

LANCELOT ANDREWES' LIFE AND MINISTRY
A FOUNDATION FOR TRADITIONAL ANGLICAN PRIESTS

by

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ABSTRACT
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This thesis explores Lancelot Andrewes' life and ministry as an example for Traditional Anglican Priests. An introduction and biography are presented, followed by an examination of his prayer life, doctrine, and liturgy. His prayer life is examined through his private prayers, via tract number 88 of the *Tracts for the Times*, daily prayers, and sermons. The second evaluation made is of Andrewes' doctrine. A review of his catechism is followed by his teaching of the Commandments. His sermons are examined and demonstrate his desire and ability to link the Old Testament and the New Testament through Jesus Christ and a review is made through examining his sermons for the different church seasons. Thirdly, Andrewes' liturgy is the focus, as many of his practices are still used today within the Traditional Anglican Church. His desire for holiness and beauty as reflected in his Liturgy is seen, as well as his position on what should be allowed in the worship of God. His love for the Eucharist is examined as he defends the English Church's use of the term "Real Presence" in its relationship to the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. The Prayer Books and their relationship to his Liturgical practices are also discussed. A summary begins with "preserving the traditional church" and the summarization following uses information from this thesis and his sermons, as to how they can provide the Traditional Anglican Priest defined by the words of the "The Form and Manner of Ordering Priests" with a foundation from which a defense can be made against the liberal trends of today.

To Debbie

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BIOGRAPHY

Lancelot Andrewes' life and ministry provides a foundation for the Traditional Anglican Priest. His prayer life, doctrine, and liturgy all shared a commonality of discipline, based upon scripture and early church tradition. He sought not new ideas and interpretations but the foundation of the early church. His life and ministry is in contrast to the current tide sweeping across the Church today as new ways and doctrines are being presented and pursued.

The Methodist Church, for example, is drafting legislation that would change its position on homosexuality and welcome LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered) fully into the church.¹ The Church of England ended one of its longest and most divisive disputes recently with an overwhelming vote in favor of allowing women to become bishops.² As well, the top legislative body of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. voted to redefine Christian marriage in the church constitution as the union of "two people" instead of

¹ O'Loughlin, Michael. "Methodist Church Considers Liberalization on LGBT Issues." Advocate.Com. May 4, 2014. Accessed July 25, 2014. <http://www.advocate.com/politics/religion/2014/05/04/methodist-church-considers-liberalization-lgbt-issues>.

² Matthew Knight. "Church of England Says Yes to Women Bishops," NBC News Com, July 12, 2014, accessed July 25, 2014, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/55641737/ns/world_news-europe/t/church-england-says-yes-women-bishops/.

only "a man and a woman."³ In the midst of these current conflicts within the Church, it is necessary to hear from the voices of the past and to review their teachings.

Lancelot Andrewes helped guide the Church of England during the early post Reformation period. He is famous for both his prayers and his sermons as they reflect holiness of life. Andrewes' liturgical practice is still evident within today's traditional Anglican Church.

The liberalization of today's church stems in large part from the ministry itself.⁴ The doctrines of the early church are not taught and defended from the attacks of the humanistic world. New doctrines and interpretation of established doctrines do not bring up-to-date the doctrines of old; rather, they establish a new religion that is not "Christian" according to how the Church has defined itself for two thousand years. The need is urgent for the Church to return to its foundational teachings.

As a theologian, Andrewes is not as well-known as say, the likes of Luther or Calvin; however, his contributions to the Church of England were essential to maintaining and solidifying traditional liturgy and doctrine. He lived during a difficult time period of the Church. The division between the Puritan movement and that of the Roman Church put a strain on England. It battled to keep the catholic, universal faith; while condemning the Church of Rome, and struggled with the Protestant movement within the Church of England.

³ Carol Kuruvilla. "Presbyterian Church USA Will Allow Same-Sex Marriage Ceremonies," June 19, 2014, accessed July 25, 2014, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/presbyterian-church-u-s-takes-major-step-gay-rights-article-1.1836691>.

⁴ J Gresham Machen, *The Christian Faith in the Modern World*, Reprint ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974, 1936), 65. Machen traces the problem back to the seminaries as he writes "many theological seminaries today are nurseries of unbelief; and because they are nurseries of unbelief the churches that they serve have become unbelieving churches too. As go the theological seminaries, so goes the church."

The Church of England sought reformation, but one based on scripture as interpreted and used by the early church.

Because few are aware of Andrewes, a look at his biography is necessary. Certain trends and patterns shaped and guided his life and ministry. His work as a lead transcriber of the King James Bible demonstrates a theme, which will be developed, that appears throughout all of his work and within his prayer life, preaching, and liturgical practices. For Andrewes, a great linguist,⁵ words would never be enough.

Andrewes' prayer life made him who he was. When praying to God words were insufficient, as a giving of one's mind, body, and soul is required. This giving of oneself requires humbleness as unworthiness pours forth, and the awesomeness and greatness of God is revealed and received. His prayer life and words suggest that as he drew nearer to God the more his own unworthiness was revealed. The intensifying of his awareness of his own sins made him even more in need of a "Saviour," Jesus Christ.

His teachings are found within the pages of his sermons and from other writings which exemplify his apologetic work against Rome and others, and his catechism teachings which focus on God and His Commandments, as well as a series of sermons on the Lord's Prayer. All of these writings reflect his leaning, the scripture, and the teachings of the early Church Fathers, early councils and creeds. His efforts were directed towards returning the Church to its original foundation.

⁵ T.S. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes Essays on Style and Order*, (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1929), 17-8. Eliot says, "Andrewes illustrates that determination to stick to essentials, that awareness of the needs of the time, the desire for clarity and precision on matters of importance...breadth of culture, at ease with humanism and Renaissance learning...the voice of a man who has a formed visible Church behind him, who speaks with the old authority and the new culture."

Andrewes insisted upon a liturgy which reflected the early church. It is this historic church which would become the solid ground upon which he would stand to defend the Church of England from the new liturgies of the Roman Church and as a defense of the episcopal form of government.

The Priesthood within Anglicanism needs to reflect upon the strengths of its past and to stand upon its history to define its future. It is important that Christian doctrine, as determined by the Church in the course of its history, be preserved. Today's new religion is something different from Christianity,⁶ and is based upon an elevation of self and de-elevation of God.⁷ Liberalism is often an advocacy of sin as defined by the church throughout its two thousand years history. All "Traditionalists" need to stand together and preserve what our Christian ancestors established in defense of Christ's Church.

The Post Reformation England

During the mid-sixteenth century The English Church was striving to meet the spiritual needs of its people.⁸ Anglicanism was in one sense unique, as the Reformed Church had its theologians, and Luther's Ninety-five Theses on Indulgences, of 1517, argued passionately for reform of the Roman Church with both its doctrine and practices having a great influence on the Western Church. In 1536 Calvin published *Institutes of the Christian*

⁶ As demonstrated by the fact that Christianity has always defined marriage as between a man and woman which is now challenged by society and from within the Church.

⁷ Society lessens the Commandments of God and replaces them with individual reasoning and desires, thus God is decreased as is his importance.

⁸ John R H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, 3rd ed. (London: A. & C. Black, 1980), 213.

Religion and by the time of his death in 1564, Geneva had become the center of an international movement which would bear his name. The Swiss had Zwingli who tried to reform the church by seeking a reformation of the morality within the Church.⁹

Yet, there was not really a theologian speaking for Anglicanism.¹⁰ Within Anglicanism was an absence of theologians trying to create its doctrine based upon the theological teachings of a church leader. It is as if the system of Anglicanism itself produced its own theologians, instead of the theologians making Anglicanism.¹¹ The theologians produced by Anglicanism were the early Church Fathers themselves. Anglicanism depended upon scripture and those ancient theologians known as the Church Fathers,¹² while defending the Church. Nothing new was introduced, rather the teachings of the early Church were confirmed.

⁹ Alister E. McGrath, *Historical Theology: An Introduction to the History of Christian Thought*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 163-66.

¹⁰ Moorman, 216. Although Hooker had written *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* in defense of the Church of England against Puritanism, and Jewel's work *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* had been a defense against Rome, yet there was no single voice of Anglican Theologian.

¹¹ Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Fathers and Anglicans: The Limits of Orthodoxy*, (Leominster: Gracewing, 2001), 117.

¹² F L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 603. "Applied to Bishops as witnesses to the Christian tradition...but from end of 4th century...defined as group of ecclesiastical authors of the past whose authority of doctrinal matters carried special weight...authority of the Fathers was held by the older Catholic theologians to be infallible only when they taught a doctrine unanimously...teachings of individual Fathers, on the other hand, though not lightly to be set aside, was admittedly liable to error."

Andrewes' Early Years

By the time Lancelot Andrewes was born in 1555, the stormy waves of the Reformation¹³ were beginning to calm on the surface, although the brutality of the time continued as seen by the execution of the Reformers Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London. In the following year Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was instrumental in the writing of the 1549 and 1552 Books of Common Prayer, was burnt to death.¹⁴ England was under the rule of Mary I and the Church of England was once again in full communion with the Church of Rome. The strain of conflict within the country was still present, continuing beneath the surface.

Amidst this uneasiness, Mrs. Andrewes, the wife of a master-mariner, awaited the birth of the first of her thirteen children, Lancelot Andrewes, in the parish of All Hallows, Barking.¹⁵ Lancelot Andrewes, who would not leave the island of England during his lifetime, was born in a parish built in 675 and is within walking distance of Southwark Cathedral where he now lies buried.¹⁶ According to Andrewes' secretary and close friend, Henry Isaacson, Andrewes' parents, Thomas and Joan Andrewes, were "honest and

¹³ Cross, 1383. The early sixteenth century is stated to be the "restricted" date of Reformation.

¹⁴ Cranmer was imprisoned under Queen Mary I and tried for high treason (was found guilty but pardoned) and then later found guilty for heresy. He was pressured to sign several recantations, on the day of his death he renounced his recantations and as he put his hand in the fire first saying: "This hand hath offended."

¹⁵ Florence Higham, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (London: SCM Press LTD, 1952), 7. Originally linked to the Student Christian Movement (SCM).

¹⁶ Maurice F. Reidy, S.J., *Bishop Lancelot Andrewes Jacobean Court Preacher*, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1955), 1.

religious.”¹⁷ Little is known of the Andrewes family; however, Thomas Andrewes was a member of the Trinity House, a maritime organization, and friends with Francis Walsingham, who later would become Queen Elizabeth’s Principal Secretary, perhaps giving some indication of the Andrewes family’s standing.¹⁸ Walsingham would eventually be instrumental in Andrewes’ elevation to Vicar of Saint Giles, Cripplegate.

Education

Very early in life it became evident to the child’s parents that Lancelot was a very gifted child, beyond his peers in knowledge and in his desire to learn. Although his father wished to apprentice Lancelot within the maritime trade, he was convinced to send the child to the Cooper’s Free School at Ratcliff, where the headmaster, Dr. Ward,¹⁹ discerned a potential scholar. At the age of six Lancelot was offered a place among a hundred poor scholars and attended a school newly founded by the Merchant-Taylors Company. The school stressed that in learning there was opportunity. Andrewes was placed under the tutelage of the celebrated Richard Mulcaster,²⁰ then master of the Merchant Taylors’ School. Mulcaster²¹ was a strict disciplinarian who pushed Andrewes to excel. Classes would begin

¹⁷ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes The Preacher (1555-1626) The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England*, with a foreword by Michael Ramsey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 8.

¹⁸ Highham, 9.

¹⁹ Mr. Ward would become a close friend of which Lancelot Andrewes would assist later in life in becoming Prebendary of Chichester.

²⁰ Richard Mulcaster was first headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School in London. He composed two treatises on education. Mulcaster worked to establish a rigorous curriculum, which was to set the standard for education in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

²¹ Henry Isaacson; Stephen Isaacson, *The life and death of Lancelot Andrewes, late Lord Bishop of Winchester*, (London: Hearne, 1829), 44. Andrewes reverently respected Mulcaster during his life, and after

in the morning at seven o'clock; however, Lancelot was accustomed to starting his day at 4 a.m. to begin studying, and this discipline would mark his entire life. Andrewes' love of study became so strong that his parents and school masters had to force him to take time for recreation.²² And even his recreation was different from others:

His ordinary exercise and recreation was walking either alone by himself, or with some other selected companion, with whom he might confer and argue, and recount their studies; and he would often profess that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters, heavens, any of the creatures, and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues, uses, was ever to him the greatest mirth, content, and recreation that could be: and this he held to his dying day.²³

John Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester, and Andrewes's friend and associate since the 1590s, spoke of Andrewes' love of study when he preached at Andrewes funeral:

He accounted all that time lost that he spent not in his studies, wherein in learning he outstripped all his equals, and his indefatigable industry had almost outstripped himself. He studies so hard when others played, that if his parents and masters had not forced him to play with them also, all the play had been marred. His late studying by candle, and early rising at four in the morning, procured him envy among his equals.²⁴

Mulcaster's death Andrewes caused his picture (Andrewes having very few within his house) to be set over his study door.

²² Reidy, 2.

²³ Henry Isaacson, "An Exact Narration of the Life and Death of the Late Reverend and Learned Prelate, and Painfull Divine," Trans., Marianne Dorman, Project Canterbury, 2005, accessed July 26, 2014, <http://anglicanhistory.org/andrewes/isaacson1650.html>.

²⁴ Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, "A FUNERAL SERMON Preached at the Funeral of the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot, Late Lord Bishop of Winchester," trans., Dr. Marianne Dorman, Project Canterbury, 2005, accessed July 24, 2014, <http://anglicanhistory.org/lact/andrewes/v5/funeral.html>.

Mr. Richard Mulcaster, whose own passion was in Oriental languages and Hebrew both of which he taught at the school, discovered an aptitude for languages in Lancelot that matched his own.²⁵ Biographer Higham describes Andrewes as having a:

...prodigious memory, a nimble wit and unruffled good humor, an enquiring temper and the mental integrity which are the marks of a true scholar... (he) was born into the age of the Renaissance and Reformation and he took as naturally as a duck to water to the study of ancient tongues, with the Greek philosophers and the Holy Scripture as the glorious text books with which each day he grew more familiar, and he learnt not only Greek and Latin and Hebrew but the interplay of sound and sense, the discipline of grammar and the increasing interest of analyzing and comparing foreign tongues.²⁶

One can sense that Mulcasters unusual emphasis on the arts of oratorical declamation in the performance of plays and on music theory and practice left indelible marks in Andrewes sermons. His love of language grew, lending itself to his early training and would prepare him for the role he would assume as he lead a team in crafting the King James Bible.²⁷

Cambridge Experience

In the summer of 1571 Andrewes enrolled in the University of Cambridge, which began his thirty-four year relationship with the school entering as a scholar, and rising to be

²⁵ Alexander Whyte, *Lancelot Andrewes and His Private Devotions: A Biograhpy, A Transcript And An Interpretation*, (Edinburgh, T. and A. Constable, Printers to Her Majesty, 1896), 4. Andrewes...His admirable knowledge in the learned tongues...‘Latine, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriack, Arabick, besides other modern tongues to the number of fifteen.’

²⁶ Higham, 10-11.

²⁷ Andrewes’ mastery of language would not only influence those of his days. Andrewes became such an artist at the use of language, that even into the 20th century his work was admired by the famous American poet T. S. Eliot who wrote that Andrewes was the “first great preacher of the English Catholic Church” who spoke “with the old authority and the new culture.” Andrewes sermons would become so powerful and moving that T. S. Eliot was converted to English Catholicism by the artistically powerful use of words employed by Andrewes.

its Head.²⁸ Due to his involvement with Cambridge, and because of his inclination towards personal asceticism, Andrewes investigated the Puritan pattern for a holy life. As interest developed, the Puritans, recognizing his ability, tried to enroll him among their own.²⁹ This is also the year that Whitgift, then vice-chancellor of the University, succeeded in driving Cartwright³⁰ from his professorship and the pulpit.

Cambridge remained distinctly Puritan, and criticism of the Church of England was prevalent, especially of the threefold ministry, the liturgical forms of worship, and use of priestly vestments, thus the trend was of nonconformity. Andrewes' acquaintances included many Puritans at the school. He participated in prayer-groups and engaged in careful theological and scriptural studies with many Puritans who were very learned and engaged. His acquaintances included Lawrence Chaderton, an English Puritan Divine and translator of King James Bible; John Knewstubs who participated in the Hampton Court; and Richard Greenham who was a sabbatarian writer,³¹ with which Andrewes was in agreement.³² Due to Andrewes' growing reputation, he was solicited later in life by a committed partisan of the

²⁸ Robert L. Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (London: Methnen & Company, 1894), 11.

²⁹ Reidy, 4.

³⁰ Ottley, 8. Thomas Cartwright had been placed in a position of dignity and wide influence by his election to the Lady Margaret professorship in 1569, and he used the professional chair to assail with determination the whole system of the English Church.

³¹ Cross, 1443. Sabbatarianism exercise "strictness in the observance of the Divinely ordained day of rest. Although there is evidence of a similar rigidity in the observance of Sunday among the Anabaptistes of E. Europe in 16th century, the rigorous observance of Sunday is a peculiar development of the English and Scottish Reformation. . . ."

³² Peter Lake and Michael C. Questier, eds., *Studies in Modern British Religious History*, vol. 2, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, C. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000), 14. Andrewes remained...rigorous...under the terms of the fourth commandment...“idle plays and pastimes” are forbidden on Sunday, which should be devoted instead to “holy exercises.”

Puritan cause, Sir. Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State for Queen Elizabeth, who asked Andrewes to promote the Puritan arguments, but he was refused. Andrewes told him that to do so would be, “contrary both to his learning and to his conscience.”³³ This refusal may have been influenced by a previous experience Andrewes had while attending Cambridge. One day when Andrewes witnessed some Puritan brethren at sport on the day of Sabbath rest an action he considered awkward:

Yet these Hypocrites did bowle in a private green at their colledge every Sunday after Sermon; and one of the Colledge (a loving friend to Mr. L. Andrewes) to satisfie him, one time lent him the Key of a Private back dore to the bowling green, on a Sunday evening, which he opening, discovered these zealous Preachers with their Gownes off, earnest at play.³⁴

Andrewes’ disappointment at this discovery indicates a desire for perfection and this desire seems to motivate him throughout his life.

Andrewes obtained his B.A. and was elected a Fellow of Pembroke in February 1575, and received his M.A. from Pembroke in 1578. During that year, he was appointed as college Catechist at Pembroke which gave him an opportunity to begin his catechetical lectures from the pulpit as undergraduates and fellows from other colleges, as well as townspeople, filled the Saturday and Sunday lectures on the Ten Commandments in the Pembroke chapel. Andrewes was ordained on St. Barnabas’ Day 1580 in the chapel of William Chaderton, bishop of Chester, who performed the ordination.³⁵ During 1580 Andrewes was also appointed Junior Treasurer of Pembroke, and was made the Treasurer in

³³ Lossky, 15.

³⁴ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives and Other Selected Writings*, (London: Cresset Press, 1949), 165.

³⁵ Isaacson, 50. Of which he had “engraven” about the seal of his Bishopric, those words of St. Paul “and who is sufficient for these things?” (2 Cor 2:16).

1581. He received his B. D.; thesis *De Usuris*, in 1585. In 1586 Andrewes was appointed chaplain to Queen Elizabeth. Andrewes received his D. D., thesis: *Of the Right of Tithes*, in 1588 and in 1589 he was elected Principle of Pembroke. Through all of these years Andrewes did not want his works published. Even his catechist work of 1578, *A Patterne of Catechistical Doctrine*, was not printed until after his death as he sought no public recognition. His love of learning seemed to overshadow any desire of public praise.

