁰¹ is, concerning the compromises the trappings of such an office would make on the Christian, and the endless disputes between a pagan husband and Christian wife, a master and servant relationship, the oaths to pagan gods in law suits, necessary in law but an affront to conscience.

(d) Self-Defence

Barbeyrac finds the Fathers faulty on the matter of self-defence, to such an extent that they carry patience to such an extreme, as to be scarcely compatible with self-preservation. Blunt,¹⁰² after criticising the insufficient foundation of this charge, points out that when these Fathers wrote, the Christians were in a minority, surrounded by fierce enemies bent on their destruction. There only chance in such a dangerous situation was to be patient almost to the degree of non-resistance, the most effectual defence they could have. Blunt cites the essays of Tertullian and Cyprian on this virtue, which he points out were not philosophical works on *natural rights* in a time and situation where there was not the tranquillity for such speculation. They are take the form of homiletic teaching, so designed to encourage and strengthen these Christians in the dangers and persecutions of the times. Patience¹⁰³ was seen as the strengthener and Abel an illustration of patient suffering not as an argument subverting the natural right of self-defence. Similarly, with Tertullian *patience* "strengthens faith" ... "it rules the flesh" ... "it bridles the tongue" ... "it subdues temptations" ... "it consummates martyrdom" ... "it charms the believer" ... "it attracts the unbeliever" ...¹⁰⁴ In the risk and danger of the times Tertullian sees

how such a virtue can be positive in motivating how a Christian can respond to the dangers his witness for Christ might well attract.

(e) His Interpretation of I Timothy i.4.

Barbeyrac's interpretation of Paul's caution to Timothy against "giving heed to fables and endless genealogies," maintains, as Blunt claims,¹⁰⁵ dogmatically and of himself, that Paul was disapproving of the allegorizing spirit the Fathers adopted from the Jews, in cautioning Timothy against "giving heed to fables and endless genealogies. He seems unaware of the text being usually applied to the system of the Aeons of the Gnostic heretics, that Irenaeus is concerned to expose, and that this is the sense in which Irenaeus himself understands it. Evidence for this is provided by Irenaeus.¹⁰⁶ It is obvious from the way in which Barbeyrac overlooks all this that he is not conversant with the writings of Irenaeus apart from the few quotations he uses for his own argument.

In their different ways the Believer, Waterland, and Blunt have demonstrated by a right use of the Fathers; not only that it is obvious Barbeyrac had never read them, but also that it is from the Fathers themselves that he is to be judged and his argument defeated. It is the Fathers who speak in their own defence, and through those who have grasped the mind of the Fathers, and thereby are able to evaluate them positively and critically.

Indirect Objections and Responses

The indirect objections to the Fathers came in the form of fashionable movements of thought that were critical and dismissive of the received patristic doctrine in the credal formularies. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation were the primary targets, with destructive consequences for Church and Sacraments. These movements of thought with their indirect attack on the appeal to antiquity were, *Deism*, *Arianism*, and *Socinianism*.

(i) Deism

Deism, was more or less contemporaneous with the Revolution of 1688 and by 1790 Burke could speak of the deistic writers as already forgotten. The pivot of the controversy with *Deism* is the disputed question of the sufficiency of natural reason to establish religion and enforce morality. The philosopher Hobbes, though utterly opposed to the kind of natural religion which formulated itself as *Deism*, was, as much as any single writer, responsible in giving the impulse to religious speculation and helped to shake the old confidence in tradition, so that the influences of his writings were in the main negative, helping to sap the defences of authority. The influence of the Cambridge Platonists was a different element at work in the intellectual life of the nation in their desire to establish on rational grounds a Christian philosophy. Hence, their influence was more positive, accustoming the minds of men to the hope of finding in their own reason a judge, capable of bringing to an end the weary series of doubtful disputations over matters of faith.

Locke [1704], who was not a Deist, had an effect on the religious thought of his day he neither intended nor approved, and without his influence Deism would not have become as fashionable. His *Reasonableness of Christianity* [1695] laid down the lines along which the controversy was destined to move. It attempts to simplify the ancient faith, at first with an apologetic purpose, then with an increasing hostility, proposing a principle of discrimination between the supposed valuable and worthless elements of the Creed. The same pre-eminence is assigned to the ethical teaching of Christ and the same conception of Christianity as a moral philosophy and code of precepts is present, rather than as a power enabling the enfeebled will. Miracles and prophecy are treated as external evidences of the truth of Christianity and there is a conscious anxiety to discover a reconciliation between belief in the absolute impartiality of the Divine goodness and the position of privilege assigned to revealed religion. Such ideas, by no means new, are for the first time brought together in a combination that leads to a conclusion calling for the modification, and possibly the repudiation, of important elements in the hitherto accepted creed.

This thinking gave impetus to the deistic writers, among whom, John Toland, Anthony Collins and Matthew Tindal are representative names. Toland in 1696 published his *Christianity not Mysterious*, showing that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason nor above it, and that no Christian doctrine can properly be called a Mystery. Misinterpreting Locke, he equates reasonable with *not mysterious*. His concern is to enlarge the jurisdiction of reason and make it coextensive with the contents of revelation. His work had a critical influence on the comparative authority of reason and revelation, reason being arrogantly asserted as superior. In *Amyntor* [1699], he undermines the credit of Scripture by calling attention to a large mass of early Christian literature, and by suggesting surreptitiously that canonical and uncanonical writings alike were the offspring of superstition and credulity. Collins published his *Discourse of Free thinking occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect called Freethinkers*, reiterating the claim of reason to pronounce upon the contents of revelation. He went further than Toland in attempting to provide a theoretic justification of the claim to unlimited reason over the whole field of moral and religious speculation, claiming an unconditional liberty to pursue investigation and upon a conviction of individual capacity to discover the truth. His *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of Christian Religion* (1724), discards the question of the relative reasonableness or unreasonableness of the contents of the Christian Religion, turning to an enquiry into the credibility of prophecy and miracle. It was the beginning of that critical approach to the biblical documents, being a change of tack from inquiry into the fundamental truths of Christianity, to dispute over the credibility or integrity of the New Testament writers themselves. Matthew Tindal's best known work, *Christianity as old as the Creation*, or *The Gospel a Republication of*



George Bull D.D.
Late Lord Bishop of Exeter.
Engraved by W. Hill

the Religion of Nature (1730), brought to its logical conclusion the process initiated by Toland and Collins. His concern was to lay bare, plain and simple rules by which anyone might distinguish between religion and superstition. Like them he repudiated mystery and mere deference to authority, and insisted on the duty of every man to fashion his own religious belief for himself. This is possible because as he maintained, the ultimate truth of religion is a common constituent in all creeds. and not the exclusive property of revelation.

(ii) **The Context of George Bull's Response (1674-1710)**

(a) **The Godhead of the Son and *Defensio Fidei Nicaea***

Robert Nelson, the biographer of George Bull, records that several Arian and Socinian pieces published in Holland were distributed in England.¹ The writers presumed themselves able to maintain these doctrines against "the received Catholick Doctrine." The controversy centred around the Godhead of the Son, the Consubstantiality and Coeternity of the Son of God. Generally the Socinians saw the solution to the controversy residing in Scripture and Reason, rejecting the need for any patristic testimony. The Arians, however, disputed this omission of ancient patristic witness, boasting that the ancient Christian Fathers who lived before the Council of Nicaea were really on the side of Arius. The books of Sandius who defended Arianism as the true Catholick Doctrine on the testimony of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, were circulating among students of divinity without any antidote. The second edition of his *Kernel of Ecclesiastical History* was in circulation and was "bent upon persuading such readers as are unlearned, and have very little acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, that the ante-Nicene Fathers, without exception, simply held the same doctrine as Arius."² It was against the background of these controversies and the shallow Deism that was coming into fashion, that George Bull was persuaded to pen the much needed antidote in *Defensio Fidei Nicaea* (1685). In vindicating the Godhead of the Son Bull was also defending himself against the groundless charge of Socinianism, and demonstrating a consistency of belief in this doctrine among the Ante-Nicene Fathers and the Nicene Fathers that was derived from the Apostolical Age itself. A related concern was that if he could convince and confirm in his readers of the divinity of the Son then they might be brought to a right conviction concerning the divinity of the Spirit of God.

(b). **Petavius and Arian Opinions**

Impetus to Arian opinions was due partly to the arguments advanced by the Jesuit scholar Dionysius Petavius,³ "at whom I cannot sufficiently wonder," wrote Bull,⁴ because of his claim that almost all the bishops and Fathers before Nicaea held precisely the same opinions as Arius. On the basis of this Sandius and others claimed Petavius was an Arian and that their 17th century Arianism could claim the support of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. Bull⁵ claims that it is clear from the

writings of Petavius himself that such a conjecture of Sandius is entirely false. Petavius's aim was the promotion of the Papal interest rather than the Arian, Bull's argument being that in convicting almost all the Ante-Nicene catholic doctors of Arian error, Petavius in the first instance is demeaning the authority of these Fathers of the first three centuries to whom Reformed Catholics appealed, "as being persons to whom the principal articles of the Christian Faith were not as yet sufficiently understood and developed."⁶ Secondly, that Ecumenical Councils have the power of settling and developing new articles of faith, a principle that gives credence to the additions the Council of Trent "patched on to the rule of faith," though in no way could this ever be defined as a general council.

