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A table of contents for The Churchman can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

as we learn from 2 Chron. xi. 13, 14—and as the late Professor Blunt has acutely observed, the statement derives undesigned support from 1 Kings xv. 16-22—abandoned their cities after the setting-up of the calves by Jeroboam, and thus denuded of their defenders, the trans-Jordanic Levitical cities would fall an easy prey to the King of Moab. But where true historical research finds an interesting confirmation of the narrative, Anglo-German criticism can find nothing but an unintelligible and unintelligent patchwork, a mass of absurdities and contradictions.

J. J. LIAS.

ART. II.—THE PROTESTANTISM OF OUR GREAT ENGLISH DIVINES.

II. BISHOP ANDREWES (continued).

THE extracts which we have already made from Bishop Andrewes were all taken from one of his treatises, and it may perhaps be asked whether that one treatise fully represents the mind of the Bishop. Seeing that it is a professedly polemical treatise, drawn up as an answer to an attack made by Cardinal Bellarmine on King James I., may not the Bishop have expressed himself more vigorously than he would have done if he had been writing uncontroversially? and does not this detract from the apparent strength of his anti-papal convictions? To show that that was not the case, we supplement our previous article with extracts from his other works, controversial and non-controversial.

Contrast of England and Rome.

"Look at our religion in Britain—primitive, pure, purified, such as Zion would acknowledge. What! must we descend into the plain to teach that nowhere does there exist a religion more in accord with the true Zion, that is, with the institutions of the Gospel and of the Apostles, than ours? Look at our Confession contained in the XXXIX. Articles; look at our Catechism : it is short, but in spite of its shortness there is nothing wanting in it. Look at the Apology of our Church—truly a Jewel. Whoso will, may find our doctrines there; it would be too long for me to go through them all here.

"Walk about Zion and go round about her. We have for our rule of religion one Canon given us by God in writing, the two Testaments, the three Creeds, the first four Councils, five Centuries, three before and two after Constantine, and the Fathers who lived in them. For those who are not satisfied with the old Catholic Faith without the new patches of Rome, those who are not contented unless by draining to the dregs they reach the abuses and errors, not to say fables and figments, which afterwards filled the Church, we leave them to the enjoyment of their choice. Let them betroth themselves to God with a faith that is not written. Zion, certainly, was not so betrothed (Hos. ii. 20). Let them worship they know not what in their relics and in their Host. That comes from the mountain of Samaria, not from Zion. Let them pray in a tongue that they do not understand, and celebrate their rites without understanding, and therefore without fruit, if the Apostle knows anything of the matter (1 Cor. xiv. 15). These were not the prayers or songs of Zion. Let them call on those whom they have not been taught to believe in (Rom. x. 14), and go to the Saints with greater diligence and frequency than to Christ. That was not done in Zion. Let them prostrate themselves and bow before a painted or carved likeness. Zion would rend her garments at such an act. Let them mutilate the Eucharist by one-half; in the upper chamber of Zion it was taken, not in that way, but in its integrity. Let them 'worship the Deity, hiding there under the species' ('Roman Missal') made from the flour-mill. Zion would shudder at this and utterly repudiate it. What! when they adore their Pope placed and sitting upon the altar; when they make a man, to say the very least, encompassed with infirmities, often illiterate, often of bad life, very often a mere canonist, to be the pillar of their faith and religion, unable, forsooth, to err! Would Zion bear that? There is nothing here which has a savour of Zion-nothing at all, or of that primitive and true faith which was once delivered to the saints. These are not the betrothals of a chaste faith. There is too much meretricious colouring. God would not 'rejoice over' these things (Isa. lxii. 5).

"Look, too, at our ecclesiastical Order, which even an Apostle might gladly see, and which I dare to call plainly Apostolic. We have not lay Presbyters and Deacons, nor is our ecclesiastical order without Bishops, whom 'the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God.' But we have Deacons and Presbyters of the clergy, and above them Bishops, such as all antiquity has recognised and respected" (Sermon on Frederick the Count Palatine's leaving England in 1613).

"You charge us with new opinions? Nay, I tell you, if they are new, they are not ours. We appeal to the ancients, to the furthest antiquity; the newer a thing is, the less we like it; the less new that it is, the more we are pleased with it.

Nor is any saying more agreeable to our ears than that of our Saviour : 'From the beginning it was so.' We have no better definition of heresy than that which is contrary to the three old Creeds or any of the four old General Councils. Is not this to hate new opinions? We innovate in nothing. We restore perhaps what those of ancient time held, which you have innovated upon. Who can bear to hear you complaining of novelty, when you are every day turning out from your workshop new sects, new glosses, new opinions, which you have fabricated? If you retain anything that is old, you have so interpolated it that not one of the ancients would recognise it if he came to life again. Anyone who should look for the old Roman Church in your modern Roman Church would lose his labour. To be subject to Rome and to depend upon her is the sum of your religion" ("Tortura Torti," p. 96).