Andrewes' life of discipline encouraged a spiritual life leading him to embrace the structure and framework of the Ten Commandments upon which he expounded as a catechist. He understood that the Reformation was necessary because of the corruption of the Roman Church and believed that its new direction should be guided by a return to the practices and doctrines of the early church enshrined in the first four councils.³⁶ John Cosin, another Caroline Divine, described Andrewes as “a great defender of the primitive faith.”³⁷ His Saturday and Sunday lectures at Pembroke on the Ten Commandments, his earliest known work, would solidify the foundation of his beliefs on Christian virtues which endured within his heart all his life.³⁸

³⁶ Lancelot Andrewes, *The Works of Lancelot Andrewes*, 11 vol. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1841-1854), 2:420. In future referenced as: Andrewes, *Works* vol 2, 420.

³⁷ Marinanne Dorman, *Lancelot Andrewes Mentor of Reformed Catholicism in the Post Reformation English Church 1555-1626*, (Pittsburg: RoseDog Publishing, 2005), 2.

³⁸ The Traditional Anglican Church continues today to highlight the Ten Commandments as they are read, or a summary thereof, immediately following the “Introit” at the beginning of the Eucharist, preserving its place of honor with the sacred liturgy.

Defender of the Anglican Faith

According to Dorman, the Christian faith as explained by Andrewes, is “one canon given of God, two testaments, three symbols (Apostles’, Athanasian, and Nicene creeds), the four first councils of Nicaea I: 325; Constantinople I: 381; Ephesus: 431; Chalcedon: 451, and first five centuries and the series of Fathers therein.”³⁹ Through his learning he would weave together a doctrine that was not his own, but of that within the Church at its formation.

Andrewes was appointed Dean of Westminster in 1601 and as Dean he was actively involved with the pupils, and he would take groups on walks, during which time he would quicken their intellectual curiosity. With the older pupils he would teach Greek and Hebrew in special classes in the evening between eight o’clock and eleven. In teaching, as in apologetics, Andrewes would use persuasion and gentleness, rejecting methods of compulsion. This attitude would also be found in his pastoral work and sermons as he sought to teach to the heart.⁴⁰

Andrewes’ preaching was appreciated by Elizabeth I, and he became one of her twelve chaplains. In 1603 he took part in the funeral service of Queen Elizabeth, preaching the funeral sermon,⁴¹ and he also participated in the Coronation of James VI of Scotland and I of England in July of 1603, as a deadly epidemic of bubonic plague was raging in London.

³⁹ Marianne Dorman, *Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626 A Perennial Preacher In The Post-Reformation English Church*, (Tucson: Fenestra Books, 2004), 9; Lancelot Andrewes. *The Works of Lancelot Andrewes*, 11 vol. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1841-1854), 8:90.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴¹ Higham, 31.

After surveying the confusion and uneasiness which followed in the wake of the Reformation, the Christian faith and practice were his foremost interest, and the state of religion in England obviously distressed him as he wrote:

To make religion nothing but an auricular profession, a matter of ease, a mere sedentary thing, and ourselves merely passive in it; sit still, and hear a Sermon and two Anthems, and be saved, as if by the act of the choir, or of the preacher, we should so be, (for these by their acts,) and we do nothing ourselves, but sit and suffer, without so much as anything done by us, any *effundan* (pouring) on our parts at all; not so much as this, of calling on the Name of the Lord.⁴²

Religion to Andrewes was not just something “inward” but “outward” as well. The visible church was something very real to Andrewes as it had represented the Church of Christ from its beginning, having continuity with apostolic times which had been visible throughout its history. Thus he would strive to establish the English Church upon the ground of scripture and the early church. Andrewes had a nostalgic longing for the days of Christian unity and had an understanding of the Protestant Movement within the Church of England. He wrote to Bellarmine, “The people of the reformed churches have suffered no shipwreck of the faith, they reject no creed of the old Church, they admit all.”⁴³ Andrewes’ desire for unity would lead an English politician, John Harrington, to write of Andrewes:

I persuade myself, that whensoever it shall please God to give the King means, with consent of his confederate princes, to make that great peace which His blessed word, *Beati pacifici* – (Blessed are the peacemakers) seemeth to promise, - I mean the ending of this great schism in the Church of God, procured as much by ambition as superstition, this reverend prelate will be found one of the ablest, not of England only, but of Europe, to set the course for composing the controversies; which I speak not to add reputation to his sufficiency by my judgment; but rather to win credit to my judgment by his sufficiency.⁴⁴

⁴² Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 319.

⁴³ Reidy, 97; Andrewes, *Work* vol 8, 448.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 97-8.

Having defined the Christian Faith by examining the Canonized Scripture, the early Church Fathers, and the first four ecumenical councils, he undertook the task of formalizing the patterns which he believed should prevail in the English Church. This meant that he must defend the English Church against the onslaught of Roman Catholicism, and he also must bring his defense against some of the Puritan tendencies within the Church itself. This meant that he had to face the problem, as far as the English Church was concerned, of propagating the idea of the continuity of an early catholic tradition in the Church, despite the break occasioned by Henry and later Elizabeth, as he had to promote the idea of Catholicism that was episcopal, but not papal. At the same time Andrewes sought to reduce the Puritan tone of earlier Elizabethan Anglicanism. His desire was to emphasize the historical legitimacy of both by taking the same road of the early Church.

A case can be made that if it had not been for Andrewes, the High Church may have never endured, at least survived during the nineteenth century and acknowledged by the phenomenon known as the Oxford Movement.⁴⁵ A spiritual succession from Andrewes, through the Caroline Divines and the non-jurors⁴⁶ to the nineteenth century Tractarians⁴⁷ is a most legitimate claim.

⁴⁵ Cross, 1212. Oxford Movement (1833-45) within Church of England...aimed at restoring the High Church ideas of the 17th century. For more history on the Oxford Movement see R.W.Church, *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-1845*, (London: MacMillan and Co., 1892).

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1167. The non-jurors were members of the Church of England who after 1688 scrupled to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to William and Mary.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 1645. The Tractarians were in the early stages of Oxford Movement, derived from the *Tracts for the Times*.

Against the Roman Church Andrewes would reject: tradition alone (*fides non scripta*), relics, the use of Latin in the liturgy, invocation of saints, images, communion under one species,⁴⁸ transubstantiation, the papacy, and papal infallibility. Andrewes' position on scripture and the church is described by Reidy:

Anglicanism set itself off from the continental reformed churches, attempted to maintain its historical connection with the old Church, and at the same time, through the limitations contained in the norms, separated itself from Rome. In a sense the critical point is the sufficiency of Scripture. For the Puritan (the English counterpart of the continental Calvinist) Scripture and Scripture alone constituted the rule of faith; for the Catholic it was scripture, tradition, and the living *magisterium* of the Church; for the Anglican it was Scripture and the primitive Church. Anglicanism appealed to the Bible as the test of essential doctrine, to antiquity, to Catholic tradition, and to the authority of the Church as arbiter in matters of faith and mistress in matters of discipline.⁴⁹

With the Puritans it could be argued that Andrewes had more of a problem with their form of government than with the essentials of their religion. As there was order and structure in God's Creation, Andrewes believed that structure and order were proper for Christ's Church. As he observed the many changes that the Puritans brought to the structure of church government, which was different than the English Church, he viewed the changes as disorder and the undoing of the current church in England.

⁴⁸ *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 1389. Defining the communion under one species states the Roman Catholic Catechism states: "Since Christ is sacramentally present under each of the species, communion under the species of bread alone makes it possible to receive all the fruit of Eucharistic grace. For pastoral reasons this manner of receiving communion has been legitimately established as the most common form in the Latin rite. But "the sign of communion is more complete when given under both kinds, since in that form the sign of the Eucharist meal appears more clearly...this is the form of receiving communion in the Eastern rites."

⁴⁹ Reidy, 79.

Importance to the Anglican Church

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, is one of three compilers of a twenty first century book on Anglicanism he writes in the Introduction of the book:

...Anglican golden age, abounding in writers of outstanding beauty and saintly characters, who somehow transcended the confessional squabbles of their day, harmonizing all that was best in patristic and medieval devotion with the clarity and simplicity of Reformed religion. Lancelot Andrewes would, for many, be among the supreme exponents of this triumphant synthesis. His private devotions certainly represent an exceptionally hospitable spirit, decisively shaped by the heritage of the Greek Fathers; the recurring themes of his sermons-amazing tours de force of exuberant imagery, blending verbal playfulness with theological depth...central texts of the early Church, divine mystery, humanity in the image of God restored in Christ, the transfiguring gift of the Spirit in the sacramental fellowship Church...passages on the Eucharist as the focal act and sign of Christian identity... a real communication to the believer of the divine life...from patristic theology: the divine Son becomes human so that we may become divine, and in the sacrament this communion of divine and human nature in Christ is shared with us.⁵⁰

The Caroline Divines, of which Andrewes was a prominent figure, were instrumental to the Church of England during the Reformation and Post Reformation period.⁵¹ The Caroline Divines, especially Andrewes was referenced by Bishops of his day:

From this background (Andrewes) came Laud's quest for the 'beauty of holiness' for altars in their old places, and protected by rails in a sanctuary; Andrewes' book of private prayers, wonderfully drawn from the ancient liturgies as well as from Scripture; Cosin's desire to utilize traditional ornaments in the chapel of Peterhouse or the cathedral at Durham.⁵²

⁵⁰ Geoffrey Rowell, Kenneth Stevenson, Rowan Williams, comps., *Loves Redeeming Work The Anglican Quest for Holiness*, (Oxford: Oxford Press, 2003), 9.

⁵¹ Cross, 293. Caroline Divines were the Anglican divines of the 17th century who promoted High Church principles.

⁵² Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of The Oxford Movement*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), 18.

Of above; Laud's quest for beauty, and Cosin's desire of traditional ornaments, both were of Andrewes'⁵³ influence. Andrewes' writings are drawn upon in later times in explaining doctrines. As an example, His *Ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini* is used to explain the doctrine of Real Presence. Those of the nineteenth century Oxford Movement such as Edward Bouverie Pusey relied on Andrewes in his explanation of the Sacrament:

‘Adore the flesh of Christ in the Mysteries,’ with Ambrose; not It, but Him, Who is worshipped at the altar. And we in no wise adore the Sacrament. Christ Himself, the Substance of the Sacrament, in and with the Sacrament, out of and without the substance, is, wherever He is, to be adored. But the King (James, whom Andrewes was defending) laid down that Christ truly present in the Eucharist, is truly to be adored, i.e. the earthly part, as Ireaeus; the visible, as Augustine.⁵⁴

During the eighteenth century Samuel Seabury, the first American Bishop of The Episcopal Church in the USA, attacked the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation and he explained the doctrine of the Real Presence using the doctrine as taught by Andrewes.⁵⁵

Respect and admiration for Andrewes began in the sixteenth century as word of his teachings and sermons began to spread. By the seventeenth century his popularity grew throughout England. It is known that Queen Elizabeth admired him but whatever future plans she may have had for him vanished with her demise in 1603.

King James I

It was under King James I that Andrewes' esteem peaked. King James admired him beyond all other divines for his foundational thought in all kinds of learning; therefore

⁵³ Dorman, *Lancelot Andrewes Mentor*, 4. “What Andrewes practiced in his chapel influenced many others who in turn copied his style in their own chapels and churches. . . .example, William Laud.”

⁵⁴ E.B.Pusey D.D., *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*, (London: Walter Smith, 1883), 465.

⁵⁵ Rowell, 327. Andrewes specifically is not quoted; however, his doctrine is applied.

he selected him, as his choicest instrument, to vindicate his position against his many adversaries. Soon after his entrance to the crown, King James bestowed upon him the Bishopric of Chichester, and then Lord Almoner and the Parsonage⁵⁶ of Cheam, in Surrey. Finally King James bestowed upon him the Bishopric of Ely as well. King James stood so much in awe and veneration of him, that in his presence he refrained from that mirth and levity in which he indulged himself at other times.⁵⁷

Hampton Court and King James Bible

Andrewes was a participant at the Hampton Court and later appointed by King James to head up the publishing company responsible for the translation of Genesis through II Kings for the King James Bible.

Andrewes was a member of The Court of King James I, an alliance between the Church and the monarchy which eventually lost the confidence of the people. Ottley observes:

It was noticed that Andrewes avoided the court; he shrank for the inconsistency of being at once a preacher of an austere religion, and a competitor for preferments and the ‘honours’ of worldly station. One anecdote reveals his power of withstanding the corrupting influence of such a life. On one occasion...the king turned to Andrewes and Neale (Bishop of Durham) as they stood behind his chair: ‘My lords, cannot I take my subjects money when I want it without all this formality of Parliament?’ ‘God forbid, sir, but you should’ was Neale’s ready reply; ‘you are the breath of our nostrils.’ Andrewes was silent, well my lord what say you? Sir, replied the bishop (Andrewes). ‘I have no skill to judge of Parliamentary cases.’ The king answered, ‘no put-offs, my lord, answer me presently.’ Then, Sir, said he, ‘I think it lawful for you to take my brothers Neale’s money, for he offers it.’⁵⁸

⁵⁶ A Parsonage is a residence provided by a church for its pastor.

⁵⁷ Isaacson, 63.

⁵⁸ Ottley, 49.

Although he attended the Hampton Court conference, where disagreements between Puritans and the English Church were to be discussed, he was rather quiet during the conference. The only reference to him speaking comes on the fourth day of the conference as the topic of the use of the cross in the baptismal service was discussed.

The Puritan Reynolds objected strongly that this was a “popish custom.” Bancroft defended its use as being something that goes back to the early church and was part of the Catholic tradition that they all shared. At this point Reynolds asked for proof. At this time Andrewes stated that “it appears out of (according to) Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen that it was used *in immortalis lavacro* (in everlasting, immortal washing).”⁵⁹ From this defense the king would stand upon the ground that if something such as the cross, was abused to superstition in time of popery, it must have been well used before that time. Thus, the abuse of the Pope did not make something that was good and proper become something undavory of itself. The absence of Andrewes’ heavy participation during the court could also imply that he was troubled and disturbed by the lack of unity within the church and ruffled at its discussion. Later King James would require of him to defend the Church of England from outside attacks, which he would do and excel in so doing, but not enjoy.⁶⁰

Flowing from the conference was a plan, forced upon the participants by the King, to begin work on a new translation of the Bible. The structure for the translation was that every particular man of each group was to take the same chapter or chapters, and having translated

⁵⁹ Higham, 37.

⁶⁰ Isaacson, 53. Andrewes “acuteness and profundity in writing against the adversary, he so excelled all others of his time, that neither Bellarmine, champion to the Romanist, nor any other of them, was ever able to answer what he wrote; so that as his sermons were inimitable, his writings were unanswerable.”

or amended them to his satisfaction would meet with the others, confer over what they had done and agree for their part what shall stand.⁶¹ From this process the document would be sent around to the other five groups (companies) for their approval. Any criticisms or emendations then suggested were to be considered at a final meeting of the group chairmen.

This work would take full advantage of Andrewes' linguistic skills as he was appointed chairman of the First Westminster Company (group) to which was given the task of the translation from the book of Genesis to the end of the Second Book of Kings. The other members of his company of translators were John Overall, Hadrian a Sarvavia, Richard Clarke, John Layfield, Robert Tighe, Francis Burleigh, Geoffrey King, Richard Thomson and William Bedwell. The process, conducted daily, was long and tedious and fit perfectly the personality and knowledge of Lancelot Andrewes.⁶²

A review of this work gives a great insight into the life and ministry of Andrewes as it seems that “words” are never enough when it comes to God. God was personal to Andrewes and even with his great skill and knowledge he had to go beyond words, as observed in his prayer life and his liturgical practice. God is so great, that even when using all skills and senses they fail to fully describe and reveal God. There is always a mystery of God which is beyond our ability to understand. Anselm decades earlier had tried to describe God (the ontological debate), but Andrewes would always strive to make God as personal as possible in his sermons, prayer life, and liturgy as a way of encouraging people to come to Him. He

⁶¹ Higham, 40.

⁶² David Norton, *A Textual History of The King James Bible*, (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 12. Norton states that it appears that this group met daily. A memo written noted the afternoon as being ‘our translation time’ . . . showing this company worked daily collectively rather than individually.

believed that only through our humbleness and acknowledgment of our unworthiness could we approach God. His work on the King James Bible is a great example of making God a personal living God. Of Andrewes' importance, Nicolson states that the case can be made that Andrewes as Chairman, if there was a translator of the first books of the King James Bible, it was Andrewes.⁶³

Genesis Translation Comparisons

The validation of the previous begins with Gn 1:1. By examining the work of the Protestant martyr, William Tyndale's translation of the 1530's, one can move on to the improvements seen in the upgrade made during the 1550's in the Geneva Bible, and then finally the finished work of the King James Bible in 1611 concludes the comparisons. The following account goes verse by verse, beginning with Tyndale's translation:

“In the begynnyng God created heauen and erth. The erth was voyde and empyte, and darcknesse was vpon the depe, & the spirite of God moued vpon the water.” While this description of void, dark, and deep is clarifying and useful, it is less interested in ‘the grandeur of its music than the light it brings.’⁶⁴

Progressing next to the Geneva Bible is translated: “In the beginning God created the heauen and the earth. And the earth *was* without form and void, and darknesse was upon the deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the waters.” In the Geneva Bible Tyndale's basic wording was taken and made something more fluent, as by describing “voyde” as something

⁶³ Adam Nicolson, *God's Secretaries The Making of the King James Bible*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003), 192.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 192-3. Gen 1:1 “In the begynnyng God created heaven and erth.” Gen 1:2 “The erth was voyde and empyte ad darcknesse was vpon the depe and the spirite of god moved vpon the water.”

“without form” and “emptye” as being “void,” of which both try to better describe something that is almost impossible to understand; as something from “nothingness” is attempted to be described.

Andrewes’ group would take the qualities listed above and paint an almost artistic description: In the beginning God created the Heauen, and the Earth. And the earth was without forme, and voyd, and darknesse was vpon the face of the deepe: and the Spirit of God mooued vpon the face of the waters. Nicholson explains these changes as he says:

These are slight and marvelous changes. Some are almost purely rhythmic. To say ‘the Heaven’ and ‘the Earth’, which he borrowed from the Genevans, allows an easier run than Tyndale’s harsher and more naked substantives. The commas after ‘Heauen’ and in the second verse are signs to pause in the reading of it, and the colon after ‘deep’ marks a slightly longer rest. In the slightest of ways, Andrewes introduces two new qualities to add to Tyndale’s: an aural fluency and the sense of ease which comes from that; and, allied to that ease, a pace of deliberate and magisterial slowness, no hurry here, pausing in its hugeness, those bass colors in the vocabulary matched by a heavy, soft drumming of the rhythm. It is as solemn and orderly as the beginning of a steady and majestic march.⁶⁵

The “face” upon the deep and upon the water is used twice by Andrewes. Why not use “surface?” Here is where simple words, one could say even words themselves, seemed not enough for Andrewes. Why choose “face” and not a word like “surface” or some other technical word?

To Andrewes God is a living God, not some technical abstract being, as Nicholson explains:

Instead, ‘face’ has a rich, plain Englishness to it, and in using it Andrewes is more accurate than Tyndale (as is ‘waters’ in the plural). But it is also, in its physicality, more stirring. The spirit of God moving on the face of the waters has a mysterious and ghostly humanity to it which neither the modern translations nor Tyndale’s blankness can match. The face of the waters carries a subliminal suggestion that the

⁶⁵ Ibid., 193-4.

face of God is reflected in them. That too is a baroque suggestion, a scene from Michelangelo or Blake. In this first, archaic darkness a connection already exist between God and his creation. The universe from the moment of its making is human and divine, almost as if, purely by this one lexical gesture, James's Translators are foreshadowing the whole long story which will unfold from that first moment.⁶⁶

This closeness to God, this personal God, this God who creates and gives, this same God that demands and judges, is the God which Andrewes, even with his gifts of words and languages, seems to ever strive to be near. With words inadequate to fully explain, and our humanity unable to obey, Andrewes throughout his life would not only use words, but all senses to describe and communicate with God. A hunger to please God pushes him into an ascetic lifestyle⁶⁷ within a renaissance world full of new ideas and new ways of thought, action, and lifestyle. Being of a Creator God, within a creation which seems never satisfied with God's revelation, is the world of today as it was in the world of Andrewes.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 194.