But so it is: the masters of that school have no scruples in building their pseudo-catholic faith on the ruins of the faith which is truly catholic. The divine oracles themselves, must, forsooth, be found guilty of so great obscurity, and the most holy doctors, bishops, and martyrs of the primitive Church be accused of heresy, in order that, by whatever means, the faith and authority of the degenerate Roman Church may be kept safe and sound. And yet these sophists (of all things) execrate us as if we were so many accursed Hams, and deriders and despisers of the venerable fathers of the Church; whilst they continually boast that they themselves religiously follow the faith of the ancient doctors, and reverence their writings to the utmost. That Petavius, however, wrote those writings with this wicked design, I would not venture to affirm for certain, leaving it to the judgement of that God who knoweth the hearts. At the same time, what the Jesuit has written, as it is most pleasing to modern Arians, (who on this account with one consent look up to and salute him as their patron,) so we confidently pronounce it to be repugnant to the truth, and most unjust and insulting to the holy fathers, whether those of the Council of Nice, or those who preceded it.⁷

Not only did the Arians attempt to include Petavius among their number, they made a similar charge against Curcellaeus the Protestant writer because of his *Preface to the Works of Episcopius*.

(c) Bull's Anxiety about Episcopius

Bull⁸ describes Episcopius as "a most learned theologian in all other respects but an utter stranger to ecclesiastical antiquity," who though he affirmed the pre-existence of the Son in opposition to Socinianism, inveighs against the Nicene Creed, and Creeds composed after the 3rd century which agreed with it.⁹ Bull's anxiety is that students reading his description that the Nicene Creed and those who framed and composed after the third century "precipitately framed from excitement, if not fury, and a maddened and unblessed party spirit, on the part of the bishops who were wrangling and contending with one another from excessive rivalry, rather than as what issued from composed minds",¹⁰ might get a mean opinion of those venerable Fathers and those who preceded and followed them. His concern is to wipe out such disparagement of the Fathers by statements from Constantine and Eusebius. Constantine, in his *Epistle to the Churches*, had

written, that in his presence as moderator of the Nicene Council, "every point had there received due examination", and to Church of Alexandria he had written that points of ambiguity and differences of opinion were tested and accurately examined. Eusebius, "an author of the utmost integrity", had also confirmed that the unanimous agreement to the Creed had not been drawn up hastily or inconsiderately but only after exact, deliberate, and careful investigation of each separate proposition.¹¹

(d). *Irenicum Irenicorum*

In *Irenicum Irenicorum*, the anonymous author proclaimed the Nicene Fathers as "the framers of a new faith", and seeks to prove this in his work by a collection of testimonies from the remains of the Ante-Nicene Fathers that appear to be inconsistent with the Nicene Creed. Curcellaeus described the book as containing "irrefragable testimonies and arguments." It was the identification of Curcellaeus with these writers in these particular sentiments that brought the charge of Arian against him, being accused by Maresius a hot Calvinist whom Nelson¹² describes as having a "personal pique against him". He accused him publicly of heresy in the Trinity and Incarnation, and in his *Anti-Tirinus* called him an anti-Trinitarian. Curcellaeus responded claiming he was no anti-Trinitarian challenging his adversary to prove where he had deviated from the Scriptural doctrine and the explication of it in the Fathers. He explained and defended himself by arguments and testimonies from Antiquity, "to which he was not such a stranger as his master Episcopius". Nevertheless, as Nelson goes on to point out, Curcellaeus was no less an enemy of the Council of Nicaea than Episcopius, for he asserted no more than a specified unity in the Divine Persons and defended the cause of Valentinus Gentilis, beheaded at Bern in Switzerland for Tritheism and claimed particular support in Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. Curcellaeus also accused what he called the modern and scholastical doctrine of the Trinity, of Sabellianism, as being inconsistent with Christ and the apostles, because it destroyed the notion of consubstantiality, as then currently understood in relation to the Father and the Son. Curcellaeus was also impatient of divine relations within the Godhead, and of such terms as generation, procession, modes of subsistence or personalities, or with mutual consciousness. His concern was to discard all terms and phrases not legitimated by the scriptural writers. The Godhead of the Son and the Holy Spirit were subordinate to the Father and the Son, a subordination unquestionable and supported by the evidence of the Primitive Church. Petavius, and the Author of the *Irenicum Irenicorum* were recommended as containing authentic testimonies from the patristic writings concerning these articles.

(e) Bull's Purpose

Bull sets out his purpose,

... to shew clearly that what the Nicene Fathers laid down concerning the divinity of the Son, in opposition to Arius and other heretics, was in substance (although perhaps sometimes in other words and in a different mode of expression) taught by all the approved Fathers and doctors of the Church without a single exception, who flourished before the council of Nice down from the very age of the Apostles.¹³

When Bull's work was published in 1685, his opponents, in the main, were not Englishmen, anti-Trinitarian opinions in Britain having as yet no prominent advocates, being, as Van Mildert¹⁴ styles them in his *Life of Waterland*, 'importers of foreign novelties.' Nevertheless, his work anticipated theological trends that were to find expression in 17th century English theology through Dr. Bury's *Naked Gospel* (Oxford.1690) which advocated Arianism and Dr. Sherlock the Dean of St. Paul's who published his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever-Blessed Trinity* during that same year. Sherlock was influenced by the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth, an opponent of religious dogmatism, but the work was condemned by Robert South in *Animadversions on Sherlock's Vindication* (1690) and *Tritheism Charged* (1695), the latter title pinpointing the charge. The Vice-Chancellor and heads of Oxford houses condemned it as 'false, impious and heretical, contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and especially of the Church of England, to say "that there are three infinite, distinct minds and substances in the Trinity, or that the three Persons are three distinct infinite minds or spirits."¹⁵

(iii). **Bull's *Defensio***

Bull's *Defensio* is a work in four books, the publication in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology being in two parts, each book expounding a principal pillar of the Catholic doctrine concerning Christ.

(a). **Book I *On the Pre--existence of the Son***

The pre-existence of Christ is maintained against the Socinians, the Arians, Sabellians, and the Tritheists, that as Son of God he pre-existed before his birth of the Virgin and before the world was. This is the unanimous doctrine of all the Fathers of the first three centuries and is not denied by the Arians. Against the Socinians he proves that all the divine apparitions in the Old Testament are explained concerning the Son of God in the testimonies of Justin, Irenaeus, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian. This continued to be the Catholic doctrine after the Council of Nicaea as testified in Athanasius, Hilary, Philastrius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Leo the Great and Theodoret. Then he proves the existence of the divine logos and his part in creation from the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers and others. He goes on to prove, against the Arians, that they betray their own cause by positing the Father to have created all things by his own Son out of nothing. It is impossible for a creature, which is

itself made out of nothing, as they attribute in the creation of God's Son, to have such a power communicated to it if it is less than infinite. The testimony of the primitive Fathers, even before Arius, is that God created the world by nothing that was without him but, but by his Word only, which was with him and in him.

(b). **Book II *On the Consubstantiality of the Son***

His divine Consubstantiality is defended against the Arians, that as Son of God he was not of any created or changeable essence, but of the very same nature as God his Father, being therefore rightly called, very God of very God, of one substance with the Father. In modern sociological jargon, Consubstantiality would be described as a "hinge issue", being that upon which the whole controversy between Nicaeans and Arians turns, yet interestingly enough it is Bull's way of describing it.¹⁶ Before dealing with the patristic evidence he first turns to a vindication and expounding of the term ὁμοούσιος, 'of one substance', which was placed by the Nicene Fathers in their Creed.¹⁷ In chapter 2,¹⁸ beginning with the Apostolic Fathers he expounds the understanding of consubstantiality in Barnabas, Hermas, and Ignatius, clearing Clement of Rome and Polycarp from the misrepresentations of Zwickerus, the author of the *Irenicum*, and Sandius.¹⁹ He then begins his testimony from Justin,²⁰ with this Father's censure of those who deny "that the Father of all things has a Son, who, being also the first-born Word of God, is also God."²¹ Irenaeus's testimony occupies the fifth chapter²² and in chapter six Clement of Alexandria is defended against the accusations of Platonizing by Petavius, the making of the Son inferior to the Father by Peter Huet²³ and Arianism by Sandius. Tertullian's doctrine is then shown to be coincident with the Nicaean²⁴ followed by the presbyter Caius and Hippolytus.²⁵ Origen, especially from his work against Celsus, is then woven into the argument²⁶ which is followed by the testimonies²⁷ of Cyprian, Novatian, and those of Theognostus, before citing the sentiments of Dionysius of Rome and Dionysius of Alexandria.²⁸ Gregory Thaumaturgus²⁹ further confirms Nicene doctrine and the letter of the six bishops who wrote to Paul of Samosata³⁰ when he denied the divinity of Christ, along with testimony from Pierius, Pamphilus, Lucian and Methodius and some passages from Arnobius and Lactantius.

(c). **Book III *The Coeternity of the Son***

Book III, in Part II, takes up his third thesis, the coeternity of the Son.