"Wherever we have changed anything, it has been done because in your ritual you had gone away from the pure and perfect worship of God, and because it 'was not so from the beginning'; for example, in the worship of likenesses contrary to the Second Commandment, of which you were so conscious that you used to expunge the Second Commandment from your books; and in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which you have halved, contrary to the expressed desire of Christ; and in the Liturgy not understanded of the people, contrary to the mind of the Apostle. And then we have changed for the better and reformed, whatever faults crept into the Mass itself through evil times, or through the carelessness or wrongfulness of men. When our predecessors belonged to your communion, they protested against these things, and acting on that protestation, they separated from you until those things were changed for the better. Whatever you have of the primitive faith and religion remains untouched with us. The charge of our being Calvinists is now given up. No oné here is bound to swear obedience to Calvin. We rate him according to the value of his reasoning and no more. If you were not more bound to the Pope, you would not be what you are and what you are rightly named—Papists" (ibid., p. 375).

"You inquire about our King, and I about the Pope. Which is the truer Catholic? Which of the two regards the Church as spread throughout the world, for that is the meaning of the word 'catholic'? Which of them counts it as not tied down to any spot? The King recognises it as catholic because it is everywhere disseminated, not tied to any place, nor in any way circumscribed; but your Pope does not dare to use the name 'Catholic' without the addition of 'Roman.' But by adding 'Roman' he overthrows 'catholic,' as if he should profess his belief in it as confined to no place, and yet confined to one special place. 'Roman Catholic' is just as if he said 'particular universal,' or 'part whole,' or as if he shut up the whole world in one city. A man who thus believes is not a Catholic: he is a Donatist; for in like manner they used to believe in an African Catholic Church. You are just like them in believing in a Roman Catholic Church; and as their Church was not catholic, but the Donatist sect, because it was African, so yours is not catholic, but the Roman Pope's sect. because it is Roman. Besides, why have you such a bad conscience that you don't dare to use the word 'catholic' by itself? Why do you add Roman? What is the use of it if there is no catholic except what is Roman? The only use of the word is to distinguish yours from some other catholic, which is not Roman. That which is nothing but catholic is really catholic, but yours is not, because of that addition; you take away the value of the first word 'catholic' by the second Roman " (ibid., p. 368).

"The meaning of the word 'catholic' may be gathered from the Creed, where it is introduced to distinguish the Church after Christ from that before Him, the Christian from the Jewish Church. The Jewish Church was confined to one nation, the Christian Church is spread as far as the world extends. There is no proper opposition between Catholic and any heresy, except that of the Donatists of old, who confined the Church to their one African Church, and that of the Papists at present, who shut it up in their single Roman Church, and so from catholic make it uncatholic—Papists, I say, and any others who confine the universality of the Church to one spot. 'Universal' and 'a part of Africa'-'universal' and 'what is dependent on Rome,' are properly contrasted with one another. For both these expressions refer to place, in one case every place, and in the other only some place " (ibid., p. 372).

"Well, then, belong you to your Roman Catholic Church, which is not found in the Creed. We will belong to that in which we express belief in the Creed; that which is simply catholic and not restricted to Rome, and is likewise orthodox; which does not worship any likeness, nor adore it knows not what; which bids all drink from Christ's cup; which prays with the spirit, and no less with the understanding; which does not call upon those whom it has not been taught to believe in (Rom. x. 14); where Christ is the Head of the Faith, and the Holy Ghost his Vicar. This is the Church to which we belong, and which we profess to be members of; but as you have still among you many remains of the doctrines of the Catholic Faith, although somewhat corrupted, we can call you members of the Catholic Church, though not sound members " (*ibid.*, p. 4, 9, 6).

"Let us pray God for the Catholic Church, that it may be established and increase; for the Eastern Church, that it may be delivered and made one; for the Western Church, that it may be restored to its primitive estate and cease to be aggressive (pacifice agat); for the British Church, that all things lacking may be supplied and all else strengthened" ("Devotions, Second Day").

Interpretation of Scripture.