⁶⁷ H.R. McAdoo, *The Structure of Caroline Moral Theology*, (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), 168. Of referring to Andrewes work *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine* McAdoo refers to his work as moving him towards a moral and ascetic theology.

CHAPTER 2

PRAYER

Within the Cathedral Church of Southwark lies Andrewes' tomb below the vaulted roof of a beautiful chancel. Next to the tomb is a pre-dieu, a desk for prayer, with a copy of his private prayers lying upon its top.

Prayer is defined in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* as “properly speaking, is a petition which we make to God for the things which pertain to our salvation; but it is also taken in another, broader sense to mean any raising of the heart to God.”¹

Andrewes stands with the Publican in Lk 18:13 as a sinner before God as they both pray “God be merciful to me a sinner.”² He prayed for God's grace for others, from kings to peasants, always from a servant's role and heart. The importance of prayer its benefits are discussed by Andrewes:

...the fruit of hope is prayer: ‘prayer is the interpreter of our mind; the operation of our hope is prayer; we go to God by prayers of our minds, not by the paces of our feet’ ...By prayer is not only meant open prayer, which is called ‘the calves of the lips’ (Hos 14.2) but, the ‘inward meditation of the heart’ ...private prayer is called the

¹ F L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1324.

² Members of the University of Oxford, *Tract For The Times*, Vol 5, (London: Printed for J.G.F. & J. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, and Waterloo Place, Pall Mall; & J.H. Parker, Oxford, 1840), 18. “I have sinned, Lord, I have sinned against Thee; O me, wretched man that I am...much and grievously, in attending to vanities and lies. I conceal nothing, I make no excuses...I have perverted that which is right...and what shall I now say?” Each daily prayer of Andrewes has a “confession” of sins.

‘key to open the day’, and the ‘bar to shut in the night’ ...Prayer maketh for God’s Glory.³

The prayers of Lancelot Andrewes reflected the faith that he preached in his sermons and when his prayer life is examined, it is revealed that his theology also thrives within his prayer life. Lossky says “The faith preached in the sermons is that which was lived daily by the preacher and which is revealed to us in the prayers collected by him.”⁴ We can read of any person and see what he is in public, but rarely are we able to see into their chambers or closet. With this glimpse into his book of private prayers we get a rare opportunity to see the inward man.

Private Prayers

It has been said that Andrewes’ greatest gift to posterity is his book of private prayers. The original book, never meant to be made public, was said to be “slubbed by his pious hands” and “watered with his penitential tears.”⁵ It was twenty years after his death that Richard Drake published a translation of the original, in 1648, which was written in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. Higham describes Andrewes’ private prayers as:

... a glorious bejeweled patchwork of liturgical worship drawn out of the reserves of learning he had accumulated since his boyhood, culled from the Eastern Church, from the Early Fathers, above all from the Bible and the Prayer Book and the psalms, that sublime handbook of praise and thanksgiving.⁶

³ Lancelot Andrewes, *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, and Other Minor Works*, (Oxford: Printed by I. Shrimpton, 1896), 97-8.

⁴ Nicolas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555-1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 30.

⁵ Hugh Martin, *The Private Prayers of Lancelot Andrewes*, (London: SCM Press LTD, 1957), 9.

⁶ Higham, 108.

His prayers are of importance within Anglicanism as the Tractarians of the Oxford Movement devoted a section of their *Tracts for the Times*, Tract Number 88, to the “Greek devotions of Bishop Andrewes” in which begins with, Is 62:6, I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem; which shall never hold their peace day nor night. These words of constant prayer, day and night, describe the controlled and regulated prayer life of Andrewes. In Tract No. 88 Andrewes describes the times for prayer:

Always (Lk 18:1), Without ceasing (1 Thes 5:17), At all times (Eph 6:18)... We give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word (Acts 6:4)... He kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime (Dan 6:10), In the evening, and morning, and at noon day will I pray, and that instantly, and He shall hear my voice (Ps 55:17), Seven times a day do I praise Thee (Ps 119:164), In the morning, a great while before day (Mk 1:35).⁷

Morning and Evening Prayer

Andrewes followed a pattern of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer,⁸ and within each is a prayer of thanksgiving, confession, prayer for grace, profession of faith, intercessions, and praise. A day of prayer with Andrewes would follow a pattern throughout the week.

Awakening at four A.M. his faith was nourished during five hours of prayer and meditation which engrained within him the Christian Virtues of faith, hope, and charity. His

⁷ John Henry Newman, John Keble, William Palmer, Richard Hurrell Froude, Edward Bouverie Pusey, *Tracts for the Times, Tract 88*, (London: Printed for J. G. F. & J. Rivington, St. Pauls Church Yard, and Waterloo Palace, Pall Mall; & J. H. Parker, Oxford, 1840), 3.

⁸ Whyte, 63. It is noted that as well as the Morning and Evening Prayers Andrewes also stressed the Hourly Offices of Lauds, before day; Prime, at daybreak; Terse, third hour of day; Sext, sixth hour; None, the ninth hour; Vespers, at eventide; Compline, by night.

prayers never separate the two Testaments of scripture.⁹ The New Testament was in continuity and fulfillment of the Old as Andrewes saw Holy Scripture as one. From the Creation narrative, through the giving of the Law, the prophets and historical books, to the birth, ministry, passion and death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, Andrewes weaves a single beautiful spiritual seamless thread of God's loving grace throughout.

His prayers began with a remembrance of God's creative activity on each day of the week, as well as the Gospel events. On particular days he stressed different themes; the Resurrection and Pentecost on Sunday, the institution of the Lords Supper on Thursday, and the Cross on Friday.

Prayers for Each Day of Week

His prayers for Sunday and Monday are examined, followed by a brief summary of the other days. Within his book of prayers, commencing with Sunday, Andrewes began his prayer by praising and acknowledging the "Creator" God:

Glory be to Thee, O Lord, glory to Thee, Creator of the light and enlightener of the world, of the visible light, the sun's ray, flame of fire, day and night, evening and morning; of light invisible, the revelation of God, writings of the Law, oracles of prophets, music of psalms, instruction of proverbs, experience of histories; a light which never sets.¹⁰

His praising of one God involves all of scripture. Continuing, he reflected upon and connects the two Testaments as he prayed:

⁹ *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David* (Swedesboro, NJ: Preservation Press, [1993?], 1928), 3-34. On most days in Morning and Evening Prayer there are two readings which normally consist of the Old and New Testament. As well, at least one Psalm is read in each morning and evening.

¹⁰ Martin, 24.

Look upon the face of Thine anointed (Ps 84.9) and in the blood of thy covenant, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world (1 Jn 2:1-2), Lord, be propitious unto me, a sinner (of the Law); even to me, O Lord, of sinners chief, chiefest and greatest...My hands will I lift up onto Thy Commandments which I have loved.¹¹

Paying tribute to the fifth commandment, he prays “to honor them that have the rule of me, by obedience and submission.” Finally, he sought the battle ahead when he pleaded for strength:

Give me grace, O Lord, to bruise the serpent’s head (Gen 3:15)...to remember my latter end (Deut. 32:39)...to be sober (1 Pet 5:8)...not to sit idle (Matt 20:6)...to shun the wicked...to cleave to the good (Rom 12:9)...hedge up my way with thorns, that I find not the path for following vanity.¹²

Andrewes pleaded to the one God, addressed ethical situations of being sober, and sought an eternal life with God by avoiding sin. He believed that by cleaving to His Commandments that they would steer him down a path which will be void of sin, or at least, composed of less sin.

Middleton writes that a “man is what he prays and the person who prays is a theologian and a theologian is a person who prays.”¹³ Andrewes’ character of prayer was always of offering to God, not only of his words, but his mind and intellect which in return made his reason subjected to his prayer. The Commandments are a constant theme which drove Andrewes’ prayers and served as a reminder that everything is subjected to God’s will.

¹¹ Ibid., 26-7.

¹² Ibid., 24-8.

¹³ Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Fathers and Anglicans: The Limits of Orthodoxy*, (Leominster: Gracewing, 2001), 132.

Preparation for Public Worship

In preparation for public worship on Sunday or any day of worship, Andrewes addressed the families of the Fifth Commandment as he also prayed for the clergy, for the parliament for “thy holy wisdom;” for great (powerful) men that they “do nothing against but for the truth;” for the courts he prays for proper “judgment;” and for those in the army he prayed for “strength to the Christian army against enemies of our most holy faith.” He continues with prayers for different trades of craft, and he prays for the poor.¹⁴

Andrewes continued with a longing to praise and be with God: “Thou shalt open my lip, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew forth Thy praise”, and then proceeded to “I have loved the habitation of Thy house” and “My heart hath talked of Thee, Seek ye my face.”¹⁵ As he went on to his Confession of Faith, he followed the theme of the creeds as he prayed to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as he worshiped “One God.” He followed with Intercessional Prayers for the helpless and those sick with sins and heresies, for God’s congregation, and for the clergy rightly to divide the word of truth (and) rightly to walk in it.¹⁶ In speaking of “Thy congregation” Andrewes remembered that the Church belongs to God, Christ’s Church, and that the people were God’s people. As well, Andrewes pays tribute to the King¹⁷ for which he had been criticized:

¹⁴ Martin, 33.

¹⁵ Ibid., 29.

¹⁶ Ibid., 32.

¹⁷ Ross Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, (London: Evans, 1949), 61. Williamson is critical of Andrewes for his high respect for the monarchy. Andrewes prayer reflects upon this topic.; Perry, Geo. G, *The History of the Church of England. From the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time*, Three Vol., Vol 1 (London: Saunders, Otley, and Co., 1861), 59. It was said of Andrewes that he was “infected with the disease of king worship.”

O King of nations unto the ends of the earth, strengthen all the states of the inhabited world, as being Thy ordinance though a creation of man. Scatter the nations that delight in war, make wars to cease in all the earth. O Expectation of the isles and their hope, Lord, save this island and all the country in which we sojourn, from all affliction, peril and need. Lord of lords, Ruler of rulers, remember all rulers to whom thou hast given rule in the earth, and O remember especially our divinely-guarded king and work with him more and more, and prosper his way in all things. Speak good things unto his heart for Thy Church and all Thy people. Grant to him profound and perpetual peace, that in his tranquility we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; 1 Tim 2.2.¹⁸

On Monday Andrewes began by praising God the creator of the heavens and the heaven of heavens. In prayer, he confessed his sins and asked for pardon for “my sins” and prayed for “mercy on me, Son of David; Lord help me” as he acknowledges his lowliness as “even the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master’s table.” He asked for the removal “far from me” of iniquity and profaneness, superstitions and hypocrisy. He prayed for God to keep him far from the worship of idols and of individuals, of rash oaths and curse, and from neglect or indecency of worship. In his prayers of intercession he prayed for all of creation and the whole race of mankind and for the church:

...who are not Christians; for the conversion of atheists, the ungoldly, Gentiles, Turks, and Jews: for all Christians...for the catholic (universal) Church, its establishment and increase; for the Eastern, its deliverance and union; for the Western, its adjustment and peace; for the British, the supply of what is wanting in it, the strengthening of what remains in it; for the episcopate, presbytery, Christian people.¹⁹

A summary of the rest of the week contains other elements of the commandments.

On Tuesday Andrewes prayed specifically for the family as “happiness in offspring” and of “sound training” that sons may “grow” and daughters be “polished corners of the temple”

¹⁸ Martin, 33.

¹⁹ Ibid., 38-40.

and that there be no decay (decay in teaching) and to “bring forth thousands and ten thousands.”²⁰

On Wednesday Andrewes prayed to keep the commandments as he asks for help against “lusts, walking in lasciviousness, raveling, drunkenness, and in other excesses of profligacy;” he prayed in remembrance of those in “virginity and purity and ascetic life; also (that) those live in honorable marriage.”²¹

Rounding out the week Andrewes continued praying for the family, including the Church, both clergy and people, and its mission of “catechizing.” Continuance was given in prayer against the works of the flesh including adultery, idolatry, witchcraft, heresies, envying’s, murders, and “such like.” The Decalogue was constant within his mind which grew into an awareness of the need for a Saviour as is seen when he wrote of Moses’ Law:

The Law is our schoolmaster to bring us into Christ; for by the Law we call ourselves to account; then finding our debt so great and sin so strong, we are brought to repentance, and this is a remedy for our pride; then it remaineth, that being not able to discharge this account, we seek for a surety, and this is Christ; and thus the Law leadeth us to Christ.²²

Sermons Addressing Prayer Life

Andrewes believe in a strong and vigorous prayer life and he also taught and preached of prayers in the church. He delivered a series of sermons on prayer, nineteen in total, six of which were on preparation for prayer and the balance devoted to the Lord’s Prayer. By drawing upon three of his sermons, his words of instruction are examined.

²⁰ Ibid., 47.

²¹ Ibid., 48-53.

²² Ibid., 72.

Sermon 1

On January 9, 1592, Andrewes preached in the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate on the Acts of the Apostles chapter 2 verse 42: And they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. The Apostles' doctrine, fellowship, and the breaking of bread are all marks of Andrewes' beliefs; however, "of prayers" is the focus.

He believed that in the Lord's Prayer we all are one. At the beginning of his sermon series on the Lord's Prayer, his first sermon focus is on "Our Father." He begins with:

This prayer penned by our Saviour Christ in the behalf of His disciples and his Church unto the end of the world...the excellency of His power, expressed thus; 'Which art in Heaven'... Both these are attributed unto God, not only of the Christian but even by the heathen that are strangers to the Church...first, that He is our Father, secondly, our heavenly Father.²³

Andrewes linked all humanity by the use of "Our Father" and placed God above all. He believed that as the Lord's Prayer is given by Jesus, all prayers should begin with these words; therefore connecting all of His Church. He insisted that these words begin prayer when he preached:

...Christ thus willeth us 'when ye pray say, Our Father'...if St. Augustine is to be believed as a witness to antiquity, the universal Church of Christ hath ever used to begin and end all her prayers...(for those) finding fault with a set Liturgy (Our Father), which they call stunted prayers...²⁴

Here is observed Andrewes' loyalty to the Lord's Prayer by the use of the words, "Our Father," of which he was in agreement with St. Augustine. Also defended were set

²³ Lancelot Andrewes, *The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 11 vols*, Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1841-1854); afterwards referred to as: Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 363.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 5:68.

prayers of liturgy as he preaches, again along with St. Augustine, that prayer must be accompanied by a turning away from sin by penance and (to) reform.²⁵ A unity theme was also demonstrated throughout the Lord's Prayer itself, as it was in agreement; there is no "I" or "mine," but rather "our" and "us." It is "our bread...our trespasses" as we ask God to deliver "us" from evil.

Sermon 2

Andrewes would expand further what and how we pray in another sermon preached upon Matt 7:7, "Ask, and it shall be given to you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Present in these words is an urgency to pray as Andrewes says that we are told by Christ, "pray." He states:

St. James saith 'every good giving and every perfect gift cometh;' because we see that of ourselves we cannot so much as think any good, and yet that from 'the Father of lights' we may receive that grace which shall enable us to do all things...as St. Augustine saith: It is not with paces but with prayers we go to God, and our messenger is prayer which there doth our errand where our flesh cannot come...our own insufficiency...the goodness of God...Christ in the word 'Ask' tells us, that God hath His Courts of Requests, that we may be bold to put up our supplications because Christ saith, that 'the Father of Lights' is not only affable but liberal; so that albeit we be not only 'dust and ashes' and therefore unworthy to pray to God, but also wretched sinners unworthy to be heard...the blind man saith 'yet He will not cast out our prayers nor turn His mercy from us; but if we ask, he shall be given'...No unworthiness of our own can exclude us from the mercy of God, for He receiveth the prayer not only of the Publican but of the prodical son, and promiseth mercy to the 'thief hanging on the cross,' if at the last hour he seeketh it by prayer.²⁶

²⁵ Saint Augustine, *The Augustine Catechism, The enchiridion of Faith, Hope, and Love*, trans and notes Bruce Harbert, (Hyde Park, NY, New City Press, 1999), 94. Augustine states "Our Father" for those reborn as children of a heavenly father by water and the Holy Spirit. . . .so, with penance and turning away from sin and reforming their life, of the "daily brief and unimportant sins" the daily prayer makes "satisfaction for them."

²⁶ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 321-2.

Of necessity and urgency of prayer, Andrewes reflects upon the Christian's greatest example, Jesus Christ. Jesus went "in the morning very early before day went into a solitary place and there prayed," and in the evening prayed, even when alone "in the mountain." So time and place should not be an obstacle to prayer. The example of Christ theme has been used by others as a guide by other Anglicans; for if the Lord does, so should His followers.²⁷ The command to "pray" came from Jesus thus it is not a choice to make, by telling all to "pray" it is Jesus that binds us to prayer. It is not an option.

Later Andrewes spoke of the beginning of Saul's fall as, "they called not upon the Lord," and he also speaks of the Prophet connecting prayer to incense as, "it is said that while the incense was burning, the people were without upon their knees in prayer." The duty of prayer is not a "slight commandment but of great instance (insistence)...that Christ repeats it three times, "ask, seek, knock."²⁸

For Andrewes the special gift that we can desire of God was Christ Himself. Winning this gift comes through prayer. The content of prayer, "If we ask any thing according to His will, He heareth us," is discussed next. He said that if the wrong content of prayer is pursued, as asking vengeance of God, these prayers would not be heard and those prayers could be turned into sin since they are removed from God's Commandments.²⁹

Seeking with reverence is important as demonstrated by Solomon being upon his knees, and

²⁷ Michael Ramsey, *The Christian Priest Today*, (London, SPCK, 1985), 12. "The Apostles learned most of all not from what he said to them but from their daily proximity to Him, the Son of Man whose prayer day by day was perfect and the strength of His prayers would flow into theirs like the virtue flowing from him to the woman who touched the border of his garment."

²⁸ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 323.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 328.

as Daniel fell down upon his knees; therefore, our manner of prayer to God must be in all reverence.

Sermon 3

Andrewes addressed a problem for many today as he preaches on Romans 8:26.

Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit Itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. For we know not what we should pray and he states,

How we may pray: for as we cannot perform any good thing of our selves unless God minister power...the soul also hath contained infirmities, and that is the infirmity whereof the Apostle speaketh...weakness (is) when it doubted God's mercies, saying, 'Will the Lord absent Himself forever? hath God forgotten to be gracious?'...the cure of the infirmities of our soul is not performed by any strength of our own nor by our spirit, but by the Spirit of God...The spirit of man must have help from a higher thing than self, as from the Spirit of God...prayer, to teach us...it is the chief prop and principal pillar which the Holy Ghost useth to strengthen our weakness...we know not what to pray for and not how to pray...For both these defects we have a double supply: for Christ hath directed us what to pray for by that form of prayer which He hath prescribed unto us; and the Holy Ghost instructeth us how to pray, for that stirreth up our affections, so that we pray with fervency of spirit, and utter our desires unto God with sighs that cannot be expressed.³⁰

With infirmities people are unable to perform “good” and cannot on their own cure themselves, the power to cure is from the Holy Spirit. By using the prayer that Christ taught and by the Holy Ghost stirring up our affections, we may then utter our desires unto God. And now he continues and speaks of the whole Church, the Triumphant, Expectant, and Militant, as they join us in prayer:

...have comfort that even when we most faint in prayer there are of God's saints that pray for us with all instancy, by which it comes to pass that being all but one body

³⁰ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 332-3.

their prayers tend to our good as well as their own, for the faithful howsoever they be many and dispersed into divers corners of the world, yet they are but one body, and as they are the members of one body, so they pray not privately for themselves but for the whole body of the Church; so that the weakness of one member is supplied by the fervent and earnest prayer of the other. Therefore when the Apostle saith, 'The Spirit maketh intercession for us', Augustine asketh, What groanings are these? are they thine or mine. No, they are the groanings of the Church, sometime in me, sometime in thee... Therefore the people pray to Esay, Lift thou up thy prayer for us, for as the offering of the ministers is to put the people in mind, so they are God's remembrancers; they are angels as well ascending upward by their prayer in behalf of the people, as descending to teach them the will of God.³¹

Andrewes sought unity in the Church by individual private prayers, as well as in corporate prayers. Private meditations and conferences between God and an individual's soul, the contemplative approach was important to Andrewes. Often in his sermons he would advocate a strong private prayer life and perseverance in prayer as also important; he would preach "Blessed are the hours that are so spent."³² He would also link the corporate prayer of the whole church in which the Saints participate, as we are joined with the Head of the Church, Jesus, who ceases not to make intercessions on the behalf of His Church. Prayer is a service and duty which we owe to God.