For He who is truly and properly God, and is begotten of the substance of God, must necessarily possess all the peculiar attributes of God, infinity, immensity, eternity, omnipotence, the being uncreated, and unchangeable, with those other properties without which true Godhead cannot subsist.³¹

The point is made that though the ancient writers expressed themselves differently on this matter, the greater part of them before Nicaea did teach his co-eternal existence with the Father. Some

writers who ante-dated the Nicene Council give the impression of attributing a certain Nativity to the Son as God, and preceding the creation of the world. As Bull points out, these writers speak not of a real Nativity, but of a figurative and metaphorical one and therefore in no way can they be accused of Arianism.³² His next and third proposition is that certain Fathers who lived after the Arian controversy and were completely opposed to it, were consistent in holding the doctrine of the aforementioned fathers or,

the mode in which they held their view. For they themselves also acknowledged that going forth of the Word, who existed always with God the Father, from the Father, (which some of them called his *συγκαταβασις*, that is, His condescension,) in order to create this universe; and confessed that, with respect to that going forth also, the Word Himself was, as it were, born of God the Father, and is in the Scriptures called the First-born of every creature.³³

Bull, regarding their case to be peculiar, concludes his third book with a discussion of Tertullian and Lactantius³⁴ concerning the charge that they had denied the co-eternity of the Son. Tertullian lapsed into heresy so there is a difficulty in establishing in what state he was when some of his works were written. Acknowledging Tertullian's express statement, "that there was a time when the Son of God was not", Bull claims that Tertullian used this statement problematically, in a characteristic way of argument peculiar to Tertullian and here by way of disputation with Hermogenes. As Nelson summarises it,

so as though he may seem absolutely to deny the Son's eternity, yet all the while he doth mean no more at the bottom, than those other Fathers, that have been before mentioned, namely, that that Divine Person who is called the Son of God, notwithstanding that he never but existed with the Father, was yet then first declared to be the Son, when he proceeded forth from the Father, in order to make or constitute the Universe, certain it is, that the same Tertullian elsewhere, in many places philosophizeth altogether as a good catholic, concerning the Son's co-eternity; the Supereminency of the Subject considered.³⁵

Lactantius, Bull dismisses as a rhetorician rather than a theologian, being little acquainted with the Holy Scriptures and the doctrine of the Church, and so fell into the most absurd errors,"as would scarcely be excusable in a catechumen."³⁶

But moreover we must necessarily conclude that those writings, that either those places in the writings of Lactantius, which seem to make against the Son's eternity, were corrupted by some Manichaean heretic, or else that Lactantius himself was certainly infected with the heresy of Manes. And after all, it must be owned, that even he too hath yet somewhere delivered a sounder opinion concerning the eternity of the Logos. All which particulars, our Author hath distinctly considered in the last chapter of this third section.³⁷

Bull concludes that it is clearly true what Sissinius declared concerning the doctrine of the doctors of the Church who flourished before the Arian controversy and stated in Socrates.³⁸ "The

ancients studiously avoided attributing a beginning of existence to the Son of God; for they understood him to be co-eternal with the Father."³⁹

(d). **Book IV *On the Subordination of the Son to the Father***

In Book IV Bull takes up the thesis concerning the subordination of the Son in which he sets down three propositions. Chapter One states that the catholic doctors before and after Nicaea approved the decree of that Council that the Son of God is God of God, and that He has the same divine nature in common with the Father but subordinately, in that it is communicated from the Father, the Father alone having that divine nature from himself, thereby being the Original and Principle of divinity which is in the Son. The same Fathers unanimously declared⁴⁰ God the Father to be greater than the Son, not by nature or essential perfection, but only by Fatherhood, the Father being the Author. The third proposition, the doctrine of the subordination of the Son to the Father as to his "*Origination*" and "*Principiation*", was seen by the Fathers as safeguarding the God-head of the Son, the unity of God and the preserving inviolate of the divine monarchy. The divine monarchy and subordination of the Son in the Blessed Trinity means that there is no lessening of the consubstantiality or coeternity of the Son and Spirit with the Father.

(iv) **Bull's *Judicium Ecclesiae Catholicae***

A second work *Judicium Ecclesiae Catholicae* (1694) was written against those who, professing themselves to believe the truth of the Nicene doctrine, argued that nevertheless after the example (as they alleged) of the ante-Nicene Church an acceptance of that truth should not be made one of the terms of church communion; and that consequently the Nicene Council though right as the doctrine defined, was unjustified in adding an anathema to the decision. Again Bull conducts an elaborate examination of the ante-Nicene history and literature.

(v) **Bull's Distinctive Use of the Appeal to Antiquity**

Bull's distinctive application of the appeal to antiquity lay in the way he used it to counter the contemporary movements of thought in the Arianism and Unitarian expression of Socinianism that were bent on minimising the historic creeds. As McAdoo points out,

For Bull orthodoxy was not so much a primal dogmatic formulation as the original deposit which was safeguarded and preserved by the form taken in the affirmation of the creeds ... the issue involved was not that 'the old is better,' but that the tendency of certain moderns was to whittle down what Bull and those who agreed with him regarded as irreducible.⁴¹

McAdoo goes on to say that it was not a simple matter of comparison between the welcoming attitude to modernity of the Latitudinarians and that of Bull. What was in question were two different manifestations of modernity, one hostile and the other not apparently so.

The one hinged on historical theology which was being called in question, and the other on reason which was being jubilantly heralded as the common ground of science and religion. In the one case a specifically theological situation had to be dealt with, while in the other, it was more a matter of preliminary adjustment and of preliminary soundings.

So Bull was,

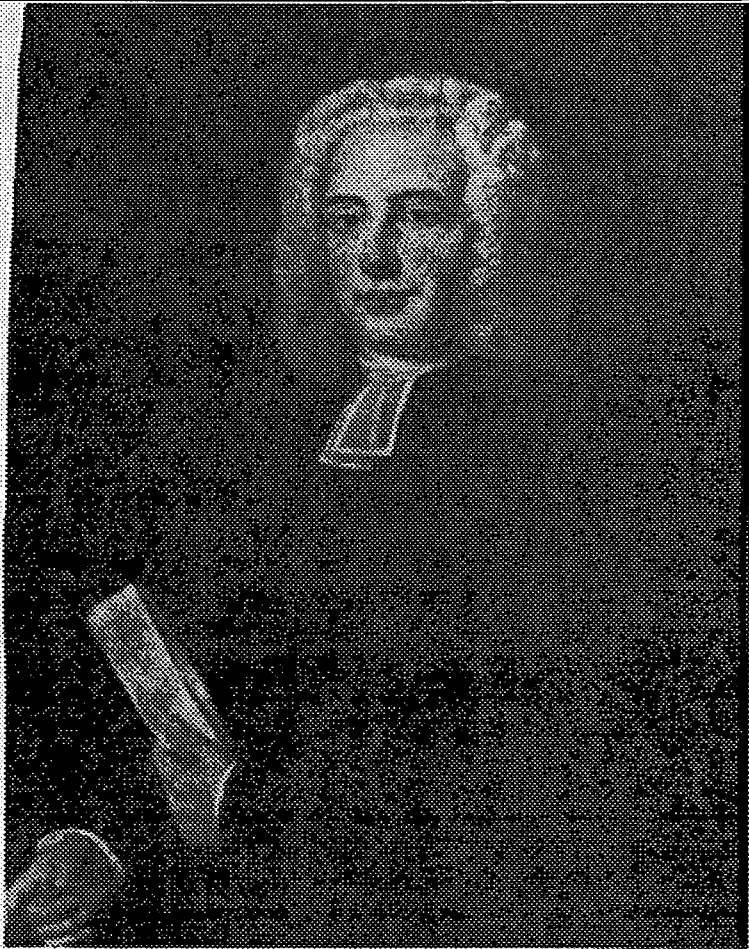
... tied to a specific situation, that of the defence of fundamentals in the terms of the Nicene faith. As he saw it the situation admitted of no relaxation of the argument and he pressed home the conclusions of his researches into the writings of the fathers as much against the moderate latitude of Episcopius as against the more radical interpretations of the evidence by other writers. Undeviating in his adherence to this line, Bull handles the opinions of others honestly and critically but always paying tribute to genuine learning wherever he meets it. His work remains an example of that exact use of sources and thoroughness of investigation with which theology can never afford to dispense. Not only his own Church acknowledged a debt to a writer who described himself as an exile from the commonwealth of letters but whose careful scholarship informed his own judgement and set a standard for the work of others.⁴²

Commenting on the translator F.Holland's introduction to the 1730 edition of *The Works of George Bull*, and his 'account of this way in writing, of appeals to antiquity', McAdoo⁴⁴ sees something of more significance than an eighteenth century flavour and the later Latitudinarian attitude that "adds piquancy to his approval of the appeal to antiquity." This significance lies in the fact that,

... he represents that solid Anglicanism of the times in that he grasps, as does Waterland, the importance of the relationship between the three elements for theological method. Awareness of this essential proportion of theology persisted through the eighteenth century in spite of the growth of the partisan approach and in fact it never really disappeared.