"The Papist's means are these: Beside prayer, wherein they agree with us, they set down these means also-The Fathers, the Councils, the Pope and the Church. They say all these are true means of interpretation We say, No. . . . The means for interpretation, as we allege them, are six : 1. The first, wherein they and we agree, is prayer. 2. Conference of places (comparison of texts); the less plain must be referred to the more plain. 3. Inspectio fontium, to look to the original, the Greek text or Hebrew. 4. Acquaintance with the dialect. 5. Oculus ad scopum, to mark the end (purpose) of the writer. 6. Look to antecedentia and consequentia, i.e., every circumstance. Both jointly and severally their grounds are false, and ours are the only true means of interpretation. . . . For the Pope-Damasus, a Pope, as Hierome saith, subscribed to heresy; Liberius, an enemy to Arians, subscribed after to that heresy; Honorius was condemned in the sixth General Council in seven canons and seven actions for subverting the faith " ("Catechistical Doctrine," Part I.).

Universal Bishop.

"Baronius reports Phocas' decree as follows: 'That the Roman Pontiff alone is to be called Œcumenical or Universal, and the Bishop of Constantinople not.' John and Cyriacus did no more than use the name which, by Phocas' decree, the Roman Bishop has from that time claimed to himself. Yet in a very short time a great change was made in the character of the title. In the Bishop of Constantinople it was 'foolish, 'proud,' 'wicked,' 'perverse,' 'profane,' 'blasphemous'; but within the space of two years in the Bishop of Rome it was none of these. Strange that Phocas should decree that a title which Gregory declared wicked and blasphemous must not be allowed to the Bishop of Constantinople, because it was proper to the Bishop of Rome; and strange that Boniface should have accepted it!" ("Tortura Torti," p. 405).

Idolatry.

"It is easy to see on which side idolatry is, and it is not ours. This is one article among many on account of which papists are accounted by us, who are true Catholics, to be (on this point) heretics. We do not call the images of Christ or of the saints idols. They are not so on their own part, but we say they may become so on yours, just as much as the brazen serpent was on the part of the Jews, namely, if they are worshipped; for they are likenesses of things that are in heaven, before which you 'bow down to them and worship them,' which in so many words is forbidden by the Divine Law. What are in themselves only images become idols to the Cardinal as soon as he begins to worship them. By doing which he and all who do the like are idolaters" ("Tortura Torti," p. 378).

"To take away all images God made sure work by forbidding all manner of *likeness* in heaven, earth, waters."

The Bishop then proceeds to refute "the papists' arguments" on the other side: (1) From Fathers and Councils; (2) from the distinction of $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\kappa\nu\nu\epsilon\hat{\nu}\nu$ and $\lambda a\tau\rho\epsilon\dot{\nu}\epsilon\nu\nu$; (3) from the allegation that worship is given to the object signified, not to the image; (4) from the needs of the ignorant and illiterate ("Catechistical Doctrine," Part III.).

Relics.

"Their worshipping the relics of their saints and martyrs is mere gentilism, the ancient bait of Satan" ("Discourse of Ceremonies," Part III.).

Purgatory.

"The popish Purgatory in scope and being agreeth with the heathen purgatory mentioned in Plato and Virgil" (*ibid*.).

The School-doctrine of Man's Merits.

"'Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord.' And why? 'For no flesh is righteous in Thy sight '—no flesh, no man, righteous or justified; then surely no true merit. We deserve nothing, but are unprofitable servants, and our best works are imperfect, and fall short of that perfection that law and justice do require. So then, sacrifices of goodness and alms or distribution there must be; they are necessary to salvation in them that have time and opportunity and means. But there can be no trust or confidence placed in them, for they are imperfect and defective, and therefore merit nothing at God's hands out of justice, but only are accepted out of God's mercy and the infinite merits of Christ; and therefore the greatest part of the dignity (worth) of the best works of the best men is to renounce all trust and confidence in ourselves and our best works, and to repose all our hopes in the mercy and merits of Christ " (Bishop Buckeridge's "Funeral Sermon on Bishop Andrewes ").

Oaths.

"The Cardinal proclaims aloud that the Pope may do away with every obligation of laws and oaths, so that no one would be more secure with a man that had taken an oath than with one who had not. In this matter of binding and releasing the Popes act like conjurors. They allow their Bulls to bind at one time and not at another. Gregory XIII. played in this way a little while ago about the Bull of Pius V. bound the Queen and her heretical subjects, but was not binding on her Catholic subjects. It did not bind the Catholics under present circumstances, but it would bind them when the Bull could be openly executed. A wonderful contriver! By one and the same Bull he binds and he does not bind. He binds heretics, he does not bind Catholics, and though he does not bind Catholics, yet he does bind them! If the Pope has this power of releasing from oaths, it is just the same thing whether Catholics swear or do not swear; the Pope will take care, though they may have taken an oath, that they shall not be guilty of perjury; and such is his power that he will first release them and then hedge them in with his plenary indulgences, so thick and so close one upon another, that perdition itself will not be able to make them perish" ("Tortura Torti," p. 72).

One Kind.