Prayer Overview

As in his theology, Andrewes' prayers connects both Testaments, with the New fulfilling prophesies of the Old. By observing his prayers interwoven within his theology, his faith was lived out in his life as even his sermons are summed up in his prayers.³³ In his sermons, as observable in his translation of scripture in the King James Bible, there was a

³¹ Ibid., 339.

³² Ibid., 2:159.

³³ Lossky, 30.

rhythm to his prayer life as he moved from day to day through the scripture, just as the Church of England had its own rhythm of the liturgical year.

Andrewes also placed fasting alongside prayers, as a religious life should be one that is active, not relying only upon words from our lips. In Psalm 116:13 he links one's prayers to the Eucharist as it is written, "I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord" and his life flowed from the prayers of his faith. While some modern biographers describe Andrewes' life as one of "profound routine, rooted in an ordered pattern of scholarly piety,"³⁴ it can also be debated that his "ordered" life was simply reflecting God's own "order" within His Creation as Mursell notes,

Andrewes states that prayer is not asking God for things: it is also that means by which we discover meaning and purpose in both our thoughts and our desires, and order both appropriately; Andrewes describes it as both 'the interpreter of our mind' and 'the interpreter of our desire.'³⁵

Due to Andrewes reliance on the work of the Holy Ghost, the suggestion is made by Mursell that there are similarities between Andrewes and Protestant spirituality as he writes "in words that Bunyan could have echoed" it is not fine phrases and goodly sentences that commend our prayer but the fervency of the Spirit from whom it proceeds.³⁶

Regardless of to whom Andrewes is compared, his prayers were not left to chance, but were searching the thoughts that reflect God's will. Prayer is something for which one prepares and organizes his thoughts from scripture and the early church, and he believed this

³⁴ Gordon Mursell, *English Spirituality from earliest times to 1700*, (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 315.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 322.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 324.

must be done in complete humility and humbleness. He lowered himself in order to elevate God and it was through lowering himself that elevated God's grace towards him.

CHAPTER 3

DOCTRINE

Andrewes' doctrine is found in his prayer life and liturgy. A commonality and oneness is found in these three aspects of his faith and life. His love for study is found in his insistence on catechizing. His devotion to the interconnection of the Old and New Testaments are seen in his sermons as he revealed Jesus Christ as the fulfillment of all scripture. His doctrine was strengthened by his ability to go beyond words as he utilized all his ability and faculties to bring Jesus before the eyes of all. His doctrine relied upon the formulation of truth as defined by Scripture and the authority of the Church. His catechistical teaching lays out the foundation of his doctrine. The earliest Andrewes' teachings are found in *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*.¹

Of Catechizing

Following an orderly pattern, Andrewes established a foundation of God and of Scripture from which he proceeded to teach and expand the Christian faith within a logical order. He begins with the children, that they should be taught. In the "Warrant of Preface" Andrewes drew immediately from one of the Greek Fathers of the early third century,

¹ Lancelot Andrewes, *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, And Of Other Minor Works*, (Oxford: L Shrimpton, 1846).

Clemens Alexandrinus,² who used David's words from Ps 34:11, as to the instruction itself, "Come children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord." Come children; is stressed as an invitation for the young to come and learn of God. An explanation of benefits is given by David, as Andrewes uses, Ps 119:9, "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? by taking heed thereto according to Thy word." Stressing the duty of parents, he relied upon Dt 6:7, "thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children." According to Prv 20:11, it is known to all if a child is so instructed: even a child is known by his doings, whether his work be pure, and whether it be right.³ The job of a catechist is to make his (God's) doctrine easy to enter and Andrewes explains three steps:

...our examination of that we hear standeth in three things, 1. searching and enquiry, Esay 8:19 should not a people seek unto their God?; John 5:39 search the scriptures; Rev 2:2, thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars; Acts 17:11, they searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so. 2. meditation, Gen 14:63 Issac went out to meditate; Psalm 1:2, in his law doth he meditate day and night; 1 Tim 4:15, meditate upon these things. 3. Conference (communicate), Luke 24:17 What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad?; Gal 2:2 And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles...

Agreeing again with Cyril he wrote, "tis my work to teach; yours to learn, God's to give a blessing to both."⁴ Catechizing would remain an important part of Andrewes life, as he loved the role of teaching.

² (Titus Flavius Clemens) A Greek theologian. Born in Athens, traveled widely and was converted to Christianity. He studied and taught at the catechetical school in Alexandria. Origen it is believed was one of his pupils.

³ Lancelot Andrewes, *A Pattern of*, 3-5.

⁴ Lancelot Andrewes, *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine Wherein Many Profitable Questions Touching Christian Religion Are Handled And The Whole Decalogue Succinctly And Judiciously Expounded With Additions*, (London: Printed by R. B. For Wil Garret, 1641), 2-12. Taken from Part 1, Chap. 1 of "Catechising."

It has been suggested that Andrewes was not an original thinker, for he has simply used Scripture and early the Church Fathers to speak for him; however, others see this trait as making him “amongst the great hierarchs of the history of Christianity.”⁵ He did not invent doctrine but relied on the scripture, allowing the scripture to speak for itself as interpreted by Christ’s Church.

Whether there be a God

There is no God⁶ some believe and Andrewes approached this question immediately in Part II with the question: “Of the first question: whether there be a God.” He began his first warrant as he quotes Heb 11:6, “for he that cometh to God must believe that he is.” Therefore, before having faith one must understand that there is a God. Against other supposed ways of happiness, Andrewes delves into the expression: “I can be happy by other means than by coming to God.” A case against perceived ways of happiness was made against wealth, honor, pleasure, virtue of which in itself is not happiness, and contemplation.⁷ He spoke of philosophers such as Socrates, Aristotle, Simonides as he moved into a section

⁵ Nicolas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555-1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 6. Lossky states “But if, on the other hand, to make a theology means to make more and more truly one’s own, by experience, the mystery of the relationship of God to man that has been traditionally lived by the Church, then originality will consist not so much in innovation, as enabling a whole era to grasp the genuine essence of the Christian message. In fact, the more the theologian penetrates into the heart of the mystery, the more his teaching will be personal, and consequently original. Seen, like this, Andrewes seems to me to deserve to be counted amongst the great hierarchs of the history of Christianity.”

⁶ “UK among most secular nations”. BBC News. 2004-02-26. Retrieved 2005-03-05. A 2004 BBC poll showed the number of people in the U.S. who don't believe in a god to be about 9–10%.

⁷ Lancelot Andrewes, *A Pattern Of*, 16. It was Heraclitus who proclaimed “the greatest part of things we know is the least of the things we know not.”

“Now generally against them all.” He approached “the way to come to God, which is belief” and that we cannot come to God by reason alone.

It is by faith that a person comes to God and he stressed that “faith not a sign of lightness” as lightness is more in reason than faith. Showing a presuppositional tendency he stated “a learner must believe.”⁸ Andrewes made a case for God as he spoke of the path to him. Satan was then described as having four errors: the “Four errors of Satan” are autotheism (we shall be gods), polytheism, atheism, and worship of Satan, and he then made an assault on Satan and atheism.⁹

Throughout the discussion of “whether there be a God” Andrewes moved logically step by step as he used Scripture to make his point as he uses all of God’s revelation and never does he move into what “he thinks” but allowed his thoughts to be those revealed in Scripture.

Whether God be a Rewarder of Good and Evil

Andrewes focus now turns to providence; objections to providence. He states that there is a general providence and a particular providence. Of providence Andrewes stresses that it is not by nature, nor by chance, that it did reach everyone, and that there was a reward.

Of providence Andrewes says that “works (is) nothing of themselves...(for) unless bread be added to, the bread shall decay” and warns of “putting wages into a bottomless bag.” He ended that there was another cause besides nature, which was God’s providence and it had the power of sustaining and guiding human destiny.

⁸ Ibid., 21.

⁹ Ibid., 22-32.

Whether Scripture be God's Word

Andrewes taught that the Scriptures are God's words, and true; therefore the other oracles or miracles of the heathen or Turk are not. With this section he begins with 1 Cor. 8:5-6, "though there be many gods that are so called, yet to us but one God." Here he examined the four major ways of knowing a god; first, the way of the heathen and of the heathen gods.

A second way of knowing God is as the Turks.¹⁰ When he spoke of the Turks he said that "truth loveth a trial" as he then spoke of fables and false tales and promises, of carnal pleasures, adultery and concubines, and unnatural acts. Andrewes related the Turks' miracles as they were without witnesses and of a propagation of the kingdom by sword and compulsion; whereas he concludes "the truth doth draw men of their own accord."¹¹

The third way was as the "way of the Jews." Of the Jews he stated that they acknowledged the Old Testament to be true and certain of their writers of scripture. However he then listed where they were in error. These errors concerned Christ in that they believed the "Messias" should have a princely court within Jerusalem and that Christ was not the Messias as the Messias was yet to come. Through this discussion he pointed out the "errors" of each, as he built the case for scripture leading to the next chapter on Christians.

Whether Our Religion be Truly Founded on God's Word

Andrewes gives an overview of his argument:

¹⁰ Ibid., 42. The Turks, Muslims, are those who followed 'Mahomet' definition, Muhammad; of which Andrewes concludes their "doctrine is false and to be shunned."

¹¹ Ibid., 42-3.

2 Pt 1:19 ‘we have a most sure word of the prophets’ as God commanded them and inspired them to speak a most sure and infallible truth... Shewn true, from its antiquity, ‘ancienty’ of it as it is the tie and bond of relation between God and man and is the same which the Jews had before Christ; for as the Law is nothing else but the old gospel... under veil... (and now in our gospel) the law unveiled... so the most ancient of all other religions.¹²

Andrewes then took a comparison approach as he pursued the truth “from other reasons;” whereas all other religions are imperfect, contradicting one another, counterfeit, and full of questions. Of imperfectness of other faiths he spoke of God’s law:

...once given... nothing hath been added or detracted from the same, and of contradicters it is within God’s law that truth is found and in Him is all truth... of counterfeit; insomuch that they have hidden their wisdom, but God hath shewed His to all that it might be seen; and of questionful; latter writers correcting and descanting upon the former, none of the prophets ever called into question that which other had said, but proved and strengthened it.¹³

Showing the strength of the truth, Andrewes concluded as he had spoken of God as a rewarder of those whose faith was in Him; he then moved forward to talk of the end of other religions:

From the end of it... The end of other religions is, as an unregenerate man’s end in all his actions, only themselves; but that religion which ‘attributeth’ all to God... ‘every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of light,’ Jas 1: 17, is the true religion, but no religion except Christianity doth attribute all to God.¹⁴

Scripture is of God as the laws of man are restrained by time, place, and person; however, for the Christian it is the same for it is eternal, everywhere, and the same for king as well as any other subject. Of the heart; no religion “reacheth” the heart as Christianity

¹² Ibid., 46.

¹³ Ibid., 50.

¹⁴ Ibid., 50.

which “pulleth out as it were the very core of sin.”¹⁵ He then differentiated the Christians from the Jews and gave credit to the gospel:

...whereof the ‘witnesses thereof were the evangelist and apostles...for skill; they write not by hear-say or report, but as St. John saith, 1 Jn 1.1, that which we have seen and handled...who get no benefit by telling a lie; and we know they had nothing for their labour, yea they lost their own lives for it.’¹⁶

A defense against the papists and their claim to interpretation of Scripture was next made by Andrewes. They have the Fathers, Councils, the Church, and the Pope as we do not. For Peter does tell us that Scripture is of no private interpretation (2 Pt 1:20.) Andrewes stated that for interpretation of Scripture “prayer requesteth, reading searcheth, meditation findeth, and contemplation directs.”¹⁷

Andrewes continued his defense as “The Fathers” pronounced something true if there is agreement, and it seems that Rome appears to forsake all but Augustine, and “of the councils” and “of the pope” who (subverts) the faith, and then reminded Rome of those of the Eastern Church who do not hold to Rome’s supremacy.¹⁸

Andrewes’ great knowledge and respect for knowledge always promoted a love for learning within and without the church. Demanding more than just the words of Scripture in defending the faith, he used all of the Church, the body of Christ on earth; 1 Co 12:27, “Now

¹⁵ Ibid., 51. Andrewes speaks of Christianity reaching into the heart as a transforming religion.

¹⁶ Ibid., 52-3.

¹⁷ Ibid., 58.

¹⁸ There is debate about this portion of the correctness of the interpretation of this section on Rome as Andrewes seems to hold Church Fathers, councils, and The Church in lower esteem than all of his work suggests. There are those who believe that since this translation occurred, of his catechistic work after his death, in 1642 may indicate that this part may have been made more acceptable to the Reformers. For discussion on this interesting problem, refer to: Maurice F. Reidy, *Bishop Lancelot Andrewes*, (Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1955), 35-38.

ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. He looked to its past in the Fathers and the councils. With this knowledge and Church history he would combine them and examined them to their deepest depths. He repudiated “private interpretations” and thought that the right interpretation must come from the Church; those learned like the Fathers. As well, he would not relinquish the interpretation of one council or one office, such as that of the Pope. His way was to use all God had revealed through the ages in defending His Church.

The Ten Commandments

It is within Part II of *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine* that Andrewes began an examination of the Ten Commandments. Like in all of Andrewes’ work, he examined the history. He stated that religion “hath two parts,”¹⁹ the Law and the Gospel. It is by the law we might see what we are, revealing the fallen man.

Andrewes asked *what* is contained in God’s law and answers: in God’s law are “the word, this; the manner, thus; the reward to good and punishment of evil. Within the first part of the word *this* can be found a priority for it is Law; secondly, within the manner, *thus* is a situational theme of the application of the Law into one’s life; and the *reward* to the good and punishment to the evil is an existential situation as Andrewes said: “for when He tells us to do, or not to do, so we must.”

Of the Law, the question is asked: “why may we not live now without the law as well as those before Moses and the law?” Andrewes answered, “They lived not without law, but

¹⁹ Ibid., 62.

they had a law,” Rm 2:14, which was effectual in their hearts, thus a thing equivalent to the law...the effect of the law being imprinted in the hearts of all men by nature.”²⁰ Of these laws, he gave examples that they are written in man’s heart, both Jew and Gentile, as he drew upon scripture. Of the Jews he points out that the law was in their hearts at the beginning:

Gn 35:2 put away the strange Gods; Gn 31:34 Rachel had taken the images; Gn 24:3 swear by the lord of heaven; Gn 2:3 rest of the Sabbath; Gn 27:41 days of mourning for my father; Gn 4:9 Cain hideth his killing of Abel; Gn 38:24 the whore Tamar; Gn 44:7 God forbid we should steal; Gn 38:20-21 Judah kept promise, not lying; Gn 12:17 and Gn 10:3 Pharaoh, and Abimelech, it is a sin to look on a woman with lust after her.²¹

Adam’s Fall

To connect the Law and Gospel, Andrewes believed that the Law in the heart was broken, for “Adams fall broke it in pieces,” and grew darker and darker as “men did what they could to put it out,” and then agreeing with St. Augustine, “they became fugitives from their own hearts.” He stated that “God’s laws (are) of His holiness, righteousness, and goodness; (and) yet it brings no perfection, as the Gospel doth.”²² Due to the Law’s difficulty in perfecting, he wrote “The tables were broken before they were delivered, which the Fathers affirm to signify the frustration of the Law.”²³ On the interpretation of the Commandments, he stated that there is an extension for the breadth of the commandment and also a limitation or restraint as the narrowness of it is to keep the Law from the abuse of the Pharisees, which he refers to as “fencing the law.”

²⁰ Ibid., 64.

²¹ Ibid., 64-5.

²² Ibid., 71.

²³ Ibid.

The Law was in the hearts of man from the beginning, and from the “Fall” forward, the law was still in the “hearts” of Jews and Gentiles, but as time passed so did the brightness of the light of the Law. It is only through the Gospel of Christ that the light of the Law can the heart become “aflamed” once again. The Law could not do what the Gospel did. The focus on the Commandments will be on the First Commandment (of God) and the Fifth Commandment (of man).

First Commandment

Andrewes’ discussion of the first commandment began with a connection of the Old Testament to the Gospel quoting Mt 4:10, derived from Dt 6:13, when Jesus tells Satan “thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.” He portrayed its positive trait, the quality deemed from the first commandment as:

...acknowledge a superior to teach us to know good and evil, and when it teachest, to obey...(Man is not to do) what seems good in his own eyes...for he (the devil) lets his servants have their own will, and this following our licentiousness is the next step to atheism.²⁴

Andrewes spoke of the bond between God and Man as “We must have a God, Him for our God, Him alone, and none else.” The first commandment sets the tone for the rest, as everything flows from God.

By understanding God’s attributes, listed by Andrewes as majesty, truth, unchangeableness, will, justice, mercy, knowledge, ubiquity, and eternity allows us an understanding, as far as He has revealed Himself, of God. It is this understanding that brings

²⁴ Ibid., 82.

about many virtues; traits of faith, of fear, of humility, of hope, of prayer, of love of God, of religion and sincerity. These virtues affect our humility and love of God.

Humility is to “ascribe nothing to our own power...nothing to our own merit...to deny ourselves, accepting the commandments.”²⁵ Reflecting this humbleness, Andrewes wrote that desiring God is by “the humility of the heart” and from the “restraining our appetite from desire.” He then quotes Ps 313:1, “Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty; neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me.” Andrewes’ life showed an understanding of his insufficiency before God and stated that “pride, (is) the contrary to humility.” Summing up humility he wrote “God, that made all out of nothing, and light out of darkness, hath made humiliation the way to exaltation; the humble shall be exalted, but a miserable man that is proud is unworthy of pity.”²⁶

Writing of love as having two effects; obedience and patience. On obedience he quoted Saint Gregory, “the proof of our love is seen by the promptness of our good works.” Obedience then is active, and of patience it is passive, and both depend upon love. As well, “in obedience we offer up ourselves a living sacrifice;” thus, obedience to God (love) is better than a sacrifice. God’s love demands patience and Andrewes reflected upon I Cor 13:4, “Charity suffereth long” and upon a quote from Augustine “he that ceaseth to bear with me, ceaseth to love me.”²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., 90.

²⁶ Ibid., 91.

²⁷ Ibid., 112-4.