After the Evangelical and Tractarian revivals it gradually re-emerged and,

... began to clothe itself once more with life and with relevance as the increasing complexity of the human scene made ever-growing demands for a faith 'that was not afraid to reason nor ashamed to adore'. Firmly based on the primacy of Scripture and on the finality of fundamentals, reaching back to antiquity as to a living source of continuity of faith and order, it had and has a creed to offer and a liberality of outlook and a freedom of movement for the human spirit which is not only its attraction but its truth. The two great movements of the nineteenth century contributed much that was invaluable to Anglicanism, and it is probably the case that those contributions could not have been made effectively, after the deadness of the late eighteenth century, without the aid of what may be called in rough terms party theology. But it also seems to be the case that in difficult times during the seventeenth century the spirit of Anglicanism was coping with a variety of equally pressing problems from a more stable centre when it held the three elements of theological method in proportion. Later history from the time of *Lux Mundi* onwards suggests that this is indeed its vocation, for nothing less answers the whole need or goes to meet the situation in anything like its entirety.⁴⁴



DANIEL WATERLAND

Disciplined by King, successor of the Master and Father

(vi) **Daniel Waterland's Response 1683-1740**

(a) **English Arians**

In England the two divines identified as Arian were William Whiston, Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge and his friend Dr. Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's Piccadilly. Whiston published his *Primitive Christianity Revived*, teaching what he described as "Eusebian" doctrine, but choosing the less orthodox Eusebius of Nicomedia as the exponent of the true tradition of Christian doctrine rather than Eusebius of Caesarea. He also put out a revised form of the liturgy, from which he cut out all the "Athanasian" doctrine, leaving only bare "Unitarianism". In 1712 Clarke, who was the real champion of sub-Trinitarian belief, published his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, citing 1257 texts, declaring the Father alone supreme, the Son divine only so far as divinity is communicable by the supreme God, and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Father and the Son, not in order only, but also in dominion and authority. Apparently of the fifty-five propositions advanced by Clarke there was only one to which an ancient Arian could not have subscribed. Their objections to the catholic doctrine of the Trinity was derived from certain texts which isolated from the Bible as a whole might be interpreted in an Arian way. For example a question raised was whether all power was given to Christ, (Matthew XXVIII. 18), and that all things were put under subjection under his feet after his Resurrection (Ephesians I. 22.) if he were Lord long before ? The book was long regarded as a kind of text-book of modern Arianism, and led to the same conclusion as Whiston. The Father alone is the one supreme God, the Son defined as being divine but only in so far as divinity is communicable by this supreme God, but the Holy Spirit is inferior to the Father and the Son, not only in order but in dominion and authority. The chief supporters of this new *Arianism* were Dr. Whitby and the Revd. John Jackson the Rector of Rossington and Vicar of Doncaster. Though Clarke's work was condemned by Convocation in 1714, the dispute was not silenced.

In his *Vindication* Waterland's response is to affirm that the *Logos*, was from the beginning Lord over all, but the *God-Man*, (Θεοῦ φρῶπος, was not until after the Resurrection. In that capacity as the God-Man, he received what he has always enjoyed in another, that is full power in both natures, which he had until this moment only received in *one*. The passage on which they tried to turn the whole argument was I Corinthians VIII. 6. which in their interpretation expressly excluded the Son from being one with the Supreme God, and according to Clarke, is Pauline doctrine which the Trinitarians had falsified. Waterland's response is to turn the accusation of falsification on the *Arians*, pointing out that it is the orthodox who make the Son

essentially the same God with the one, thereby preserving the oneness of divinity in the union of Persons. It is Dr. Clarke's school who make two Gods, and in a relative sense *God to us*, who corrupt St. Paul's doctrine. For the orthodox there is a reason why the Son is included in the Godhead, because being essentially of the same divine nature he is intimately united to the Father, but also why any creature should not be excluded from being God is strange. A series of sermons was published by Waterland, and these are in the second volume of his *Works*, where in the preface he states that they are a "Supplement to my Vindication of Christ's divinity", in which his concern is to avoid repetition but for the most part to enlarge on what had been only briefly hinted. His concern is consistent with the *Vindication*, in being to 'justify our belief in *Christ Jesus* as a *Divine Person, coequal and coeternal* with God the Father', three of which are concerned with St. John's prologue.

To turn from Scripture to antiquity, and to the opinion of the ante-Nicene Fathers, the preceding discussion has demonstrated how thorough was the work of George Bull in presenting this data, to which Waterland was the heir and successor. In the light of Bull's work, no Arian, ancient or modern, could claim the support of the Fathers. In claiming patristic support for their theory, the issue turns again on the *right use of the Fathers*, so that Waterland's task is to demonstrate how the Dr. Clarke school of thought have deprecated the value of the patristic evidence to confirm their theory. Waterland therefore sets out to demonstrate what is and what is not the true character of the appeal to antiquity, how the Fathers are certain proofs in many cases of the Church's doctrine in that age, and probable proofs of what that doctrine was from the beginning, while setting the appeal to antiquity in its right relationship not only to Scripture but also to reason.

(b). The Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity

Though various opponents including Dr. Wells attacked Clarke's book, for its lack of any method of discerning the true sense of Scripture, as well as flying in the face of Creeds and patristic testimony, it was Daniel Waterland [1683-1740] who responded to the dispute as the champion of orthodoxy and with the most comprehensive of the whole question. In the image in which he is depicted in his portrait which hangs in Magdalene College, Cambridge, the former Master holds in his left hand a paper inscribed with the words, '*Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, ' and is a graphic reminder of a divine whose life was devoted to the championing of orthodoxy. It was this work he published in answer to Jackson in 1719 when he was Archdeacon of St. Alban's and in the long battle of the pamphlets which followed, Waterland was conspicuous alike for basing his doctrine on Scripture alone and for the respect he showed for the Fathers. It has been said that if there had been no Bull there would have been no Waterland. The work of Bull was therefore essential in enabling Waterland to make his own distinctive contribution, but it was a

dispute which marks the close of the age when the Fathers were confidently appealed to in theological disputes.

... It was not an age in which the authority of the Fathers was much considered. There was a strong tendency to assume that all the Church History that mattered began with the Reformation, or even 1688. The Patristic and Middle Ages were dismissed as "Popery" and the Arians claimed that they were returning to a pure and primitive belief.⁴⁵

Such a disregard for the Fathers was by no means lacking in the theological method of Waterland. Van Mildert pointed out that the principles of Waterland's use of ecclesiastical antiquity with respect to controversies of faith, "are laid down with great precision: the extremes of irreverent disregard, on the one hand, and of undue confidence on the other, being carefully avoided."⁴⁶ As Waterland himself points out,

There is no occasion for magnifying antiquity at the expense of Scripture; neither is that the way to do real honour to either, but to expose both; as it is sacrificing their reputation to serve the end of novelty and error. Antiquity ought to attend as an handmaid to Scripture, to wait upon her as her mistress, and to observe her; to keep off intruders from making bold with her, and to discourage strangers from misrepresenting her. Antiquity in this ministerial view, is of great use.⁴⁷

The point he makes, against those whose concern is for a modern corrupt church than for the pure and ancient faith, is, that for Anglicanism it is antiquity superadded to Scripture that we sincerely value and pay a great regard to, for this is the way of St. Athanasius and St. Basil. They appealed to Scripture first, speaking for itself, and proving its own sense to the common reason of mankind, according to the just rules of grammar and criticism. Then they referred to the well known faith of all the ancient churches, as "superabundantly confirming the same rational and natural construction."⁴⁸ Waterland is arguing against a certain gentleman, Dr. Clarke, who insinuates that the sense which the Trinitarians affix to Scripture is not natural, but made to appear so and pleads for imposing a sense upon Scripture instead of taking one from the natural force of the words. Waterland insists that the manner of Scriptural interpretation by the Trinitarians is just and natural, and that one great use of antiquity is to guard the natural construction against unnatural distortions. His point is that to do violence to Scripture in order to bring it to speak what we have a mind to, or what we have preconceived, is making Scripture insignificant, and setting up a new rule of faith.

He then makes eight points concerning this use of ecclesiastical antiquity:-

1. *The ancients*, who lived nearest to apostolical times are of some use to moderns

as contemporary writers, throwing light on the true import of *Scriptural words and phrases*.

2. They illuminate *ancient rites and customs* and upon which true Scriptural interpretation may depend.
3. The ancient Fathers give us an insight into the *history of the age* in which the New Testament was written.
4. With an authority rooted in authentic testimony and living in apostolical times, they might retain some *memory* of what the Apostles themselves or their immediate successors thought and said, enabling us to fix the *sense of Scripture* in controverted texts. Such considerations serves as "an useful check upon any new interpretations of Scripture affecting the main doctrines." Equally, they may be extended to establish what doctrines are really *necessary and true*.
5. His fifth point is the argument from tradition. The *Public Acts* of the ancient Church, in *Creeds used in Baptism, censures* passed upon heretics, and the observable *harmony* and *unanimity* of the several churches in such acts adds force to the argument. It was quite unreasonable to suppose that several churches would all unite in the same errors, corrupting the doctrine of Christ and deviating uniformly from their rule at once.
6. The charismata of the early Church is stressed as a sixth point, citing Irenaeus, Justin,⁴⁹ St. Paul,⁵⁰ Tertullian,⁵¹ the visible presence of the Spirit residing in the Church being further proof of the doctrine then generally held.
7. The sense of the sense of the ancients once known is a useful check upon any new interpretations of Scripture affecting the *main* doctrines. Waterland⁵² sees this as having a *negative* voice and sufficient reason for rejecting *novel* expositions the *ancients* universally rejected or never admitted.
8. His final point is that what the *ancients* allowed as *necessary* must be safe doctrine, because if they fell into *fundamental* errors it would be failing in *necessaries*.