"I see that we have an acknowledgment of the mutilation of the Eucharist. For the Council of Trent itself says that 'Although Christ our Lord at the Last Supper instituted this venerable Sacrament in both kinds and delivered it to the Apostles; although the use of both kinds was not uncommon from the beginning of the Christian religion, nevertheless . . . it approves of the practice under one kind, which was introduced for grave and just reasons, and decrees that it is to be held as law' (Sess. xxi. 2). That is to desert the law of God, which is of both kinds, and to introduce into its place another law, which is of one kind " (*ibid.*, p. 434).

Attendance without Communicating.

"It is an Eucharistic sacrifice (peace offering), and the law of that kind of sacrifice is this—that the offerer must partake of it, and he must partake of it by taking and eating, as the Saviour enjoined; for your 'partaking by praying' is modern and new-fangled, newer even than your private Masses" ("Resp. ad Bell.," p. 250).

"The law of a peace-offering is: he that offers it must take his part of it, eat of it, or it doth him no good" (Sermon IV.: "Of the Resurrection").

"I see not how we can avoid that the flesh of our Peaceoffering must be eaten in this feast by us, or else we evacuate the offering utterly and lose the fruit of it" (Sermon VII.: "Of the Resurrection").

Incense and Lights.

"Their priests to have shaven crowns, to be unmarried, to have frankincense offerings, fasts and feasts, to have candles in them, and to carry them up and down, in every respect is heathenish, and Chemnitius in particular proveth this by variety of authors. The placing of lights in churches at some time is not altogether an heathenish ceremony, although it appear by Seneca the Gentiles had it; but their burning of tapers in their churches at noonday is altogether a pagan custom, as Rhenanus well observes in his comment upon Tertullian" ("Discourse of Ceremonies," Part III.).

The Jesuits.

"I can see the Jesuits (the golden staves and mattocks of the See of Rome, whose name answereth Heraclitus' Greek name of a bow. 'Thy name,' said Heraclitus, ' $\beta\iota\delta_s$ (a bow) is life ($\beta\iota\delta_s$), but thy work is death') in office resemble the heathen priests of the Indians, called Brachmans, mentioned by Orosius. He saith: 'These heathen clergy-priests also study philosophy and the mathematical arts, insomuch that by their learning and counterfeit holiness they continue all their lifetime the singular contrivers of all fraud and villainy'; for my warrant I appeal to the catastrophe of many houses of nobility of this realm acted by the Jesuits'' (*ibid.*)

Babylon.

"John is a true prophet and your Babylon will fall, and it will fall for expunging the confession of Christ, and in its place branding on its forehead a name of manifold blasphemy, and that in large letters, so that he that runs may read it" ("Tortura Torti," p. 223).

Arrogant Claims of Rome.

"Tell me this: Are there no Christians groaning under the Turk? Are there no churches of Christians there? Are there

no Christians in Greece, Russia, Armenia, Ethiopia? He wipes them all out. And as he has fabricated the Roman Catholic Church, so he now proposes a Roman Christian religion; so that whoever is not a Roman does not belong to the Church, has no religion, is not a Catholic, no, nor a Christian. It is folly for a man to proscribe with one stroke so many kingdoms and nations, all massed together, which do not follow the religion of the Roman Pontiff, and to say that they are Pagans, and to declare that they are not Christians. Then the far greatest part of Europe is in heathendom! But why are they not to be called Christians? What is their so grave sin against the faith or law of Christ that they are to be deprived of this name of Christian? Is it because they would serve God with the understanding no less than with the spirit, and not mutter their holy rites in an unknown tongue? Is it because they all drink of the Cup and do not take only half the Sacrament, or because they do not 'make to themselves any likeness to adore and worship'? Or because they believe in the Holy Catholic Church, according to the old Creed, and not in the Roman Church, according to the new one? Or is it that they attribute too much to Christ, and do not make the suffrages of the saints necessary adjuncts in His office of Intercession, nor human merits in His work of man's justification, nor Papal Indulgences in His office of satisfying God's justice? In that case it would seem that they err on the side of excess and are too much Christians" (*ibid.*, p. 370).

If Bishop Andrewes is a representative of the Caroline divines, is it not plain that a yawning abyss, which nothing can span, lies between them and any school of men that looks back longingly to pre-Reformation doctrines and practices, and secretly or openly prefers them to the Protestantism of the Church of England?

F. MEYRICK.



ART. III.—THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY SINCE THE RESTORATION.—No. IV.

JOHN TILLOTSON (continued).

W^E must pass lightly over the reign of James II., on which we have had to dwell in the life of Sancroft, and in which Tillotson took only a minor part, as Dean of Canterbury. He preached against the Church of Rome and some of his writings were afterwards republished in Gibson's "Preserva-