As Andrewes' catechizing always reflected upon the commandments, and their connection with the Gospel, he divided the commandments as being of two tables: the sum of the first was "love the Lord thy God with all thy heart; the sum of the second table being, Love thy neighbor as thyself."²⁸ Again, he returned to the Creation/Fall narrative and the Commandments and when speaking of loving neighbor as thyself as he wrote:

Take heed we take not the sin of our neighbor for our neighbor, for every sinner, as he is a sinner, is to be hated; every man, as he is man, is to be loved: let us love men so that we love not their sins, and love them for that which God made them, not that which by sin (the breaking of the Commandments) they made themselves.²⁹

Fifth Commandment

From "Father and Mother" he expanded on the fifth commandment to the theme of "superiors and inferiors," of which superiors never abuse and care for their inferiors, and of the inferiors having duty and honor for the superiors. Even the highest man is inferior as it is only God who is superior to all else. Andrewes lived in charity to others, including inferiors up to the time of his death, as it is written in Andrewes extensive Will, upon his death:

He remembered 'poor men to attend his funeral...to receive a full suit of cassock, breeches, stockings, shoes, and hat'...endowments invested for 'support of men unable to work owing to age or infirmity, to orphans such as go up and downe in the Streets, to widows who had had only one husband' and as well Andrewes left fellowships for Pembroke College.³⁰

In expanding to different offices of "superiors" Andrewes drew upon the Law as he regarded the duty of a minister "first to be an example in his life." He spoke of being a King

²⁸ Ibid., 169.

²⁹ Ibid., 172.

³⁰ P.E. McCullough, *Andrewes, Lancelot*, (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004) 13.

(or Queen) as he wrote that the first duty is “to acknowledge his (their) power to be from God” and secondly not “to break into God’s right (the Commandments).”³¹

The Decalogue is a moral guidance for a Christian Life and is crucial to the means of the virtue of “Hope,” as we “compare the enduring hope of the faithful with the perishing hope of the wicked,” as in Prv 11:7, “the hope of unjust men perisheth.” This righteous fear of wickedness itself leads Andrewes throughout his life to seek and love the “Law of God.”

Sermons

There are one hundred thirty one of Andrewes sermons listed on Project Canterbury.³² The bulk of his sermons are also published in Andrewes' works in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, see the Project Canterbury website. Each sermon is extensive and contains a variety of his doctrines. In the two sermons following is revealed Andrewes’ artful skill of interweaving Scripture, forming a beautiful basket of which he then lays the doctrines of the church. The foundation is always Scripture, but the bouquet of the many colors of emotions and feelings, derived from both testaments, are revealed as they bloom within the doctrine of traditional Christianity.

Sermon One

This particular sermon, preached in 1616 before King James is significant because it shows Andrewes’ remarkable ability to connect the Testaments with King David, writer of

³¹ Ibid., 200.

³² Lancelot Andrewes, “Lancelot Andrewes Index,” Project Canterbury, accessed August 1, 2014, <http://anglicanhistory.org/andrewes/index.html>. Andrewes sermons are listed under two links “Apospasmata sacra” and “Andrewes' works in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.”

the Psalms, and the Jewish people as a type for the antitype that was yet to come, Jesus Christ. In this sermon, Andrewes paints a picture of our faith, which goes back to Abraham, and shows scripture as self-fulfilling.

Andrewes' preached on this psalm foretelling the release of the Jewish captivity and the anticipation of a greater deliverer, who will free those under a greater type of bondage, the bondage of the captivity of mankind to sin. This Christmas Day sermon was derived from Old Testament scripture (Ps 85:10-11) "Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace will kiss each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth; and Righteousness shall look down from heaven." Andrewes says:

His manner is, the Psalmist (David)...compriseth (comprised) the type and the truth (of) both; by those things which befell the people of the Jews, the Church typical, shadowing out those things which were to befall the Antitype of it, Christ and His Church. For it cannot be denied but the Psalm was first set according to the letter upon the turning back of (from) the captivity of Babel. But the Prophet (David) knew well that was not their worst captivity, nor should (it) be their best delivery. There was another (delivery) yet behind (to come which) concerned them more, if they understood their own state aright which was reserved to the Messiah (Jesus) to free them from. To that he (David) points.³³

As a Christmas Day sermon, Andrewes spoke of the soul led away captive under sin and Satan, the true Babel which brings about everlasting confusion from which Christ, born this day, will free us. Looking back, page 46, to the discussion of "Whether the scripture be God's Word" Andrewes listed the Turks (Muslims), Jews, and the Heathen as he revealed Jesus as the real "Massias." In this sermon he went into detail the words of Mercy, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace and how they meet. Andrewes wove together the Eucharist and the Kingdom as his sermon concluded with:

³³ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 175-6.

...the days in the year on this day most kindly; the day we hold holy to the memory of this meeting... Christ this day born, this day to meet of course... The sooner and the better to procure this meeting, the Church meets us, as Melchizedek did Abraham, "with bread and wine," but of a higher nature than his (this) far; prepares ever this day... Where Truth from the earth may look up to Heaven and confess, and Righteousness from Heaven may look down to earth and pardon; where we may show Mercy in giving where need is, and offer Peace in forgiving where cause is; that so there may be a 'meeting' of all hands... even so then let there be... So may our end be as the end of the first verse, in peace; and as the end of the second, in Heaven... may all the blessings that came to mankind by this meeting, or by the birth of Christ the cause of it, meet in us and remain upon us, till as we now meet together at the birth, so we may then meet in a 'perfect man in the measure of the fullness of the age of Christ,' as meet now at the Lamb's yearning, so meet then at the Lamb's marriage; 'be caught up in the clouds then to meet Him,' and there to reign 'for ever' with Him in His Kingdom of Glory.³⁴

Andrewes showed the prophecy of the Old Testament and its fulfillment within the New, as the antitype is shown in the type. By using David's Psalm, he linked David and Jesus as it is within Jesus that there is the fulfillment of the Old. The linking of the Church to the Old Testament was something done by the early Church. The Church today, with its sacrament of the Eucharist is connected to the first great High Priest, Melchizedek, which is by interpretation "King of Righteousness" the same is "King of Salem, that is of peace." He that "is after the order of Melchizedek" is the King of all.

The attributes of God are also revealed as mercy and peace, and truth and righteousness complement one another, as does mercy and peace. This sermon showed the division of Righteousness and Peace, divided as a result of our wrongs, whereas before the fall they were undivided. As Dorman says, once Adam lied, "truth" perished until Christ's

³⁴ Ibid., 194-5.

birth which provided a bridge for all to meet.³⁵ Through this sermon is the Old Testament Scripture elevated which enables its light to shine today upon all through Jesus Christ.

Sermon Two

Sermon Two explored the impact of the Passion of Jesus upon Andrewes. As his life was driven in an ascetic direction, it was this constant reflection upon the Cross and the suffering of Christ that motivated him. A tragic event can be painful and provide motivation in one direction or another. However, to see and experience the event over and over can elevate and keep the pain alive and constant before one's eyes and within one's heart. Andrewes used the constant reminder of Christ's Passion to elevate and strengthen his faith.

Zec 12:10 "And they will look upon Me Whom they have pierced" was the topic of his sermon preached on Good Friday, 1597. Piercing is the theme and St. John's account of the Passion; yet, Andrewes argued that the pain of that piercing was compared to the piercing of Jesus' life. Jesus was hounded all his life by Herod, as His very soul was continually pierced by the sharpness of the sins of His Creation. It is in the totality of this piercing of Christ which Andrewes embraced as he urged others to "look upon" and "to gaze upon" Him as their own souls would be pierced by His life of love and His life of sacrifice.

Looking at one paragraph, just two hundred and one words from this seven thousand eight hundred sixty two word sermon, demonstrates how Andrewes takes the words of the Old Testament and uses them as paint for the picture he draws of its antitype:

1. First, the better to specify and particularize the Person of Christ, by the kind, and most peculiar circumstance, of His death. Esay had said... 'Die He shall, and lay

³⁵ Marianne Dorman, *The Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes, Volume one: Nativity, Lenten, & Passion*, (Edinburgh: The Pentland Press, LTD., 1992), 60-1.

down His soul an offering for sin.' 2. Die, but what death? A natural or a violent? Daniel tells us, *Occidetur* 'He shall die, not a natural, but a violent death. 3. But many are slain after many sorts, and divers kinds there be of violent deaths. The Psalmist, the more particularly to set it down, describeth it thus: 'They pierced My hands and feet;' which is only proper to the death of the Cross. 4. Die, and be slain, and be crucified. But sundry else were crucified; and therefore the Prophet here, to make up all, addeth, that He should not only be *crucifixus*, but *transfixus*; not only have His hands and His feet, but even His heart pierced too. Which very note severs Him from all the rest, with as great particularity as may be; for that, though many besides at other times, and some at the same time with Him were crucified, yet the side and the heart of none was opened, but His, and His only.³⁶

In this sermon he made the argument that it was us, as well as His executioners, who drove the nails into His hands and feet, and we who pierced His very side and heart. “He laid upon Him the transgressions of us all” and thus it was we, as well as His executioners, who drove the nails and pierced the side. Since it is mens wretched desires of their hearts that pierce His heart, it is we who should look upon Him. It is mankind that pierced, then it is mankind that should be encouraged to “look upon Him” this day. As Andrewes said later in this sermon: “We are the cause thereof, as verily as we are, even the principles in this murder; and the Jews and others, on whom we seek to derive it, but only accessories.”

Andrewes urged all to view the Cross, the day which is called “Good Friday,” saying it is for everyone’s profit to be drawn to Him, and without being drawn to Him all those will perish. And if nothing else this, viewing will move us:

For the time will come when we ourselves will desire, that God looking with angry countenance upon our sins, would turn His face from them and us, and look upon the face of His Christ...which will justly denied us...whom we would not look upon at his request.

His plea continues,

³⁶ Andrewes, *Works* vol 2, 121.

For the Holy Spirit did easily forsee, we would not readily be brought to the sight, or to use our eyes to so good an end...And neither willingly they (will) begin to look upon it, and having begun are never well till they have done and look off it again...(Truly) it falls out often, that of Christ...nature is not inclined, and where it is not inclined, force must be offered...Therefore do it willingly, or do it by force. Do it, I say, for done it must be. Set it before you and look on it...though it be not with your ease.”³⁷

These two sermons teach that Christ was, and is, the fulfillment of the prophets who anticipated a greater deliverer who would free all who are under a greater type of bondage, the captivity of sin. Because of sin all should look upon the piercing of Christ as a motivating factor to withdraw from those sins, thus moving closer to Him by whom we are saved. It is through the second sermon that the fulfillment of the first the “captivity of sin” will occur. The teaching of both of these sermons, and others focus on sin and its ultimate defeat.³⁸

Andrewes freely moved throughout Scripture and his keen insight provides a correlation of Scripture and gives his sermons a flow; however, his focus was always upon Jesus. Following below are just a few examples found in other sermons:³⁹

Find Christ and find all;⁴⁰ There is no part of the whole course of Saviour Christ’s life or death but it is well worthy our looking on, and from each part in it there goeth virtue to do us good;⁴¹ All He did, all He suffered, all He bequeathed, all He was, He

³⁷ Andrewes, *Works* vol 2, 135.

³⁸ Lancelot Andrewes, *Apospasmata sacra, or A collection of posthumous and orphan lectures*, (London: R. Hodgekinsonne, 1657), 594. “Though we obtain not such a perfect conquest over the Dragon as the Angels did; yet we shall attain to the first degree...yet we shall obtain thus much, That he shall not prevail against us, no more that he did against them...we shall be like the Angels, then shall we tread Satan under our feet, that shall the Dragon be bound in chains...so shall we have a final conquest over him.”

³⁹ Maurice F. Reidy, *Bishop Lancelot Andrewes: Jacobean Court Preacher*, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1955), 100.

⁴⁰ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 267.

⁴¹ Andrewes, *Works* vol 2, 15.

was for us;⁴² No man can be happy if he be not...taken a prisoner by Christ. It is the only way to enjoy true liberty.”⁴³

There are different ways to study Andrewes’ sermons. The most common is to follow his sermons by season. Nicholas Lossky, in his review of Andrewes, examines the seasons of Christmas, Lent, Easter, and Whitsunday (Pentecost.) Of these, Lossky reviews four, of which there are seventeen Christmas sermons, focusing on The Incarnation of Christ as God and Man which underlies all of Andrewes’ theology. Heb 2:16 “For He in no wise took the Angels, but the seed of Abraham He took;” 1 Tm 3:16, “And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness, which is, God is manifested in the flesh;” Gal 4:4, “When the fullness of time was come, God sent son, made of a woman, made under the Law;” and Jn 1:14, “And the Word was made flesh.”

Heb 2:16 shows an interesting reminder of the limits of human reason and an invitation to contemplate the mystery of the incarnation as it served to introduce the next part, inviting all to consider more deeply the notion of the human nature (of Christ).⁴⁴ In the second sermon Tim 3:16 noted is the paradox Andrewes uses of the most high God of the heavens being in a humble cradle. He then moves to a vision of the prophecies providing the goal of the Incarnation, the redemptive Passion. He writes,

To-day, in the flesh of a poor babe-crying in the cratch; after, in the rent and torn flesh of a condemned person hanging on the Cross, in the midst of other manner persons than Moses and Elias; that men even hid their faces at Him, not for the brightness of His glory, but for sorrow and shame. God manifested in the flesh...the

⁴² Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 93.

⁴³ Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 230.

⁴⁴ Lossky, 36-7.

Word made flesh...so taking our nature, as His and it are grown into one person, never to be severed or taken in sunder any more...in the same shall appear again at His second manifestation.⁴⁵

It is at this point that Lossky acknowledges another Andrewes trademark that of utilizing his linguistic skill as he finishes the sermon series where Andrewes states:

It will not be amiss to tell you; the word that is Hebrew for flesh the same is also Hebrew for good tidings as we call it, the Gospel; sure, not without the Holy Ghost so dispensing it. There can be no other meaning but that some incarnation, or making of flesh, should be generally good news for the whole world. To let us know this good tidings is come to pass He tells us, The Word is now become flesh.⁴⁶

As Lossky ends his review of Andrewes' sermons, some seventy pages later, he admits that he has "far from having exhausted all the theological themes that appear in the Christmas sermons."⁴⁷ The Christian mystery which appears in these sermons implies the mystery of Christ, God made man, and this same "mystery" will be seen later to support Andrewes' defense of the Real Presence of the Eucharist.

⁴⁵ Lossky, 37-8, as quoted in Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 3.

⁴⁶ Lossky, 42. Quoting from Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 6.

⁴⁷ Lossky, 100.

CHAPTER 4

LITURGY

In 1604, the Roman Church was recovering from earlier setbacks during the previous century. She once again commanded devotion and zeal from her countless champions. Her apologists were as learned and capable as the Church of England's were weak. By the time Andrewes entered into the apologetic field, averse as he was to polemical conflict, his learning would meet head on the Roman charge from Cardinal Bellermino in his *Responsio ad librum: Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus* (1608) that a man cannot be called "Catholic" who rejects transubstantiation, the temporal claims of the papacy, and the invocation of saints. This charge opened the door for Andrewes to enter into the apologetic field in defense of the Church of England. In doing so, he continues a theme of walking a path which the early fathers of the church traveled. As he was thrust into this role of apologetics he would bring to his aid church tradition, as Crockett writes, of Andrewes as "The progenitor of the High Church tradition and its guiding spirit."¹ He sought no new doctrines or ways of worship as can be seen in his response to Bellermino:

Much detriment has the catholic faith suffered at your (Church of Rome) hands; much filth has it contracted, much from which it is no disgrace to us that we revolt...This filth has lately, in some parts of the world, been washed off, and the form...originally possessed has been restored. To this faith we cling as *reformed*; not to your deformation of it. Our religion you miscall modern sectarian opinions. I tell

¹ William Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation*, (New York: Pueblo, 1989), 192.

you if they are modern, they are not ours; our appeal is to antiquity yea, even to the most extreme antiquity. We do not innovate; it may be we renovate what was customary with those same ancients, but with you has disappeared in novelties. Subjection to Rome, dependence on Rome this is the sum of your religion.²

He defended the church against Roman influence as well as the Puritan strain of worship within the Church. Condemning responses to the Roman Church, he referenced the past to determine the future; however, his attitude towards the Puritans was gentler as Ottley wrote:

Andrewes had no liking for compulsion; he trusted mainly to the power of persuasion to win and control the unruly and excited spirits about him. In one of his sermons he draws a beautiful picture of the true prince who 'leads' his people, and does not 'drag' them...Our guiding must be mild and gentle. Laud represents another method, that of legal coercion...Andrewes was in favor of gentle and gradual...he trusted to the educational influence, which indeed was already very marked...more belief in human nature than Laud, and it was an evil day for the Church when his presence was withdrawn.³

In seeking to remain faithful to early church tradition, he followed a road already traveled within both testaments as he looked for direction. The words from both Testaments would be a guide to him:

Hb 2:20 The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him; and Ps 96:9 O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness; let: fear before him, all the earth;" and from Jn 4:23 The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him.⁴

² Robert L. Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (London: Methuen and Company, 1894), 157-8.

³ Ottley, 159.; F.L. Cross, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3rd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 962. Cross write of Laud (1573-1645), Abp. of Canterbury. "Laud's apparent failure arose from his inability to understand the popular leaning towards Puritanism and the hatred aroused by his violent measures against all who did not share his own views on rituals."

⁴ Anglican Parishes Association, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church* (Swedesboro, NJ: Preservation Press Association, 2006), 3 & 21. These verses are in the opening sentences for The Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer.

Each of these themes is seen throughout Andrewes' worship, as his liturgy was of reverence reflecting an orderly manner and demonstrating a respect for meditation and silence, of beauty and of spiritual worship.

Meditation and Reverence

Of meditation, Andrewes places at its center the crucifix. Some of Andrewes' most powerful sermons were based upon "fix our eye, to keep it from straying, to make us look on Him full,"⁵ thus motivating and moving others towards God by witnessing Christ's spiritual and physical suffering during His Passion. Look on Him, he urges, and by looking upon Him in silence can one "admire it, all our words will not reach it."⁶

When one reflects upon the Scripture which Andrewes preached on Good Fridays the theme of "look" develops. In 1597 he preached Zec 2:10, "And they will look upon Me Whom they have pierced;" in 1604 it was Lam 1:12, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto My sorrow, which is done unto Me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted Me in the day of His fierce anger;" and the following year Heb 2:2, "Looking unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of our faith" in which Andrewes tells us to "cast our eyes from other things."⁷ Reading or speaking of Christ was not enough, but it was required to "look upon" Him, thus Andrewes would meditate reflecting upon Christ's personal sacrifice of Himself. The Liturgy, as well, requires more than words for Andrewes.

⁵ Lancelot Andrewes, *The Works of Lancelot Andrewes*, 11 vols (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, J.H. Parker, Oxford, 1841-1854) afterwards referred to as Andrewes *Works* Vol 2, 262..

⁶ Andrewes, *Works* vol 2, 147.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 159.

Andrewes' life implies that he believed that all senses must be on Christ, not just ears as of hearing a sermon,⁸ and by thus doing so be drawn nearer to Him in worship.

Understanding the severity of our sin caused Him, as stated in Heb 10:12, to "offer one sacrifice for sins for ever, (and thus) sat down on the right hand of God" is of importance to Andrewes. He would argue that through meditation⁹ we use all senses to draw us to Christ, allowing a true and loving relationship to form that exceeds all others.

Reverence of worship is evidenced by Andrewes' sermons and prayers. In his sermons he paints a reverence of the holiness of God, and within his liturgy is evident a Creator and Creation relationship¹⁰ in which humbleness reigns; thus, he kneels before God.¹¹ Dorman writes that his chapel reflected the honor given by the Jews for their temple, who lamented their loss as they wept by the waters of Babylon, and thus at the restoration was their true joy proclaimed as they sang again their "Hallelujah" and "Hosanna" to their God. This is the joy which Andrewes attempted to bring forth in his chapel.¹²

⁸ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 421. Andrewes preaches 'And those ears that have I know not how many sermons and lectures, and all in a manner of sin, without any fruit that can be seen, are not far from it, from a curse.'

⁹ Andrewes, *Works* vol One, 137. "Of meditation we believed that...when fixing both the eyes of our meditation 'upon Him That was pierced,' as it were one eye upon the grief, the other upon the love wherewith He was pierced, we find both, or one of these, some motion of grace arise our hearts with sorrow, the consideration of the His love piercing our hearts with mutual love again."