These considerations taken together Waterland sees as a *positive* argument to prove that what the ancients held as true and important, (Scripture in its easy natural sense being in agreement), should be accepted by us as Scripture doctrines. This use of *ecclesiastical antiquity* was, with Scripture and Reason, an essential ingredient in Waterland's theological approach, enabling him to take such a comprehensive view of the whole Trinitarian controversy, and respond not only to Dr. Clarke, but also to Dr. Whitby, Mr Arthur Sykes and the Revd. John Jackson, who

had involved themselves on the side of Arianism. J.H.Overton describes Waterland's response as 'a masterly and luminous exposition, the equal to which it would be difficult to find in any other author, ancient or modern.'⁵³ It will be sufficient to indicate the main points at issue in the dispute.

(c) **Dr. Clarke's School of Thought**

The issues of the debate as already stated are in Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine* and Waterland's *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*.⁵⁴ Dr. Clarke's school of thought, being concerned with what they describe as *Scripture doctrine*, claimed that in the Bible the worship of God is appointed to one being, that is, to the Father *personally*. Worship to Christ is of a different kind, to that of a mediator, and as such cannot possibly be paid to the one supreme God. Such titles and powers ascribed to the Son by the New Testament are consistent with reserving the supremacy of absolute and independent dominion to the Father alone. Neither the Son nor the Spirit ever have attributed to them the highest titles of God. Therefore the *subordination* of the Son is *real*, in terms of authority and dominion over the universe. The use of the Nicene Fathers' term *homoousios* did not mean one identical substance binding three intelligent agents in the same individual. Scripture does not express the doctrine in these words, therefore the difficulty of understanding a Scripture doctrine should not rest wholly upon words not found in Scripture. So the question is not how three persons can be one God, but how and in what sense, consistently with everything that is affirmed in Scripture about Father, Son and Holy Spirit, it can be claimed as true and certain that there is but 'one God the Father'. One of the outstanding features of this controversy is that this 18th century Arian school of thought believed they were Bible Christians, and regarded the orthodox formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity as the result of the incursion of Greek metaphysics, but Clarke avoided the extremes of this position because he thought most of the Ante-Nicene authors were on his side in the matter of the Son's subordination to the Father.

For Waterland the real question at issue was the explicit tritheism in Clarke's exposition of the Trinity. To explain Christ's divinity as analogous to the royalty of a petty prince in subordination to a supreme monarch makes not only two kings, but two Gods, a superior and an inferior. Furthermore, only to allow him a relative omniscience is saying that while he knows all things he is ignorant of many things, and the ascription to him of what Waterland terms a 'negative eternity', because we know of no time when he was not, is no eternity at all, and might equally be said of angels. To deny consubstantiality and coeternity makes one an Arian. Clarke's school of thought then drew a distinction between the supreme sovereign worship due to the Father alone, and a relative, inferior worship which was due to the Son and the Spirit. Waterland points out that Scripture knows of no such distinction and that all religious worship is determined by Scripture and antiquity to be what is called absolute and sovereign.

... in some sense everything must be referred to the Father, as the first Person, the head and fountain of all. But this does not make two worships, supreme and inferior; being all but one acknowledgement of one and the same essential excellency and perfection, considered primarily to the Father, and derivatively in the Son; who though personally distinguished, are in substance undivided, and essentially one.⁵⁵

He then points out that Scripture and antiquity generally say nothing of a supreme God, because they acknowledge no inferior God. This was the language used by pagans and borrowed and used by Christian writers, as was the whole notion of 'mediatorial worship' which the Arians borrowed from the pagans and handed on. To Waterland's accusation of Arianism they protested with the point that they were not making Christ a creature, which in a direct sense this may well be so. However, the consequences of reducing Christ to a dependence on the Father in existence and power, neither perfect in nature nor exalted in privileges, with the Father having a power to create another equal or superior, means that "He who was in the beginning with God and through whom all things were made," cannot be anything more than a creature. When the *consubstantiality*, the *proper divinity*, and the *co-eternity*, are denied, there is no middle ground between Arianism and Orthodoxy. Waterland remarked that even 'sober Arians' would condemn Clarke, because while they justified the worship of Christ from reasons antecedent to his Incarnation, his being God before the world, and Creator of the world in his own power, Clarke's school justified it on certain powers being given to Christ after his Resurrection. He saw in Clarke a confusion of thought, his use of *substance of the Father*, when he really meant *hypostasis*, or *person*. Hypostasis is incommunicable, and there is no need for his argument to prove what no one had denied, a subordination in some sense of the Son to the Father, a subordination of Person, not of nature.⁵⁶ Here in Waterland is an excellent exposition of patristic doctrine.

Clarke's emphasis was on *Scripture doctrine*, grounding his objections against the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity in certain texts, which taken by themselves might seem to favour the Arian view. Waterland rested his case on Scripture as he interpreted it, on the patristic understanding of Scripture and on the weakness of Clarke's argument in "putting an Arian construction upon Catholic expressions,"⁵⁷ or "giving an uncatholic meaning to Catholic expressions"⁵⁸ The opinion of the Ante-Nicene Fathers had been adequately handled by Bull, and though the Clarke school of thought, like their Continental counterparts, might see some confirmation of their views in these early Fathers, Bull has made clear their depreciation of such patristic evidence to reach such conclusions. Therefore Waterland's concern is to establish in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity, what is and what is not the true character of the appeal to

antiquity. In relation to Scripture the Fathers are to be confirmatory of scriptural doctrine rather than additional to it, having no authority in themselves but only as testimony to such doctrine.

The Fathers are certain proofs in many cases of the Church's doctrine in that age, and probable proofs when compared with plain Scripture proof; of no moment if Scripture is plainly contrary, but of great moment when Scripture looks the same way, because they help to fix the true interpretation in disputed texts. Waterland, however, would build no article of faith on the Fathers, but on Scripture alone. If the sense of Scripture be disputed, the concurring sentiments of the Fathers in any doctrine will be generally the best and safest comments on Scripture, just as the practice of courts and the decisions of eminent lawyers are the best comments on an Act of Parliament made in or near their own times, though the obedience of subjects rests solely on the laws of the land as its rule and measure.⁵⁹

Therefore he justifies against his opponents the necessity of unscriptural words, pointing out that,

The most useful words for fixing the notion of distinction, are person, hypostasis, subsistence, and the like: for the divinity of each Person, *ομοουσιος, αγενητος* eternal, uncreated, immutable, etc. For their union, *περιχωρησις*, interior generation, procession, or the like. The design of these terms is not to enlarge our views, or to add anything to our stock of ideas; but to secure the plain fundamental truth, that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are all strictly divine and uncreated; and yet are not three Gods, but one God. He that believes this simply, and in the general, as laid down in Scriptures, believes enough ...⁶⁰

At the same time, as R.T.Holtby⁶¹ points out in his study of *Daniel Waterland*, his view was that Clarke had not only confused 'being' and 'person' but had also taken away the issue of Christ's divinity from Scripture and made it a matter of natural reason, whereas in truth it was to be settled *a posteriori* on the ground of Divine revelation. Nevertheless, "...this respect for the opinion of antiquity in no way involved any compromise with the leading idea of all eighteenth century theology, that it should follow the guidance of reason. Reason was by no means to be sacrificed to the authority of the fathers."⁶²

(d) In Conclusion

In conclusion, let Waterland's⁶³ own words sum up his integrated theological method.

... as to authority, in the strict and proper sense I do not know that the Fathers have any over us; they are all dead men; therefore we urge not their authority but their testimony, their suffrage, their judgement, as carrying great force of reason. Taking them in here as lights or helps is doing what is reasonable and using our own understandings in the best way.

"I follow the Fathers as far as reason requires and no further; therefore, this is following our own reason."⁶⁴ He maintained that antiquity means three or a little more centuries⁶⁵ and the Church is under the direction of Scripture and antiquity taken together, one as the rule and the other as the pattern or interpreter.⁶⁶ This is consistent with Article VI, for "We allege not Fathers as *grounds*,

or principles, or foundations of our faith, but as witnesses, and as interpreters, and faithful conveyors."⁶⁷

The central issues writes Holtby,⁶⁸ were "wholly a matter of Biblical scholarship". He points out that Clarke's exegesis was better than Waterland's and his comments on the texts more convincing, both maintaining "Scripture-doctrine" sufficient as well as the theory of plenary inspiration.

The strength of Waterland's position, however, and the reason for its ultimately more satisfactory character, was its greater theological insight. In stressing the importance of the writings of Antiquity as witnesses to 'Scripture-doctrine' (though no doubt he exaggerated the unanimity of the Fathers and underestimated the flexibility of expressions of Christian doctrine in their age), he safeguarded the fundamentals of orthodox teaching on the Trinity, for the patristic writers had formulated 'truths of Revelation' systematically and clarified the implications of New Testament doctrine. Waterland indeed had a much livelier sense than Clarke of the Church, not only as the community which had given birth to the New Testament but also as the divinely appointed society in which the truths of 'Scripture-doctrine' were apprehended. He was wrong to see a fully developed Trinitarianism in the New Testament: he was right to see in Clarke's scheme a threat to the religion of the New Testament.⁶⁹

His estimate of the value of Antiquity guarded his position and, at the same time left untouched the fundamental presupposition that the Biblical *data* constitute the ground of all doctrine. As Overton commented, "Among the many merits of Waterland's treatment of the subject, this is by no means the least - that he pins down his adversary and all who hold the same views in any age to the real question at issue."⁷⁰

In being a true successor to George Bull, Waterland stands in that great tradition of Anglican divines that link him with Hooker and Andrewes, and his reverence for Antiquity is more characteristic of the seventeenth than the eighteenth centuries. For the last twenty-five years of his life he was the only outstanding Anglican theologian to cite the Fathers as authoritative witnesses to the sense of Scripture. Weaknesses there were in his theology, not so much in the limitations implicit in his biblical literalism, but in his lack of any effective understanding of doctrinal development, stemming from his unsatisfactory understanding of Revelation as something given in propositional form.