¹⁰ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 462.

¹¹ Dorman, *Mentor of Reformed*, 31. Dorman writes "To those who refuse to kneel, Andrewes warned it was something that every person will have to do. If not in this life, it will be forced on us in the next." Dorman also quotes Andrewes *Works*, Vol 2, 338-9 'Either fall on our knees now, or be cast flat on our faces then;' either confess Him...with the Saints and Angels...or with devils and damned spirits.'

¹² Dorman, *Mentor of Reformed*, 23.

An example of the physical themes in his chapel is seen by the temple's inner sanctum as the church's sanctuary being separated from the laity by an elevation of steps leading up to the altar. His positioning of the altar along the east wall with two candlesticks and a holder (he used a cushion) for the service book, an altar frontal; as well as a pulpit, prayer desks, and pews are all features today for many Traditional Anglican Churches. Copies of the layout of Andrewes' Chapel were distributed and would be used later by Bishop Laud.¹³ When Laud was questioned at his trial on the furnishing of his chapel he "insisted that there was nothing in his chapel that could not have been found in Andrewes."¹⁴ The Chalice which Andrewes used had a theme of Christ the "good shepherd" with the sheep on his shoulder, representing the sinner gone astray. Andrewes' Chalice was the model copied by Bishop Buckeridge and Laud, and the moving of the altar to the east end became a model for others.¹⁵ Of the altar itself Andrewes would say "Heathen had their Altar, whereon they offered (sacrifices) to their gods, so we have an Altar too where we celebrate the remembrance of that oblation once made by Christ which has been a pattern of worship for fifteen hundred years."¹⁶ Of the oblation he preached "...in the Sacrament of the altar

¹³ John Henry Parker, *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron, and Other Miscellaneous Works*, (London: R. Clay Printer, 1854), 97. A diagram is presented of "Plan of Bishop Andrewes' Chapel" in Laud's Diary.

¹⁴ William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome, Or, the First Part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation, Execution of William Laud, Late...Proceedings in Parliament Against Him 1646*, (Secaucus, NJ: EEBO Editions ProQuest, 2014), 353.

¹⁵ Kenneth Fincham, ed., *The Early Stuart Church: 1603-1642*, (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1993), 61.

¹⁶ Dorman, *Mentor of Reformed*, 27.

well known to the faithful...in that oblation which the Church offers, the Church itself is offered.”¹⁷

What Should Be Allowed

At a time when church worship, procedures, and governments were being debated, Andrewes makes an argument that throughout the history of the Church much was allowed:

...without controversy, when kingdoms and states turned from idolatry or paganism to Christianity, and that in short time (so powerful was the Holy Ghost), many of the heathen temples were not overthrown, but of necessity, after some ceremonies accomplished, were used for Christian prayers and assemblies...and men sooner and easier embraced public Christian religion...and the first Christian emperor Constantine made a law against them which pluck down the tombs and monuments of the superstitious heathens, and those laws methinks in foreign countries gave some warrant for retaining heathen ceremonies...Pope Gregory...was to be yielded unto them that was weak in faith, as the apostles did, he writeth a peculiar epistle to Mellitus, one of the first apostles or bishops of the Englishmen, and expressly willeth that the temples of the idols in England be not destroyed, but that they be hallowed and sanctified, and turned into oratories for Christians.¹⁸

Andrewes continues with examples:

...the temple in Rome for all heathen gods...is now called the round church of Our lady...as many learned men have reason to conjecture St. Paul's in London to have been the heathen temple of Diana...were digged up an innumerable number of ox-heads, which the learned know were anciently the sacrifices unto Diana...about St. Alban's abbey was found a book written in British tongue...the second part treated of idolatry of the citizens of St. Alban's...hence I conceive probably the ancient churches of St. Alban's were dedicated to the service of Sun and Mercury their gods.¹⁹

¹⁷ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 265.

¹⁸ Lancelot Andrewes, *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, A Discourse of Ceremonies Retained and Used in Christian Churches*, (London: Will Garret, 1641), 376.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 377-8.

However, he would also say that “before the heathen temples were consecrated and purged, the Christians would not use any Christian service in them.”²⁰ Other things, than which is made or created by the Church, of which was then consecrated by the Church has throughout church history been acceptable.

Of bells, he writes, “as we have bells in our churches, so the pagan had theirs,”²¹ of lights, candles, he quotes St. Augustine, “they promised to the churches, one oil, another way to solace themselves for the night-light,” and of incense,²² Andrewes would preach in a sermon, “the censer perfumeth all our prayers.”²³ He would agree with St. Clement of Alexandria that “The sacrifice of the church is the word breathing as incense from holy souls,”²⁴ although not all church fathers were in agreement.²⁵ As well, Andrewes spoke of the many Christian holidays of “Jupiter, Mars, and the rest of the heathen gods, as they were ordained among the Christian holy days for Peter, Paul, and other saints.”²⁶

²⁰ Ibid., 378.

²¹ Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, 174-5. It is important however to remark that Andrewes was keenly alive to the difficulties and practical anomalies of the system in which he lived and worked. “There are some things”, he tells du Moulin, “which we teach not but have to endure which we cannot be rid of, but must bear He who tolerates does not necessarily approve.”

²² Lancelot Andrewes, *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron, and Two Speeches in the Starr-Chamber*, (London, Felix Kyngston, 1629), 33-4. ...Lights and Incense used by the Primitive Church...Not for any mystical meaning...in time of persecution had their meetings most commonly in *cryptis*, in caves and grotts under-ground...when peace came...though above ground...they retained both...to show themselves to be the sons and successors of those ancient Christians.

²³ Andrewes, Works vol 3, 233.

²⁴ David W. Bercot, *A Dictionary of Early Christian Beliefs: A Reference Guide to More Than 700 Topics Discussed by the Early Church Fathers* (Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998), 361.

²⁵ Ibid., 361. Several church fathers were not in favor of incense.

²⁶ Lancelot Andrewes, *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, 334-392. This section gives a detailed overview of Church government of the Old Testament, from Moses forward, and New Testament, starting with

Eucharist

Throughout all of the battles of what was proper and improper for worship within the Church, Andrewes' love and passion was reserved for the Eucharist. This sacrifice and sacrament once offered for all of mankind was of highest importance. His love of scripture and love of the Eucharist are never separated as they fed one another. Truth and grace do not only flow from the word alone, but also from His flesh.²⁷ For this reason Andrewes' doctrine could be described as the Word flowing into and through the Eucharist feeding all who partake of it worthily.²⁸

Within the Eucharist Andrewes sees a joining together of the Church,²⁹ as the Church Militant, Expectant, and Triumphant join together in worshipping and partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ.³⁰ During the Eucharist service "all our duties of preaching, and praying,

the days of "our Saviour Christ" and of the days of the Apostles themselves. As well, this section also speaks of ceremonies retained and used by the church throughout its history, once again beginning with Moses.

²⁷ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 151. "For where two or three are in prayer gathered together in His Name there is He with them (Mat 18:20)...we are with Him our prayers our praises...these are well but these are not all we can (do)...Namely that we be so with Him as He this day was with us that was in flesh not in spirit only. That flesh that was conceived and this day born Corpus that body...And if we be not with Him, thus if this His flesh be not with us if we partake it not...we come short."

²⁸ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 281. "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...For there we do not gather to Christ or of Christ, but gather Christ Himself...there is recapitulation of all in Heaven and earth in Christ so is a recapitulation of all in Christ in the holy Sacrament."

²⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, vol 2, 268. "The church offereth us a notable pledge, and earnest of this hope there to bestow; even the holy Eucharist...they be His own words: Jn 6:54 He that eateth My flesh and drinketh hath eternal life and I will raise him up at the last day. So dwell we in Him and He in us."

³⁰ Andrewes, *Two Answers*, 20. "The Sacrifice of Christ's death is available for present, absent, living, dead, yea, for them that are yet unborn."

of hymns, of offering, of Sacrament and all, meet together.”³¹ The working of the Spirit in truth during the Eucharist is reflected by holiness and beauty.³²

Andrewes has a high view of the Eucharist³³ and of the real presence of Christ,³⁴ as an examination of his doctrine shows. As with any discernment of Andrewes’ doctrines, one finds a foundation within scripture and the tradition of the early church.

In 1615 Andrewes preached before King James I on Mi 5:2 “But thou, Bethlehem, Ephratah...to be ruler in Israel...from Everlasting.” The sermon begins with “His name, saith “Esay,” shall be God with us;” and Bethlehem will be the place, saith Micah. “From David to the Son of David, that is to Him, we read not of any other born at Bethlehem.” Of this town Bethlehem Andrewes preached:

Though it not worthy to be one of the thousands of Judah, it should send forth One that should rule the thousands of Judah, and the ten thousands of Israel...He should lead, but ‘the Israel of God,’ His faithful chosen people all the world over...For that it was the town of David, and He the Son of David...and well therefore out of thee shall come David’s Son; David’s Son and David’s Lord, both...the very name Bethlehem, that is, ‘the house of bread.’ For He that was born

³¹ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 62.

³² Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 356. The Spirit is so true, as He is the Truth itself. Christ saith of Himself, “I am the Truth.

³³ Lancelot Andrewes, *Apospasmata sacra, or A collection of posthumous and orphan lectures*, (London: R. Hodgekinsonne, 1657), 594-5. Andrewes sates: “The words are Christ, and are both agreeable to the action we have in hand, and also for a good dependence upon we have been heretofore conversant. But that these words are to be applied to the holy Eucharist and Sacrament of the Lords Supper appears, for that before he calls himself *the bread of life...The bread from heaven...The living bread...* and all along this chapter there is nothing spoken of Christ, but as he is the matter of this Sacrament: and therefore these words are to be understood of the holy Eucharist”

³⁴ Reidy, 137f. Reidy lists several sources that are unsure of Andrewes belief on this subject. These concerns are addressed in Andrewes’ sermons: *Works*, Vol 5, 470. “Touching the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist. Verily verily except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood ye have no life in you... the word Amen is used and thereby our Saviour laboureth to express the truth of that which He doth teach.” Andrewes loyalty is to the Eucharist as it is the Body of Christ, and not the method upon which it becomes the Body. The method is not in scripture, only that it is “My Body” and “My Blood”, “Do This” (1 Cor 11:24-25.)

there was ‘Bread...for as everlasting “there shall be no more time, when yet there is no time at all.’³⁵

Andrewes places the prophetic announcements of prophets within the Eucharist as Christ became the Bread of life born in “the house of bread,”³⁶ and that He is everlasting of which there is no beginning and no end. Andrewes then continues connecting Christ with Melchizedek:

The light of His priestly knowledge...so He guides us...for the priests’ lips are to preserve knowledge...He is Melchizedek, King and Priest; ready to bring forth as he did bread and wine...the bread and wine Melchizedek brought forth were not his body and blood: Christ’s are...as the means to re-establish our hearts with grace, and to repair the decays of our spiritual strength; even His own flesh, the bread of life, and His own blood, the cup of salvation...Bread made of Himself...wine made of Himself, the true vine...Went under the sickle, flail...even to be made bread...trodden, or was trodden, in the wine-press alone, to prepare this cup for us.³⁷

The sermon’s ending connects the Church with Bethlehem, and the Eucharist with the Body of Christ:

The house of bread, would serve to put us in remembrance of it...Even the breaking of the bread, which the Church as this day ever hath...That we may do locally do and never go out of this room, inasmuch as here is to be had the ‘true Bread of life that came down from Heaven’ which is His flesh...the Church in this sense is very Bethlehem no less than the town itself...And will there be Bethlehem, and so near us...Shall we forsake our Guide leading us to a place so much for our benefit?...where the body is, there the eagles will be (Lk 17:37)...For as our duty to be led, so our duty to be fed by Him...Leading He feeds us, and feeding He leads us.³⁸

³⁵ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 153-4.

³⁶ James Strong, *The New Strong's Complete Dictionary of Bible Words* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1996), 325.

³⁷ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 168-9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 173-4.

For Andrewes, the place of the birth for Jesus is foretold and reported to have occurred in Scripture; and of the Eucharist he found support in Mt 26:26-18, Mk 14:22-24, Lk 22:19-20, Jn 6:51-55, and 1 Cor 10:16 and 1 Cor 11:23-29. Combined with early tradition and teachings of Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian,³⁹ is formed a foundation for his defense of the early teachings of the Church.

In another Christmas Day Sermon, preached in 1609, he focused on Gal 4:4-5 “But when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the adoption of sons” as he links the Jews and Gentiles together, and the Law with Christ:

He must be new made; made again once more. And so He was, cast in a new mold; and at His second making ‘made under the Law;’ under which if He had not been made, we had been marred; even quite undone forever, if this had not been done for us too. Therefore He became bound for us also, entered bond anew, took on Him not only our nature but our debt, our nature and condition both. Nature as men, condition as sinful men, expressed in the words following, ‘them that were under the Law;’ for that was our condition... ‘made of a woman’ He was, that He might be ‘made under the Law’... He might then become... which before He could not, but then He might and did.⁴⁰

Continuing with his sermon, he now addressed The Law and sin:

...when He was circumcised. For this doth St. Paul testify in the third of the next chapter, Behold, I Paul testify unto you whosoever is circumcised... he becomes a debtor to the whole Law. At His circumcision then He entered bond anew with us... He shed then a few drops of His blood, whereby He signed the bond as it were, and gave those few drops then... as a pledge or earnest that when the fullness of time came, He would be ready to shed all the rest... death He went... even the death of the cross... this He did undertake for us at His circumcision, and... not till then He had His name given Him, the name of Jesus, a Saviour. For then took He on Him the obligation to save us... then at His circumcision He undertook, at His Passion He paid

³⁹ Bercot, 251-7.

⁴⁰ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 54-5.

even to the full; and having paid it...cancelled the sentence of the Law that till then was of record and stood in full force against us.⁴¹

Finally is the interweaving of the above into the Liturgy and Eucharist:

No fullness there is of our Liturgy...our thanks are surely not full without the Holy Eucharist...the Cup is the Blood not only of our redemption, of the covenant that freeth us from the Law and maketh the destroyer pass over us; but of our adoption, of the New Testament also which entitles us and conveys unto us...the estate we have in the joy and bliss of His Heavenly Kingdom whereto we are adopted. We are then made partakers of Him, and with Him of both these His benefits... the fullness of eternity...yet once more will...He come again...and receive the full fruition of the inheritance whereto we are but adopted. And then it will be perfect, complete, absolute fulness indeed, when we shall all be filled with 'the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.' For so will all be, when nothing will be wanting in any; for "God will be all in all."⁴²

A review of these two of his sermons reveals his acceptance of the "real presence" doctrine of the Eucharist. He would also be called upon to explain the difference between Roman Catholic Church doctrine of transubstantiation and the "real presence" view of the Church of England.⁴³ Andrewes believed transubstantiation could not be an expression of faith, as it was a metaphysical explanation of how Christ was truly present within the Eucharist. He would write to Cardinal Bellarmine that English Christians believed no less than Roman Catholics that the Eucharistic presence was indeed real, but that they do not define the mode of that presence. He writes:

⁴¹ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 55-6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 62-3.

⁴³ *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David* (Swedesboro, NJ: Preservation Press, [1993?], 1928), 608. "The Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ. . . .The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith."

Christ said ‘this is my body.’ He did not say ‘this is my body in this way’. We are in agreement with you as to the end; the whole controversy is as to the method. As to the ‘This’ we hold with firm faith that it is. As to the ‘this is in this way’, (namely by the Transubstantiation of the bread into the body), as to the method whereby it happens that it is, by means of In or With or Under or By transition there is no word expressed [in Scripture]. And because there is no word, we rightly make it not of faith; we place it perhaps among the theories of the school, but not among the articles of the faith... We believe no less than you that the presence is real. Concerning the method of the presence, we define nothing rashly, and I add, we do not anxiously inquire, any more than how the blood of Christ washes us in Baptism, any more than how the human and divine natures are united in one Person in the Incarnation of Christ.⁴⁴

Andrewes also ascribes to the Eucharist a commemoration of the sacrifice once offered by Christ at Calvary. Andrewes quotes 1 Cor 10:16 “the bread we break is not the communion (partaking) of the body of Christ?”⁴⁵ In this sense the bread is a communion and a partaking of Christ’s body; therefore, it is the presence of Christ, not the sacrament itself which is to be worshipped during the Eucharist. The sacrifice happened once and the Eucharist is a showing forth continually of that Sacrifice once made.⁴⁶

The Book of Common Prayer

The institution of The Book of Common Prayer⁴⁷ in 1549 and the subsequent changes, beginning in 1552, had ceased by the time of Andrewes’ ministry; therefore, discussion must be brief as to their impact upon his worship service.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Joe Rawls, “Eucharistic Quotes: Anglican,” *The Byzantine Anglo-Catholic*, December 6, 2007, accessed July 23, 2014, <http://thebyzantineanglocatholic.blogspot.com/2007/12/eucharistic-quotes-anglican.html>.

⁴⁵ Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 239.

⁴⁶ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 443.

⁴⁷ The original 1549 Book of Common Prayer attempted to be a compromise between the two factions within the Church of England, and it failed to please either. In 1552 a new Book of Common Prayer was introduced which mainly recast the “Holy Communion”, made changes to the burial service, and ordered the

Andrewes was bound to use later versions, 1559 and 1604, but it was the 1559 Prayer Book that he used to reform the Eucharist to what it had always been, “to celebrate the passion and death of Christ, to offer up His sacrifice for the living and the dead, and for the union of the communicant with Christ by receiving His Body and Blood.”⁴⁹

Andrewes did not always follow the ways of his contemporaries and in many cases his contemporaries would use his model for worship within their own churches and chapels. The moving of the Gloria to the end of the mass is an example and is still followed by many Anglican Churches today.⁵⁰

The following words were spoken at Andrewes’ funeral by Bishop Buckeridge, one of his close friends. His words give a good overview of Andrewes’ view of sacrifice, worship, and of the priesthood of man and Christ:

At the altar... for prayer; and praising, we direct our signifying words to Him to Whom we offer the things signified in our hearts; so sacrificing, we know the visible sacrifice is to be offered to no other but to Him... form of a servant the Man Jesus Christ a Mediator of God and man, whereas in the form of God He takes sacrifice; with His Father, yet in the form of a servant... He chose rather to be a sacrifice than to receive sacrifice... By this (nature) He is a Priest, the same the offerer, and the same the thing offered... of which things He would have the daily sacrifice of the Church to be a sacrament... which Church being the body of our Lord Himself, doth learn to offer itself, that is, the Church, by Him, that is, by Christ.” Here the body of the Head is the mystical body of Christ, and therefore the daily sacrifice of the Church is not

use of surplice instead of other vestments and omitted reference to Mass and “Altar.” A slightly altered version was issued in 1559.

⁴⁸ Marianne Dorman, “Andrewes' and English Catholics' Response to Cranmer's Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552”, Project Canterbury, 1999, accessed on June 14, 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/essays/dorman2.pdf>. Note: Dr. Dorman presented this essay to Westminster College, Cambridge in 1999 titled “Andrewes and English Catholics’ Response to Cranmer’s Prayer Books of 1549 And 1552.” This document provides a more detailed impact study of the BCP upon Andrewes.

⁴⁹ Dorman, *Mentor of Reformed*, 36; Andrewes, *Works* vol 11, 20.

⁵⁰ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 551. Andrewes called the Gloria the “Angel’s song” as “never are we as close to them than after we have received Christ in the Sacrament.”

the natural body of Christ, but the mystical body that offers itself to God by Christ. This made St. Augustine to say of angels, and elect and glorious saints... Let us not sacrifice to them, but let us be a sacrifice to God together with them.”⁵¹

⁵¹ John Buckeridge, “A Funeral Sermon,” Project Canterbury, Trans Marianne Dorman, 2002, accessed on July 24, 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/lact/andrewes/v5/funeral.html>; Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 264.