The most fitting final comment on Waterland is that he was through and through a Church of England man and that he stands in a line of distinguished Anglican theologians. His lasting contribution to the corpus of Church of England theology are his works on the Sacraments and on the Athanasian Creed, but in all his work, including that which most patently bears the mark of contemporary controversy, he writes in a spirit which is recognisably Anglican, and with the presuppositions which create that spirit. 'The case depends upon Scripture, antiquity and reason', is a statement which in some measure exemplifies this distinctive spirit, but the Anglican ethos does not easily admit of precise definition. Sufficient is it to

suggest that Waterland may worthily claim an honoured place between such distinguished representatives of the Anglican tradition as Hooker and Westcott.⁷¹

Like them his zeal for the primitive faith and doctrine not openly epitomises his work but informs the ardour of his faith and his sense of divine grace.

Epilogue

This thesis is more than a mere catalogue of controversies that happened at a particular time in the history of Anglicanism within the wider context of the Western Church. For while the material is in one sense historical, in another sense it is of more than historical significance. In the divines of sixteenth and seventeenth century England, in Reformer and Caroline, what is being made present in England is the spirit and the substance of that catholic vision of the mystery of Christ which characterises those early centuries of the primitive Church in East and West. Thereby are we enabled to understand more fully the particular characteristics which mark the Anglican tradition we have received. Despite the discontinuities of their time these divines are aware of the continuity and wholeness of the Church's tradition in which they lived and for which they worked. Their aim and purpose was to be representatives of the Christian tradition in all its fullness, organic wholeness and unbroken unity. Hence, what we find in their understanding of continuity is no mere mechanical concept, but continuity as a dynamic and living transmission of certain living qualities of faith and order.

Therefore the principle upon which the English Reformation proceeded was by appealing against Rome to Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Primitive Church, so that in its intentions and first issues it was neither Lutheran nor Calvinistic, but a return to the primitive ancient Catholic Christianity. *The Book of Common Prayer* was an embodiment of the desire of the English Church to restore ancient and primitive doctrine and worship. If the note of controversy seems to creep in too often, it is because the immediate cause of most of the writings of this era of Anglicanism's history was the need to clarify its beliefs in the face of opposition. For example,

Hooker, in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Laud, in his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*, had the same fundamental aim, to make plain the position of the Church of England as contrasted with Papists on the one hand and the Continental Reformers on the other. Their theory of the position of the English Church was a restatement of the doctrine of the original Reformers and that there had been no break in the continuity of the Church so that she was still the same ancient catholic but reformed Church of these islands.

The Fathers were held in esteem not only as witnesses to the content of the primitive faith but as a guide to the right interpretation of Holy Scripture. Throughout, in Reformer and Caroline, the same fundamental principle is present, that while Scripture is the supreme standard of faith, the Fathers represented the tradition of the Church by which Scripture was rightly interpreted. While initially, the Reformers used the Fathers chiefly as a means of proving what was and what was not primitive doctrine and practice, the Carolines build on this principle and develop this use of the Fathers by making patristic thought and piety a vehicle in which to structure their own theological vision. In neither is there any transformation of the Fathers into a formal and infallible authority nor the degeneration of their theology into a patristic scholasticism. For their concern is not merely to return to texts, abstract tradition, formulas and propositions, but to recover the true spirit of the Fathers, the secret inspiration that made them true witnesses of the Church. Their appeal to the Fathers is much more than a historical reference to the past but is an appeal to the *mind of the Fathers* and to follow them means to acquire their mind. This is what saves their use of the Fathers from a mere appeal to authority as such, rigid masters from whom no appeal is possible, and issues in an approach that is critical and reasonable.

This saved them from becoming preoccupied with the controversies of their time in the doctrines of justification and predestination, as they set out to restore the grandeur of Christian truth by following the Nicene Fathers in making the Incarnation the central doctrine of the faith. It placed them beyond their Age and culture and enabled them to transcend the limitations of nationalism as well as enabling them to avoid the temptation of building a scientific theology on the plan of Calvin. This patristic basis is what makes their theology something quite different from Tridentinism or Continental Protestantism. Furthermore it was an ideal of theology that was not divorced from prayer and liturgy for it provided a way of life and worship informed and structured by theological vision.

In the objections and objectors that this appeal to antiquity produced, there was lacking the catholicity, widemindedness, suppleness, sanity and contemporaneity of the Fathers. As objections were motivated by the controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Western Church, the appeal was to texts, formulas and propositions, a mere historical reference to the past. rather than to the *mind of the Fathers*. As Blunt points out against Daillé, it is the incidental

nature of patristic testimony that is relevant to the issues with which he is concerned rather than direct and prescriptive testimony, and the *consensus patrum*, rather than individual statements or isolated texts. For Barbeyrac, whose knowledge of the Fathers was from extracts rather than the texts, it is his unfamiliarity with the wholeness of patristic testimony and the nuances of their thought and strictures on moral issues that demolishes his objections. So it is the Fathers who speak in their own defence. George Bull's thorough grasp of the *Ante-Nicene Faith*, like Hooker before him, enabled him to discern in the attacks on traditional apostolic and catholic doctrine, the resurgence of an *Arianism*, that in no way could be justified by an appeal to the Fathers.

Thus did Anglican theology rediscover its roots, build and maintain its foundation in the study of the Fathers, and through that redemptive understanding of the centrality of the Incarnation learn to see the Christian Faith as an integral whole. It also found the gateway to what was scriptural and primitive and a living tradition which guided the interpretation of Holy Scripture. This is what gave to Anglicanism that clue to the Catholic Church of the past and future, Eastern and Western, and its own identity within it. This influence of the Fathers has continued, in the Tractarians whose concern was for a Catholic interpretation of the Church of England, amidst Evangelical, liberal and Erastian interpretations. This influence continues in the modern phase of Anglican theology with the centrality of the Incarnation in such theologians as Westcott, Gore and the *Lux Mundi* school, and William Temple.

Michael Ramsey¹ enumerates three ways in which, in the modern phase, patristic influence has been apparent. First, in the frequent use of the doctrine of the Logos, reflecting Irenaeus or Clement of Alexandria, and demonstrating the unique revelation of God in Christ as the central tower of a continuous divine activity in creation, nature, history, culture and civilisation. Secondly, there has been the constant influence of the Chalcedonian doctrine of the One Person and Two Natures of Christ. Thirdly, there has been an emphasis on the negative and protective aspects of the ancient Christological definitions. In this way says Ramsey, Anglicanism has preferred the Fathers, who use dogma as a pointer to the scriptural facts, rather than the Schoolmen, who have seemed to use dogma as the starting point for deductive doctrinal formulations. The Fathers have left their mark on other matters of doctrine, not least in Eucharistic sacrifice, Real Presence and teaching about the Communion of Saints encouraging the belief that the living and departed are one in a fellowship of common prayer and praise rather than in terms of mediation.

These same Fathers who spoke to Cranmer and Jewel, and the Reformers, to Hooker, Andrewes, Laud, and the Carolines, can speak to us today with that same sharpness and contemporaneity, for their writings are timeless, dynamic and always contemporary. A conviction regarding this possibility in relation to seventeenth century Anglican theological method is expressed by McAdoo, who rightly states,

Having listened to these voices from our past I venture to think that it is a fair assessment to judge that seventeenth century Anglican theologians did not use the threefold appeal like the Stamp Act of 1765 to guarantee by a cursory reference to origins the authenticity of this or that article of belief or doctrinal formulation. Rather, within the given limitations of the scholarship and the knowledge of their times, did they apply the criteria with sensitivity, honesty, and freedom, and in some cases, with a surprising modernity. No review of how they went about it could fairly describe their procedure as simplistic. Is it possible for us in our situation to do the same, given a changed perspective in society and in scholarship? ²

In " The Preface " to his book *From Gore to Temple*, The Hale Memorial Lectures of Seabury-Western Theological Seminary delivered in 1959, Michael Ramsey expressed the same conviction when he said,

... the times call urgently for the Anglican witness to Scripture, tradition and reason - alike for meeting the problems which Biblical theology is creating, for serving the re-integration of the Church, and for presenting the faith as at once supernatural and related to contemporary man. ³

He reiterated this same conviction in lectures⁴ given in Nashotah House in 1979, stressing the importance of the threefold appeal not only in relation to Anglican identity but also in its ecumenical implications for the re-integration and unity of the whole Church.

Such a conviction has been conceived and born in both these contemporary theologians through their living engagement with Fathers, Reformers, Carolines and their objectors, as they continue to speak to the contemporary Church.