CHAPTER 5

APPLICATION FOR ANGLICAN PRIESTS

Preserving the Traditional Church

The Lord teaches us that many ‘ravens wolves shall come in sheep’s clothing.’ Now what are these sheep’s clothing, but the external surface of the Christian profession? Who are the ravens wolves but those deceitful senses and spirits which are lurking within to waste the flock of Christ? Who are the false prophets but deceptive predictors of the future? Who are the false apostles but the preachers of a spurious gospel?¹

These words of Tertullian, A.D. 145-220, could be written today. Irenaeus of Antioch, early second century, wrote to the Christian churches urging faithfulness to their Bishops and holding to the belief in Christ’s real humanity. Irenaeus, mid-second century, wrote against the new doctrines of the Gnostic in *Against Heresies*, and Justin Martyr would defend the Christians as he describes the early Church Worship service and beliefs, as its liturgy is laid open for all to see. Documents of early church history, the *Didache*, speak to the method of baptism and of the Eucharist.² Scripture itself tells us: 2Ti 3:16 All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. From the earliest of times, the Church has had to rely upon scripture and its early traditions to defend itself against the heresies which have always

¹ Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A Cleveland Coxe, eds. *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.d. 325*. 10 vols, vol 3. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.), 245.; Tertullian, *The Prescription Against Heretics*, Chapter 4.

² William C. Placher, *Readings in the History of Christian Theology* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1988), 1:15-31.

swirled about its being, 2 Th 3:6. As the years have passed, the attacks remain much the same.³

During the early twentieth century new warnings against liberalism⁴ were voiced as new interpretations emerged from new religions claiming to be Christian. Beliefs of the past became viewed as out of touch and old fashioned, and were ridiculed from within and without the Church.⁵ Machen explained the dangers of those who were trying to change the long held traditions of the Church:

‘Christ died for our sins,’ said the primitive disciples, ‘according to the Scripture; he was buried; he has been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures.’ From the beginning, the Christian gospel, as indeed the name ‘gospel’ or ‘good news’ implies, consisted in an account of something that happened. And from the beginning, the meaning of the happening was set forth; and when the meaning of the happening was set forth then there was Christian doctrine. ‘Christ died’ – that is history; ‘Christ died for our sins’ – that is doctrine. Without these two elements, joined in an absolutely indissoluble union, there is no Christianity.⁶

As the traditional Church continues to fight these heresies she should not only look and seek the new apologists within the traditional Church, but also reflect upon those who have fought this battle in the past. Zahl writes that the Anglican is one:

³ Powel Dawley, *Chapters in Church History*, (Greenwich, CT: The Seabury Press, 1953), 25. A comparison is made of Gnosticism and of “enlighten science” as both make an attempt to adjust Christian revelation to its own ideas. . . .(and) the impact upon Christian thinking is similar.

⁴ Alan Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 3rd ed. (Greenville, SC: Ambassador Emerald International, 2002), 263. “A theological movement also known as modernism. Liberalism denotes the movement’s free criticism of all theological claims. In effect, it is freedom from all restraint imposed by any theological *a priori*, meaning that any Biblical doctrine is open to be denied.”

⁵ Francis Hall, *Theological Outlines*, (New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1933), vii. Hall writes: “It seems in many cases the theologian...stands in awe of it (science)...leads to acceptance of opinion of to-day which may abandoned or modify tomorrow; it cannot avoid bringing theology in disrepute as implying that it has no fixed position of its own as it changes its language, and too often it’s thought, with a disconcerting rapidity.”

⁶ J Gresham Machen, *Christianity and Liberalism*, new ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2009), 23.

Like all the Christians who look back to the Reformation with gratitude, uses his Bible as a sure guide. He knows what it is to seek for...a personal conversation. He cannot rest content with the outward signs of Catholicity – he looks for a felt spiritual experience...Anglican Evangelical has, in short, discovered himself at the pivotal point of worldwide Christianity...If he has eyes to see...He sees the virtues of...of continuity...⁷

Lancelot Andrewes' time was one of great trial and tribulations within the Church, as it tried to heal itself from her own infliction of new ways and doctrines. From the corruptions of the Roman Church to the fresh doctrines of Luther and Calvin, the Church of England sought a balance of retaining what it thought was good of scripture and tradition, and avoiding what it thought was dangerous. This battle within Christ's Church was ugly and brutal, as Christian turned against Christian and feelings and emotions erupted. It seemed as if the Church needed to hear the Apostle Paul: "Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" I Co 1:12-13.

Andrewes decided to look backwards in order to move forward.⁸ As the Church has always had its divisions and heresies, he searched the "ancient Fathers and lights of the Church, in whom the scent of this ointment was fresh, and the temper true on whose writings it lieth thick and we thence strike it off and gather it safely."⁹ He longed for a time once

⁷ Paul F.M. Zahl, *The Protestant Face of Anglicanism*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 8; Michael Saward, *Evangelicals on the Move*, (London, 1987), 91-2.

⁸ Henry Isaacson, *An Exact Narrative of the Life and Death of the Late Reverend and Learned Prelate, and Painful Divine, Lancelot Andrewes*, (London: Printed for John Stafford, 1650), 2-3. Andrewes wrote "Let every protestant remember, that we are not invading the rights of our subjects, but protecting our own; not introducing any innovations in religion, but reducing our faith, as nearly as possible, to its primitive and apostolic purity; not inviting rebellion against authority of the pope, but asserting our allegiance to our King, as the undoubted head of our ecclesiastical as well as civil constitution; in a word, endeavoring to obey the divine command, of fearing God and honoring the king." 1 Pt 2:17.

⁹ Marianne Dorman, *Lancelot Andrewes: 1555-1626* (Tucson, AZ: Icen Books, 2004), 10; Andrewes, *Works* Vol 3, 287.

again, when the Church was able to unite and defend itself from those who were not Christians, as defined by the Church's early teachings. As he sought the unity of antiquity, he spoke of its importance and his desires in his correspondence with his friend, the French Calvinist Pierre du Moulin:

I would to God that might put an end to the whole controversy betwixt us. It is this the venerable antiquity of those first ages shall be ever in greater esteem with me than the new upstart device of any whomsoever. Oh would to God that antiquity might be more and more in esteem with you with all for if antiquity might prevail if these new upstart devices were discarded then sure the cause of this order could not be in danger.¹⁰

The desire for unity was sincere, yet he was never concerned with working out a *via media*.¹¹ His standards for unity were simple; scripture and church history in its implementation. Andrewes would agree with Machen that the first concern must always be for one's own house:

A Calvinist is constrained to regard the Arminian theology as a serious impoverishment of the Scripture doctrine of divine grace; and equally serious is the view which the Arminian must hold as to the doctrine of the Reformed Churches. Yet here again, true evangelical fellowship is possible between those... Church of Rome and evangelical Protestantism in all its forms... The gulf is indeed profound. But profound as it is, it seems almost trifling compared to the abyss which stands between us and many ministers of our own Church... naturalistic liberalism is not Christianity at all... The chief modern rival of Christianity is 'liberalism.'¹²

¹⁰ Christopher Wordsworth, *Christian Institutes: A Series of Discourses and Tracts vol. 3 of 4*, (London: Printed for JGF & J Rivington, 1842), 251. The following shows a side of Andrewes which is not commonly acknowledged as he closes his reply with: Among these remarks I entrust to you that if you please they may be with you. But know withal that I have ever been both by nature and choice addicted to peace and my age now requires it of me who ere long must be packing. . . . but chiefly living under a king whose word is that of our Saviour, Blessed are the peacemakers. And I assure you I shall never incline to any immoderate or harsh counsels but shall qualify as much as I may your writings with a fair interpretation. For neither can we brag of our happiness more than anciently St Augustine did whose saying it was... What we teach is one thing what we are fain to tolerate another."

¹¹ Marianne Dorman, *Mentor of Reformed*, 2-3. *Via Media* is a Latin phrase meaning the middle road.

¹² Machen, *Christianity and Liberalism*, 43-5.

Therefore, the purpose for this work is not to debate Christian Doctrines which vary, and to divide different denominations, but to lay a foundation that is beneficial for all who seek the traditional Church. The traditional Anglican Priest is surrounded by “Anglicans” of another religion who have consumed themselves with new doctrines of liberalism and abandoned the Church’s glorious past. Traditionalist Anglicans must first unite among ourselves, before uniting with other Traditionalists who fight the same liberalism. Pastors, of all denominations:

Gently teach. They give assurances. They offer prayers. They keep families together. They comfort the grieving. They rejoice with the joyful. In their words and especially with their presence, they communicate to an increasingly impersonal world of mass media and teleconferencing that God cares for individuals, one by one, day in and day out.¹³

Within the Anglican Church, its sacraments are fundamental in performing the role of its Priesthood. The focus during worship within Anglicanism is the altar while within many Protestant Churches the focus is on the pulpit. While there is a difference, the duties listed above by Berkley apply to all. For the Anglican Priest, the sacraments if properly maintained and applied help to keep the Anglican Priest within the traditional teachings of the Church from which the sacraments are derived. If the sacraments be lessened, changed, or abolished, then the faith on which they stand is transformed, leading to a change of doctrine as a redefining of the historical Church takes place.¹⁴

¹³ James D. Berkley, *Leadership Handbook of Outreach and Care*, pbk. ed. (Grand Rapids: Christianity Today, Inc. :, 1997, 1994), 215.

¹⁴ Ottley, 31-2. Andrewes was aware of the Church’s shortcomings as he preached in 1593 in which he “describes the clergy as sitting still half asleep, lukewarm, tongue-tied.” Ottley points out the “curse of the English Church at this time was indifferentism; the zealots were found in the ranks of her enemies.”

Andrewes writes of the forms of government from Old Testament times, beginning with Moses and tracing the different forms up through the New Testament.¹⁵ Of Bishops he writes:

...the apostles ordained overseers to have general care over the churches...the oversight of the church; and power of commanding, correcting, and ordaining... seeing then God hath no less care for the propagation and continuance of His church than for the first settling or planting of it, Eph 4:13, it must needs follow that this power was not personal in the apostles, as tied to them only, but a power given to the church; and in them for their times resident, but not ending with them, as temporary, but common to the ages after and continuing, to whom it was more needful than to them, to repress schism and to remedy other abuses...to the world's end...the commission was to all nations, yet was it left to their discretion how and in what sort they would dispose themselves, as the Holy Ghost should direct them...¹⁶

Andrewes' life and ministry were far from the perfect example of the priesthood; for that person is in Jesus Christ only. It is important that he not be put on some high pedestal and out of some blind respect and faith in him, to ignore evidence which is unflattering. His critics have found fault with him for his staunch support for the Divine Office of King, for his seemly improper ruling in the Essex Divorce Case,¹⁷ and his fleeing away from his church as a plague devastated his town. All of these accusations raise questions of which his defense is not known within his writings; however, his penitential daily prayers of tears and of mourning seem to indicate his awareness of his imperfectness. One objective of this thesis

¹⁵ Lancelot Andrewes, *Minor Works of Bishop Andrewes*, (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1846), 335-362.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 355-7.

¹⁷ Robert Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (London: Methuen Co., 1894), 72-3. Ottley explains it is impossible to give a satisfactory account of this proceeding in which the young Lady Essex had an affair and then filed for divorce when her husband returned home. King James formed a commission to decide the fate of the marriage. Andrewes was added and at first was vehemently against the divorce, but remained silent during the proceedings. It appears he gave into the Kings desire that the divorce be granted. This is a paradox as Andrewes wrote against second marriages.

is to take what was good in Andrewes life and make it known to others who seek to return of the Church to its founding principles.

In Jn 10 Jesus speaks of the “good shepherd,” indicating the spending of time with his sheep and of His protection of them, as “the wolf coming,” in good times and bad. The duty of the Anglican Parish Priest is one of seven days a week and twenty four hours a day. His duty is to go wherever the sheep may be, in order that the words of Christ may refresh and bring all within the fold of the Great High Priest and to everlasting life. As a servant of God he must be seen as God’s servant to God’s people.

Defining an Anglican Priest

The definition for the Traditional Anglican Priest is based upon “The Form and Manner of Ordering Priests” as found in the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer*.¹⁸ As the Priest is ordained, his office is explained, and his duties and allegiance to the same is made. The examining of the words of ordination and their application is reviewed by reflecting upon Andrewes’ life and ministry as a traditional foundation for the Church and her ministry.

To consolidate this process the words used are from the Ordaining Bishop after the “presenting of the person (s)” as the Bishop says “Take heed...be apt and meet for their learning and godly conversation, to exercise their Ministry duly, to the honour of God, and Edifying of His Church.” The remarks and topics on the Priesthood from the Bishop are followed and highlighted as the Bishop speaks to the people and recites the Collect,¹⁹ and as

¹⁸ Anglican Parishes Association, 536-4. These pages cover The Form and Manner of Ordering Priest.

¹⁹ Cross, *Oxford Dictionary*, 378-9. A Collect a short form of prayer.

well from his remarks to the candidates themselves. Subsequently the Bishop asks questions of each candidate (the questions are listed in the appendix). For greater clarity, the key categories and topics are listed below. The categories, which will guide the remainder of this thesis, are in bold print and underlined. Under each category are listed the topics, the key words of ordination.²⁰

Table 1

Ordination Topics

<u>Scripture</u>	<u>Prayers</u>	<u>Ministry</u>	<u>Sacraments</u>	<u>Priesthood</u>
Truth Doctrine	Forsake Worldly	Teach	Pray for Holy Spirit	Messenger/Preacher
Drive away	Quietness & Peace	Exhortation	Feed & Provide	Watchman
Reading & Learning	Frequency	Doctrine	Discipline	Edifying Church
Fashion Life	Innocency of Life	Premonish	Keep & Observe	Instruct & Admonish
Eternal Salvation	Example	Banish Contrary God	Honor God	Stewards

“...in your heart, that you are truly called”

The first question of the Bishop, see appendix, to the candidate(s) refers to the heart. The “heart” is used in scripture, not so much as the physical organ, but metaphorically. It refers to the inner person, the mind, understanding, attitudes, motivation, conscience, and in the New Testament, Mt 13:19 and Lk 8:12:15, there is significant reference to the “heart” as the receptor of divine revelation.²¹ The “heart” can be positive or negative and is even depicted as evil in Gn 6:5, “And GOD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth,

²⁰ The graph “Ordination Topics” uses key words of the ordination; therefore, complete sentences are not quoted.

²¹ Stephen D. Renn, ed., *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words: Word Studies for Key English Bible Words Based On the Hebrew and Greek Texts*, (Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005), 476-78.

and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.” Andrewes preached of the heart often, of which he says,

...requireth not only an alteration of the mind but of the will...change not of certain notions only in the head...the affections of the heart too...Nay heart and all must turn...Not the face for shame or the feet for fear but the heart for very hatred of sin also...Hypocrisy is a sin...to turn from sin we are to turn from it also and not have our body in the right way and our heart still wandering in the by paths of sin...the eye of God pierceth...it be conversion...the heart and with the whole heart. As not to divide the heart from the body...the devil to hinder us from true turning...to first turn... (or) not at all...²²

He also taught in catechism (see page 45-6 of this thesis) “Of the heart, no religion reacheth the heart as Christianity, which pulleth out as it were the very core of sin.” So the heart is just not a part, it is the whole of the person, and it is Christianity that deals with the wholeness of sin within oneself. Andrewes draws a parallel between the stars of heaven and Christ and the heart and faith, as is preached: “So the star in heaven kindled another star in earth” 2 Pt 1:19. Peter calls it the Day Star which riseth in the heart that is faith which...enquiring duty of worshipping.”²³ He speaks in the manner that without the heart there is no life, and vice versa, as he preached on Mt 12:39-40 ,“The very term of the heart of the earth was well chosen as there is heart in it. For if the earth, have an heart there is life in it for the heart is the fountain of life and the seat of the vital spirits that hold us in it.”²⁴

To be “truly called in your heart,” according to Andrewes there must be an urging, a motivating desire, a love of godliness and even a hatred of sin within one’s whole self. This desire implies closeness to the Hebrew word of *nephesh* implying ones soul, life, person,

²² Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 363-4.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1:236.

²⁴ Andrewes, *Works* vol 2, 399.

heart and mind. To give one's heart is to give of the totality of oneself, which if not given, one would feel and be incomplete. This intense longing of the heart, of the self, should be within the Priest.

Scripture

Scripture lends itself to a doctrine of truth as it is self-authenticating and driving away erroneous doctrines contrary to God's Word. It requires diligence in reading and learning, and in the fashioning of one's life, as it contains all required for eternal salvation. Scripture is the guiding principal of the Church and is foundational in all of Andrewes' works. To help keep error of doctrine from entering into the truth of established doctrine, Andrewes sought no new doctrine, but trusted and relied upon doctrine which is as old as the Church and her scripture.

His prayer life reflected the importance of scripture as it draws upon in its entirety, and shows the New Testament as fulfillment of the Old. The Commandments of the Old Testament were foundational within his prayers, and the Lord's Prayer formed its structure. The Commandments and the Lord's Prayer are joined in the formation of his prayers.

Andrewes taught that the Scriptures were true, and thus others, such as that of the Muslims (the Turks) were not. Of the Jews he confirms, but he states that it is their misunderstanding or the ignoring of their prophets and prophecies that caused their faith to go astray. Scripture is not temporal, for it continues being of God, and the Laws are not restrained by time, place, or person and as a result the Christian scripture is eternal.

Andrewes' Liturgy also drew heavily upon both Testaments, thus reinforcing the importance of the entirety of all of the Canon of Scripture. All of his sermons would draw

upon scripture, usually focusing upon one or two verses. His liturgy did not just ask that we read and learn scripture, but that we “look upon” and focus and base our lives upon scripture as the Eucharist nourishes and transform lives through Scripture.²⁵

All of Andrewes’ life focused on the word of God in Scripture. From waking up at four in the morning, to secluding himself for hours each day in prayer using both testaments as building stones for prayer. His doctrine was not adding to Scripture, but reinforcing what it had been from its beginning. His Liturgical practices were derived from Scripture and were used to give more than words and to stir up the desire to walk and live within the words of Scripture.

Prayers

C. S. Lewis writes of Screwtape speaking to his nephew Wormwood, a Junior Tempter, and Andrewes would agree with his words, “Keep them watching their own minds and trying to produce feelings there by the actions of their own wills...you must keep him praying for it - to the thing he has made, not to the Person who has made him.”²⁶ As revealed in his sermons on the Lord’s Prayer, Andrewes believed that prayers should be structured.²⁷ As well, he preached that prayer should be private as well as corporate:

...especially we must offer this sacrifice of prayer and praise in the assembly among the faithful in the congregation Ps 111:1 and so we must learn to distinguish the Liturgy and the public service of God in the Church from that private devotion which

²⁵ Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 359.

²⁶ C. S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters: With Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2001), 16-18.

²⁷ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 362-478.

our Saviour would have us to perform daily when He saith ‘When thou prayest enter into thy chamber’ Mt 6:6.²⁸

He also affirmed that praying if for forgiveness of sin and not to “forsake the sin,” or the world that cause it, is a danger to the soul:

For it is not enough for us to confess our sins and be sorry, nor yet to perform our active mercy by giving and forgiving, except we have a resolute purpose to forsake the sins we have heretofore committed... for if being washed from our old sins we shall wallow in the mire like swine and return to our vomit then shall our latter end be worse than our beginning.²⁹

It is written by Lossky that Andrewes recommends meditation in solitude and silence, “that when we have heard Him speak to us, we might hear what He would speak to us.”³⁰

These words were reflected in his five hours in the morning set aside for prayer and meditation. He structured his daily life around his prayer life, thus making God the priority of his day.