Appendix

*

The Tew Circle

This Appendix has been added to include *The Tew Circle*, who were not a party in any strict sense, nor were they objectors to the Fathers in the same way as Daillé or Barbeyrac or as those who indirectly objected to the Fathers through their attempts to destroy the orthodox catholic doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity, and in some cases claim the support of the Fathers. Nevertheless, among the mixed membership of *The Tew Circle*, there were those who had been influenced by Daillé and whose concern was to dispense with the appeal to antiquity and restrict theological method to Scripture and reason.

(i) Its Nature and Membership

This group was not in any sense a party, but a number of individuals who gathered around Lucius Cary, or as he became, Lord Falkland, in 1632, with the desire to study. His father's house at Great Tew near Oxford became their centre and the extensive library a resource at their disposal. They found common ground with individuals of differing ecclesiastical outlook in opposition to Calvinism which in the minds of many thinking people had become synonymous with obscurantism. Hence, there was an interchange of ideas and the emphasizing of an existing measure of agreement which cut across differences of outlook among those in the Tew circle and the Laudians. The membership included Falkland, Hyde, Francis Wenman, Sidney Godolphin, Edmund Waller, Gilbert Sheldon (who became Archbishop of Canterbury), George

Morley, John Earle, John Hales, William Chillingworth. Hales had been Chaplain to Laud and Chillingworth was a godson, and both had discussed their publications with him, while Sheldon became with Hammond a leader of the Laudians. Hammond commended Chillingworth and Falkland in his writings and the Laudian Pearson was biographer of Hales, while Jeremy Taylor had affinities of outlook with both groups.

McAdoo points out that there is no divided mind among these different groups and individuals, because in the 17th century there was general agreement on the basis, and a more or less common attitude. Such differences were allowed for by the use of a theological method which was firmly centred but adaptable in its capacity to cope with new ideas, so that, despite their differences, Hooker and Andrewes, Taylor and Chillingworth, Hammond and Sheldon, are at one in what

... might be described as the spirit of Anglicanism, including as it does the centrality of Scripture and the visibility and continuity of the Church, both confirmed by antiquity, and illuminated by the freedom of reason and liberality of viewpoint. It constitutes the shared attitude of the 17th century, and although one group may lay the main emphasis on one aspect and another may criticise it, the awareness of a common ground of agreement was a fact until the appearance of parties as a result of events in the closing years of the century.¹

(ii) Criticism of the Appeal to Antiquity

Yet it was from within the Tew Circle that criticism of the appeal to antiquity came. It was not so much a direct attack as a search for radical simplification in theological method, in the light of the Reformation and the Anglican concern for an authoritative basis for use as a valid doctrinal criterion. For the Tew Circle no such authority in matters of doctrine could or should be found, the only necessary or possible criterion being that part of the Bible which could be plainly understood and agreed upon by all. In other words, what is reasonable. Daillé's book provided material to Lord Falkland and his group, Falkland describing Daillé as our Protestant Perron, meaning that his treatise was as learnedly and judiciously written as Perron's, doing for the Protestants what Perron had done for the Romanists. Daillé's concern had been to demonstrate that antiquity could not provide a settled criterion for doctrine, and that only Scripture was able to provide such an authoritative basis. Thus far they followed Daillé in his estimate of antiquity but differed with him over the meaning of the sufficiency of Scripture as a criterion.

Ultimately, their concern was with the basis of authority, which for Hooker is of central importance, attempting by means of rational enquiry to free their thinking from the systematised statements of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. They saw themselves reacting from what they regarded as dogmatism and could well give the appearance of being types of sceptical rationalists, so that the charge of Socinianism is not surprising but is difficult to define.

Nevertheless, in their concern *to separate saving truth from correct theology*, their spirit of rational enquiry and view of biblical authority sowed the seeds for a theological approach that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries found expression in the Arianism, Socinianism, and Deism, that made an indirect assault on the Fathers in the rejection of traditional orthodoxy. Falkland in his *Discourse*, indicates that the attempt to find a basis of doctrinal authority by appeal to a system or to the writings of the Fathers is to move in a circle. Such definitive statements are unnecessary when all that is needed is the following of reason in the interpretation of the Scriptures.²

(iii) Diversity of Viewpoint

There was not complete unanimity of viewpoint within the Tew Circle.

(a) Chillingworth,

Chillingworth, while he does not dispense with antiquity, is in agreement with Hooker in his use of reason and the need to distinguish between what is fundamental and what is not, and in the primacy of Scripture. However, while Hooker's interpretation of Scripture is governed by the appeal to antiquity, Chillingworth emphasizes the individual's interpretation of it in the light of reason and in his distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals it is only that which is clear to the understanding and commonly accepted by all Christians which is necessary.³ What Chillingworth meant by conformity to antiquity was essentially conformity with that which was 'absolute and primitive',⁴ with the 'primitive and apostolic',⁵ and in the light of this required a modification of the accepted form of the appeal to antiquity, because, as he wrote, there are 'councils against councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a consent of Fathers of one against a consent of Fathers of another age ... in a word, there is no sufficient certainty but of Scripture only.'⁶ This is the heart of the problem for Chillingworth, who was the one Tew member to make the most use of patristic sources while having this reservation about the difficulties of using them as a certain standard of reference. McAdoo⁷ comments that,

In regard to this it might be maintained that Chillingworth expects more from the appeal to antiquity than do those who advocate it. This seems to be borne out by his explicit agreement that Anglican teaching and practice can be shown to be consonant with antiquity,⁸ and Andrewes and Laud said no more than this.

McAdoo also points out that while not accepting everything as authoritative in Augustine's writings, Chillingworth agrees that "considering the nearness of his time to the apostles I think it is a good probable way, and therefore am apt enough to follow it, when I see no reason to the contrary."⁹ His assessment of the historical situation in the first five centuries and its consequences for theology illustrates his moderation. When there were signs of change and disagreement in the sub-apostolic age, restoration to "an exact conformity with the apostolic times", took its standard

of reference "only from Scripture". Others maintaining the unchangeability of what had been received, wanted to "reduce the Church to the condition of the fourth and fifth ages" using as a criterion "the writings of the Fathers, and the decrees of the councils of the first five ages." Chillingworth maintains, "they did best which followed Scripture interpreted by Catholic written tradition."¹⁰ McAdoo¹¹ concludes that what was under criticism was not so much the accepted form of the appeal to antiquity, as antiquity considered in relation to something different, meaning that the members of the Tew Circle were viewing it from the angle of their own attitude to the problem of authority. While Andrewes and the Laudians were concerned with continuity and agreement on fundamentals between antiquity and Anglicanism, stressing the interpretative value of the patristic writings, the Tew group generally were not so concerned, though more specifically in Chillingworth there are some strong resemblances.

(b) John Hales

John Hales shared much of Chillingworth's outlook which the Laudian Pearson gives insight into in a collection of his sermons, letters, and miscellanies, with the quaint title, *The Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales*. (1659). The angle of his approach is that of the man who wants to experience and enquire into the ideas that men hold, rather than "keeping up the conceits and authorities of other men", as he described it in a sermon which attacked those for whom learning is "vâriety of turning and quoting sundry authors, than in soundly discovering and laying down the truth of things." The Christian must cease to lean upon others, and must be content to rely upon God and his own reason. So for Hales Antiquity is not reliable, for " what is it else but man's authority born some ages before us?" His view of Scripture contrasted to the norm of his time. "The sense is Scripture rather than the words", the essence of which is clear so it is quite admissible to have a modest scepticism about non-essentials, for faith can only be grounded on what is plain and generally understood in Scripture. "For it is not depth of knowledge, nor knowledge of antiquity, or sharpness of wit, nor authority of councils, nor the name of the Church, (that) can settle the restless conceits that possess the minds of many restless Christians."¹² He shared with others his critical stance to the kind of systematic theology found in Calvinism, people like Hooker, Andrewes, Laud, Heylyn and Hammond, the Cambridge Platonists and Latitudinarians. McAdoo comments that this "is a striking demonstration of the self-awareness of Anglicanism, and it testifies to the widespread nature of the conviction that what was required was not theological systematisation but theological interpretation" ¹³. Hales shared Hyde's view of the advantages of modern learning compared with that of antiquity.

(c) **Hyde**

Hyde's use of antiquity was purely an historical use and was therefore in contrast to the historical theology of Andrewes and Laud. Their concern was not just to verify historical fact, but to see in such facts an interpretative value in direct relation to their antiquity. McAdoo¹⁴ cites B.H.G. Wormald's discussion of two of Hyde's works, *Of the Reverence due to Antiquity* (1670), and *Animadversions* (1673), which illustrates a distinct modification of the accepted combination of elements in the theological method which has been effected by their attitude to the role of antiquity, and the orientation of their approach that resulted in them being called rational theologians. McAdoo describes this modification as a redistribution of emphasis, noticeable not only in the Tew Group but also in the Cambridge Platonists. The Cambridge Group approached the past by way of reason and philosophy and unlike Andrewes and Laud were unconcerned with historical theology, while the Tew Circle's concern was with modification, the divesting of the use of antiquity of everything but factual significance.

Chillingworth had influenced Hyde in his view that the "essential principles" in Scripture are clear, and so "with that plainness in what is necessary, that there remains no difficulty",¹⁵ and that reason shall contribute more in the matter of obedience to authority than does "resignation to ... authority". Here is the crux of the Tew attitude, because Hyde does have a respect for Anglican tradition, but only "where the tradition is as universal or as manifest as it is in Scripture." For Hyde, and one senses the influence of Daillé, it is impossible to concur in all that the Fathers taught and as they were never all of one mind they need to be critically examined. He draws a distinction between *resignation to antiquity* and *reverence for the past* realising that this differentiates his position from those who find doctrinal support in it, yet it was consistent with his approach to history as a whole which should be viewed critically to discover matter of fact "In practice," as Wormald notes, Hyde's contention was that the appeal to antiquity should be discontinued", [p.271] and it seems as if the reason for this was not only the background of critical humanism but also the notion of an irreducible minimum basis which was unaffected by the criterion of the first five centuries"¹⁶

(d) **Falkland**

Falkland expounds the same position in his *Discourse on Infallibility*, where the primacy of reason is maintained as essential "in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and search for tradition".¹⁷ He regards Councils as unreliable "deciders of questions; for such they cannot be, if they beget more, and men have course to be in greater doubts afterwards (none of the former being diminished) than they were at first."¹⁸ The influence of Daillé is strong in Falkland's similar

conclusion concerning the inconclusiveness of the Fathers, which he regards as a source of references rather than a standard of reference, because their extent and diversity make any other use of them impracticable. "... nothing is wholly provable by sufficient testimonies of the first ages, to have had primary and general tradition"¹⁸ and it is not possible to "know what they thought at all times, from what they were moved to say at some one time by some collateral consideration"¹⁹

(iv) Antiquity Confirmatory of Scripture

The Tew antipathy to the appeal to antiquity is plain to see, though it is questionable whether they had grasped that its role as a criterion of doctrine was subordinate and confirmatory to that of Scripture. It is interesting to note that in the following century it is precisely this confirmatory nature of antiquity in relation to Scripture, that Reeves²⁰ first makes plain before his discussion of *The Right Use of The Fathers*, and Daniel Waterland²¹ makes this his first point in *The Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity*. The Tew enthusiasm to find a theological method by way of reason that would solve contemporary controversy, led them to find confirmation of their reaction against antiquity in the work of Daillé, who furnished them with the evidence of divergences and disagreements in the patristic writings on which to base their conclusion that here they would never find the unanimity that was necessary. Yet this was a misunderstanding and therefore confusion about the nature of patristic unanimity. The appeal to antiquity as unanimous was "to antiquity as confirmatory of Scripture and as showing that the general consent of antiquity on fundamentals was dependent on and conditioned by the centrality of Scripture."²² Thus, in Andrewes and Laud it is a critical use of patristic sources in their appeal to the consent of antiquity, which is always secondary to the appeal of Scripture, its function being confirmatory, illustrating that "there was no principal dogma in which we do not agree with the Fathers and they with us." This invests antiquity with a subsidiary authority deriving from the accepted view that the nearer a writer was in point of time to the period in which Scripture was compiled, the more likely he was to interpret it correctly. Therefore,

It is in fact difficult to see how the historical criterion could be dispensed with, for some appeal to the facts of history is from time to time essential in any doctrinal assessment. When too much is built on it there results an artificial preoccupation with antiquity, as if agreement with it were in some way an end in itself. When it is undervalued there remains no objective check by which opinions or practice may be shown to be in accord with those of early times.²³

(v) Ancients versus Moderns

Such considerations were not behind the reaction of Hyde and Falkland to the appeal to antiquity. Rather was it a consequence of their general perspective in which freedom of reason and the superiority of modern learning were integral and which was inconsistent with any such appeal.

For them there was no inherent value in such an appeal, and any such subsidiary authority based on nearness or distance from the Apostles' time was irrelevant. This was the heart of the matter, the real point of divergence, that they were not concerned with historical theology and its interpretative value, neither in the Fathers nor the Reformers. Their primary concern was in the direction of a general restatement, which in this respect was similar to the aim of the Cambridge Platonists. In consequence of their view of the appeal to antiquity as a standard within the first five centuries, they partially removed it from the context in which its exponents used it, and transferred it into an ancients versus moderns discussion. Their concern was to divest it of interpretative value and reduce it to a mere factual significance. The result was to pave the way for the emergence of an historical criticism of the past which served as a check to prevent what Hyde would describe as *respect for antiquity*, becoming, *resignation to antiquity*.

This general perspective in which freedom of reason and the superiority of modern learning are integral is the beginnings of that departure from the ecclesial context of Anglican divinity, which understands the Church as bearing witness to the truth not by reminiscence or from the words of others, but from its own living, unceasing experience, from its catholic fullness which has its roots in continuity with the Primitive Church. In this consists that *tradition of truth* in which the apostolic teaching is not so much an unchangeable example to be repeated or imitated, as an eternally living and inexhaustible source of life and inspiration. Tradition is the constant abiding Spirit, not only the memory of words, and is therefore a charismatic not an historical principle, but together with Scripture contains the truth of divine revelation, a truth that lives in the Church. This dimension of the ecclesiastical mind, the patristic mind, is lacking, not only in the Tew Circle, but also in Daillé and Barbeyrac. Their ecclesiology lacks what is integral to Hooker, Andrewes, Laud, Hammond and the Laudians, any sense of the importance of visibility and continuity with the Primitive Church and thereby any organic connections between past, present and future, between Incarnation and sacramental life. Their religion seems to be predominantly in the head.

The result is the reduction of Tradition to the past in such an identification of one with the other, that the past as such becomes the content as well as the criterion of Tradition. Furthermore, it leads to an artificial separation of Tradition from the past by means of their common evaluation in terms of the present. Here one accepts from the past, and thus makes into Tradition, only that which is arbitrarily considered to be acceptable, valid, and relevant today. Theology then remains conditioned by a double reduction. First, an historical reduction of the sources of theology to texts, "conceptual evidence", to the exclusion of the living experience of the Church, in which Anglican divinity has always been rooted in continuity with the theology of the Fathers, to which it refers and bears testimony, and without which it cannot be understood in its total precisely

existential meaning and significance. Secondly, an intellectual reduction which deals with the Fathers as if they were thinkers working with concepts and ideas in order to elaborate a self-contained and self explanatory system. Jeremy Taylor is at one with the Fathers when he stated that, "Theology is rather a Divine life, than a Divine knowledge".²⁴ It is a theology which is rooted in the praying and worshipping experience of the Church and surpasses mere intellectual apprehension. This spirit of patristic theology has already been expounded as characteristic of the Carolines whose most erudite and sympathetic spokesman was Lancelot Andrewes, in a theology that appealed primarily to the vision of faith apprehended through prayer and the liturgical tradition of the Church. The character of such theology is consistent with the description of Gregory Nazianzen as being "like that of the Apostles, not of Aristotle".²⁵ Such an approach to theology is an inevitable consequence of the appeal to antiquity and is characteristic of the best Anglican theology. Yet it is just such an approach which is lacking in what came to dominate the approach of some members of the Tew Circle, and the failure of Daillé and Barbeyrac to discern it in the theological orientation of the Fathers led them to be dismissive of their usefulness and interpretative value.

The general Anglican attitude to the Fathers is one almost of veneration bound up as it was with their claim to continuity with what Jewel called the Church of 'the Apostles and old Catholic Fathers'. Nevertheless it is a critical veneration and Taylor who makes use of patristics in many of his books does so critically. He was influenced in this respect, as were the members of the Tew Circle, by Daillé's book *Du Vrai Usage des Pères* (1632). This work set out to show that a fixed criterion could not be expected from antiquity because of differences among the Fathers and because of the early appearance of doctrinal divergences in the patristic period. The Anglican appeal to antiquity however did not suffer much as a method from the emergence of the critical study of the Fathers in which in point of fact the Anglicans such as Sir Henry Savile, Patrick Young and Primate Ussher had distinguished themselves early in the century. The reason was that the appeal to antiquity and to the Fathers was identity-confirming and faith-affirming. Again, it is a question of direction and for Anglicans appeal to antiquity is always confirmatory of the of the appeal to Scripture: Jeremy Taylor was vastly learned in patristics and he speaks for all when he says that the whole point of appealing to the Fathers is to show that 'when the Fathers appeal to tradition ... it is such a tradition as delivers the fundamental points of Christianity, which were also recorded in Scripture'. They acquit us 'from any other necessity of believing than of such articles as are recorded in Scripture', and thus our identity with them is confirmed. In the General Dedication to *Episcopacy Asserted and Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy* Taylor sets out a measured and balanced assessment of how the appeal to tradition and the Fathers can help in establishing the authenticity of Christian believing.²⁶

NOTES

Abbreviations

- A.N.F.* *Ante-Nicene Fathers.*
- N.P.N.F.* *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.*
- L.A.C.T.* *The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* (1841).
- S.P.C.K.* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- D.N.B.* *Dictionary of National Biography .*

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1. Arthur C. Lane, *Illustrated Notes on English Church History* (S.P.C.K. : London, 1904), p. 271.
2. R. P. C. Hanson, *The Bible as A Norm of Faith : An Inaugural Lecture as Lightfoot Professor of Divinity* (University of Durham : Titus Wilson & Son, Kendal, 1963), p. 11.
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