Andrewes links prayer with fasting and with alms giving: and these three to offer to God our soul by prayer our body by abstinence and (thirdly) our goods by alms, deeds hath been ever counted the triple or threefold.³¹ Heavy emphasis is placed on the scriptural linkage of fasting and prayer, as he reflects upon the theme that words, of prayer, alone are not enough:

Then hath fasting a time too...to serve for both. It is a special friend to prayer to feather it to put a vigour or fervour into it. Therefore where almost shall you find

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Andrewes, *Works* Vol 5, 442.

³⁰ Nicolas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555-1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 259; Andrewes, *Works* Vol 3, 199.

³¹ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 381.

them but coupled fast and pray one following straight in the neck of another...for nothing but as if He should give thereby a special item that there is a mutual reciprocal correspondence nay an alliance between them to sanctify and support either the other...a special virtue in fasting to awake up and quicken our devotion thereby the better to elevate our minds unto God. We feel this or we feel nothing, that dull is our devotion.³²

Andrewes' private prayers revealed that prayer should be constant throughout the day "without ceasing" as he used Jesus for an example of when and where to pray:

...whom it is went into a solitary place alone not only in, Jn 6:15, the morning but also in the evening not for an hour but to, Lk 6:12, spend the whole night in prayer. He prayed not only in, Jn 18:1, in the desert which was a place of distress but in, Lk 22:41, in the garden which was a place of pleasure...He prayed when He was in His agony so also when He was to be made King to teach us that as well in prosperity as in adversity we have need to pray for hereunto our Saviour doth exhort us in plain words not only by precept.³³

The prayer life is an extension of our faith, without which our faith would be lessened. The life of prayer, lead and stirred by the Holy Ghost, opens the heart and allows God to transforms one's life to His will. Andrewes' preached upon this connection:

In the Spirit, both being acts of the Spirit or breath prophecy breathes it into us, prayer breathes it out again. In the pouring both pourings after a sort that which prophecy doth infuse, pour in at the ear invocation doth, or pour forth back again in prayer out of the heart.³⁴

Andrewes would agree with Justin Martyr: "the prayer of someone who accompanies it with lamentation and tears, with the body prostrate, or with bended knees, propitiate God most all."³⁵ Prayer life is continuing in giving oneself to God.

³² Ibid., 390.

³³ Ibid., 344.

³⁴ Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 311.

³⁵ David W. Bercot, Ed., *A Dictionary of Early Christian Beliefs*, (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishing, 1998), 531.

Ministry

The ministry of teaching, exhortation, preserving doctrine, pre-admonishing, and driving away teachings contrary to God and preserving the Church was evident in Andrewes' ministry. In his first published work examined in this thesis, *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, in which the importance of teaching, especially of our young, was of importance. His ability to start out at a basic level, is there a God, as well as extending and expanding the Christian Faith using both testaments, shows his ability to work within scripture, but also to expand out to the world by answering questions that stem from reason. He established that there is a God, He is a "rewarder" of good and evil, and scripture is the word of God; our faith is built upon the scripture, and thus true. From this point, his catechistical work moves to the topic of the Jews, the Commandments, and ends with the Lord's Prayer. His teaching method was always to seek to teach to the heart, as his method's involved more than words, as he paints a picture of faith using the words of scripture themselves. This teaching was the result of his scholarly life and was instrumental in his ministry.

His constant prayer life, structured by Scripture and early church tradition, demonstrated a constant desire for knowledge and insight. Although his desire for knowledge was great, he also was aware of knowledge's limits and acknowledged the mysteries of faith:

Now ye, blessed of God that, among divers other mysteries about which there are so many mists and clouds of controversies, raised in all ages, and even in this of ours, hath yet left us some clear and without controversies; manifest and yet great; and again, great and yet manifest.³⁶

³⁶ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 35.

Andrewes' life was dedicated to preserving the doctrine given: "God must be true in all, His sayings Christ may not preach false doctrine. A law He hath called it and we may not give it any other name."³⁷ Of doctrine that was false and of evil he would say: "Evil doctrine is against truth, evil life against walking in truth, evil company will bring us to both. Therefore away with them...if they will not purge out their leaven, purge them out."³⁸ Therefore, the ministry of God must drive away those and their doctrines that are contrary to Scripture and Church Tradition. Of exhortation and admonishing he touched both topics:

But if we shall say to our tongue as David did...Awake up my glory...make it the glory of all the rest of our members...no greater glory than this to be the organ of the Holy Ghost, to set forth and sound abroad the knowledge of Christ to the glory of God the Father. And so used it is heavenly...of the tongues is as that before of the sound both are to no other end, but to admonish them of their office whereto they here received ordination, even to be tongues, to be trumpets, of the counsel of God and of His love to mankind in sending His Son to save them.³⁹

His liturgy, founded upon the early Church, kept his ministry within the Doctrine of the early Church. While maintaining reverence within an orderly manner, and respecting meditation and silence within the beauty of spiritual worship, he attempted to maintain the church ministry of tradition.

³⁷ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 294.

³⁸ Andrewes, *Works* vol 2, 306.

³⁹ Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 122.

Sacraments

The high regard he had for the sacraments in the life of a Christian is reflected in Andrewes' ministry and liturgy as the sacraments were seen as feeding and providing nourishment for the people. Their importance he preached:

...members to come to Christ in Baptism...in prayers...In the hearing of the word...likewise come to Christ when we come to hear his Ministers...Repentance as Luke the fifteenth chapter "I will go to my Father"... But Christ receiveth none these but that we come to him as he is...when we come to Christ as he offers himself in the Sacrament to be the lively food of our souls when we come in the remembrance of his death. And there it reason why we should come to Christ and he should receive us coming.⁴⁰

Within his view of the sacraments, as consistently seen, is a connection between the two Testaments of Scripture. The cornerstone of both Testaments is Christ. The Lamb and the Bread are of one and the same in Christ, as he preached upon Ps 188:22:

Many ways was Christ our blessed Saviour a Corner stone...One chief corner point of His was when He joined the Lamb of the Passover and the Bread of the Eucharist ending the one and beginning the other, recapitulating both Lamb and Bread into Himself making that Sacrament by the very institution of it to be as it were the very corner stone of both the Testaments... No act then more fit for this feast the feast of the Passover than that act which is itself the passage over from the Old Testament to the New...No way better to express our thanks for this Corner stone than by the holy Eucharist which itself is the corner stone of the Law and the Gospel.⁴¹

Frequent communion was practiced by Andrewes.⁴² He viewed the Eucharist not only as a communion between those with the Church, but also as a communion of unity between God and Man:

⁴⁰ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 597.

⁴¹ Andrewes, *Works* vol 2, 288.

⁴² Dorman, *Mentor of Reformed*, 259. When Andrewes went to the parish of St. Giles the expenditure on wafers and wine doubled that of the 1570's.

The word we hear is the abstract of the antetype of His flesh. What better way than where these are actually joined actually to partake them both...Not either alone the word or flesh but the word and flesh...If we regard this is a sure, Jn 6:56, way we have a plain text for it. He abides in Me and I in Him. If it be grace and truth we respect how may we better establish our hearts with grace or settle our minds in the truth of His promise than by partaking these, the conduit pipes of His grace and seals of His truth unto us. Grace and truth now proceeding not from the Word alone but even from the flesh thereto united the fountain of the Word flowing into the cistern of His flesh and from thence deriving down to us this grace and truth to them that partake Him aright.⁴³

Andrewes preached that grace is driven down to us in truth to those who partake in the Eucharist. Andrewes's ability to visualize the words of Scripture was used to bring others to Christ:⁴⁴

The kernel of grace is planted in us by the participation of the body and blood of Christ; of which kernel commeth a tree, which bringeth forth the fruits of holinesse and righteousness in our whole life...Which God will in due time reward with the Crown of life and glory in the world to come.⁴⁵

Andrewes always relied upon the truth of Scripture, defined by tradition, and his use of vivid descriptions were limitless as he would try to make all use their eyes to see, which will move the heart to feel, and one's own desire for feeding upon the Eucharist.

Although he confirmed the two sacraments given by Christ, he did not dismiss the other five sacraments of the Anglican Church. Of Holy unction he preached upon St. James' advice of in times of sickness to call for the elder of the Church, Js 1:14. With Confirmation

⁴³ Andrewes, *Works* vol 1, 100.

⁴⁴ Lossky, 33. Lossky writes of Andrewes use of word: "The play on words, in 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 a similar intention and an analogous result in the patristic and liturgical tradition."

⁴⁵ Marianne Dorman, *Lancelot Andrewes: Mentor of Reformed Catholicism in the Post-Reformation English Church 1555-1626*, (Pittsburgh: Rosedog, 2005), 64; Lancelot Andrewes, *Apospasmata Sacra: or collection of posthumour and orphan lectures*, (London: Printed by R. Hodgkinsonne, 1657), 578.

he never specified a preferred age, but his catechistical work would indicate it be in the year of discernment for the child. Regarding confession, he tried to restore auricular confession⁴⁶, and while he did not say that it must be done, he did believe that Christians should:

...inasmuch as repentance itself is an act of corrective justice and to repent is to do judgment as the Prophet and to judge ourselves... it is not a fruitless repentance which must serve the turn but it must have fruits worthy of repentance... men must not only repent and turn to God but also do works worthy of repentance... as the sins are divers so are the works to be also... to advise... what works are meet and also what measure is to be kept, the key of knowledge will help to direct and we may have use of it if we mean to use it to that end.⁴⁷

Of marriage, he viewed it both mystical and sacramental, as it is done before God and His Church and he traces this sacrament back to its foundation in Genesis:

...that which God affirmeth touching the joining of man and woman... man shall leave father and mother and cleave to his wife and they two shall be one flesh is not repealed by God... for we see the accord of marriage between Adam and Eve is continued and they company together and bring forth children. And as the estate of marriage was not taken away by sin so was not the blessing of fruitfulness and conception...⁴⁸

The discipline of Andrewes' prayer life, the ministry of catechism and preaching on the Commandments, and the traditional liturgy focused upon the sacraments helped to keep the Church of England in union with Scripture and the practices of the early Church.

⁴⁶ Ottley, 20. "It was his (Andrewes) custom at stated times in Lent to walk in one of the aisles of the cathedral for the purpose of giving spiritual counsel and comfort to any who might seek it. This perhaps unpopular determination to revive the neglected but important function of his office is highly honourable, the office of penitentiary was "a place notoriously abused in time of popery...but now of late by a contrary extreme too much forgotten and neglected."

⁴⁷ Andrewes, *Works* vol 5, 100.

⁴⁸ Lancelot Andrewes, *Apospasmata sacra, or A collection of posthumous and orphan lectures*, (London: R. Hodgekissonne, 1657), 364.

Priesthood

Andrewes viewed the Priesthood within the Apostolic Succession as:

...the Spirit must come from the Word, and the Holy Ghost from Christ's mouth. That must do this govern the Church...a certain note it is this to discern the Holy Spirit of God from the spirit...From Christ ...it comes if It be true. He breathes It. It cannot but be true if It come from Him for He is the Truth...as the Truth so the Wisdom of God, that if it savour of falsehood or folly, it came not from Him...His breath shall not fail, shall ever be able to serve His Church...I know not what shall become of us...the Holy Ghost may be received more ways than one...He comes with He and they carry the name of their cause and to receive them is to receive the Spirit...the grace of a holy calling, for it is a grace to be a conduit of grace. Church to this day gives this still in her ordinations but the saving grace the Church cannot give none, but God can give that...none is either the holier or the learned by his ordination. Yet a grace it is for the very office itself is a grace...saith the Apostle in more places than one, and speaks of his office and nothing else. The Apostleship was a grace yet no saving grace. Else should Judas have been saved. Clearly then it is the grace of their calling, this whereby they were sacred and made persons public and their acts authentical and they enabled to do somewhat about the remission of sins that is not of like avail done by others, though perhaps more learned and virtuous than they...this lo, was the grace here by breathing conferred to them of Spiritum, a spiritual of Sanctum, a holy calling and derived from them to us and from us to others to the world's end.⁴⁹

Ordination is spiritual and sacred, but has nothing to do with the minister being godly or even a moral minister. The office makes one a Priest, but does not make him anymore righteous than others. Andrewes wrote of the Priesthood as “The office of the Priest is not to be idle but to serve.”⁵⁰ To serve God is to serve His sheep. His teaching on the Priesthood reflects its apostolic succession, threefold ministry, and the nature of the office sacramental.

As a messenger of God, the Priest is to preach the Gospel and to be a watchman for its preservation. Andrewes’ love of the Eucharist is seen in his preaching and he has the

⁴⁹ Andrewes, *Works* vol 3, 276-7.

⁵⁰ Andrewes, *Apos Sacra*, 342.

ability to make a vivid portrayal of the Eucharist regardless of the Church's seasons MaAdoo says,

He can throw the Eucharist into any important corner of the biblical world and still ensure that it returns intact, enriched by a new context, even when it is most surprising, but invariably still untouched in any way that would detract from its inner meaning and divine life. For Andrewes there is no single understanding of the Eucharistic sacrifice...and yet all the time, he walks circumspectly over Reformation sensitivities, ensuring that Christ's death is central, shedding light on this sacrament for which Andrewes seems to have a never-ending repertoire of images and pictures. In our own very different world, we would do well to preach so imaginatively.⁵¹

A Foundation for the Traditional Anglican Priest

A strong prayer life, an allegiance to scripture and the Doctrine of the Church as interpreted throughout its history, and the retaining of a historical liturgical pattern of worship will assist a minister in remaining within the traditional faith of Christ's Church.

Continued study of scripture and prayerful meditation helps to bring about an innocence of life that assists in protecting the Priest from the world of sin. A ministry of teaching and exhortation of scripture helps drive away heresy. The Sacraments unite one's life to Christ and His Church. The Liturgy of the church is a communion of all Christians and presents to Christ the glory of His Church as we are united with Him by His one great sacrifice for our sins.

The current tendency of some to redefine and restructure Christ's Church is an effort to change Christ's Church into something that may be called a church but it is not a Christian Church. The attempt to rationalize sin, and changing the definition of sin, is in contradiction to the Truth as revealed by scripture and Jesus Christ.

⁵¹ Henry R. McAdoo and Kenneth W. Stevenson, *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition*, What Happens at Holy Communion? (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1995), 170.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The Church throughout its history has had to defend against different heresies and this trend continues today. As liberal trends attempt to change the Church from its historical past it is apparent to many orthodox Christians that the liberalism of today is often an advocate of sin, as defined by the Church throughout its two thousand year history.

The system of Anglicanism produced its own theologians as other protestant faiths had theologians which they followed. Of the theologians followed by Anglicanism are the early Church Fathers. Anglicanism, in its defense against Rome and the Puritan movement within its own walls, depended upon Scripture and those ancient theologians known as the Church Fathers.

Traditional Anglican Priests today need to look back to their own history. Lancelot Andrewes life and ministry is an example of that history which needs to be reclaimed. Andrewes was not an innovator as are the liberal ministers of today who wish to recreate the faith in accordance with today's moral decadence. Andrewes sought to bring the historic church back to its proper position as defined by Christian Faith. Andrewes' doctrine has been defined as one cannon, two testaments, three creeds, four first councils, and five first centuries of its series of Fathers.

Andrewes life and ministry never divides the Old Testament from the New, but interweaved them to form the basket in which he would lay the doctrine of the Church within the historical interpretation of its Scripture and the tradition of its application. Although a master of language, words would never be sufficient for Andrewes as he strived for a personal living God. It was this never ending quest for closeness to God that would drive his prayer life, doctrine, and Liturgical life.

Learning from Andrewes' Prayers

The Traditional Anglican Priest today benefits greatly from studying the prayers of Lancelot Andrewes. Prayers were a priority within his life as he rose daily at four in the morning to begin a five hour period of prayer and meditation. His prayers were laden with Scripture of both testaments and his prayer life was of order and structure, as taught by Jesus when He instructed his disciples to pray the Lord's Prayer. Andrewes often framed a theme upon the day of week. On Thursday he would show reference to the Eucharist, the day of its institution, and his Friday focus was upon the Passion and Cross of Christ. By applying Scripture to his prayer life, Andrewes believed the Scripture to be supreme and constant and not open to new interpretations. Andrewes reliance upon the Scripture to define itself, from its own words, allows a firm foundation from which he would defend the Church within the beauty and legitimacy of its historical past.

Andrewes adherence to the Daily Offices, of Morning and Evening Prayer, is an example that all should follow especially the Priests and ministers within His Church. The theme of prayer of the Hourly Offices keeps the priest in closeness with God through a constant prayer life.

Unchanging Doctrine

Andrewes' *Catechistical Works* lays out his doctrine as he allows the Scripture to speak for itself. From fundamental questions of "if there is a God" and "if He be a rewarder of good and evil," to questions concerning "if Scripture be God's Word" and if "our religion" be founded "upon God's Word," Andrewes allows the Scripture to answer these questions.

The Ten Commandments established the groundwork for his theology and life. He would say that it is the Ten Commandments that force us to recognize that we are "fallen man;" thus, in need of Saviour. The New Testament completes the Old Testament as Christ is its fulfilment, as seen in Andrewes' sermons, as he consistently connects the two Testaments of Scripture as one.

As Andrewes always needed more than just words, he would often preach upon the Passion of Christ. Themes of "looking upon" and "gazing upon" Christ are common in his doctrine and preaching as he would reflect upon the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Prophets through the coming of Christ and of His sufferings. Andrewes focus upon the cross was constant, as he strove to motivate the people to withdraw from those sins which caused the Passion and sufferings of Jesus, thus bringing the people, and Himself, closer to Christ.

The Priest today who follows Andrewes example of not placing one Testament against the other and allowing the one cannon to be "one" consisting of the Two Testaments, and who acknowledges and preaches the Ten Commandments as God's Commandments, thus not open to free interpretation, demonstrates the unchangeable character of God and reveals that his Word is unchangeable. By looking and gazing upon the Passion of Christ, the Traditional Anglican Priests would himself be forced, along with all of mankind, to

reflect upon the price that Christ paid for the sins of the world. Sins of the world are founded upon ignoring or the changing of words of Scripture in order to bring Scripture into subjection of the desire of man. When mankind replaces God's Words with its desires and passion then mankind is elevating itself above God. By retaining Scripture as given by the Church throughout its history, the Traditional Anglican Priests can retain the Christianity established by its Great High Priest, Jesus Christ.

Church Liturgy Retains Church Tradition

Andrewes argued against Cardinal Bellermino that it was the Roman Catholic Church who had changed the early church teaching thus contracting "much filth" that caused much suffering for those of the catholic faith. By changing the sacraments and their meanings, the Roman Church had been the ones who were innovating and Andrewes argued that it was the Anglican Church who renovated what was customary with ancients (The Early Church.)

The Traditional Anglican Priest, by maintaining what is handed down, maintains and strengthens the foundation of the Church. The early Church was established as Christ instituted His Priesthood, from which His Body would grow and flourish after His ascension. Through the Holy Ghost, His Church was established to maintain that which He established. To take away the authority of Christ and replace with our own is a sin of paramount proportions.

It is only by maintaining, as did Lancelot Andrewes, what has been given can the Christian Church continue, as established by Christ. By liberalizing and changing His Church, it becomes not His Church but a church of man. Not "Christ"ian, but of man, thus of sin. The sin of pride and arrogance which drives man away from God and His

Commandments is not new, but something for which Christ came. For from the lips of Jesus we are told in Jn 1:29 “He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.” The Traditional Anglican Priest must “keepeth” the words of Scripture secure from the commandments of man and his secular ways. The study of Lancelot Andrewes life and ministry is beneficial for all who wish to preserve Christ’s Church from today’s apostasy.

APPENDIX

Do you think in your heart, that you are truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and according to the Canons of this Church, to the Order and Ministry of Priesthood?

Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain all doctrine required as necessary for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ? And are you determined, out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge; and to teach nothing, as necessary to eternal salvation, but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?

Will you then give your faithful diligence always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church hath received the same, according to the Commandments of God; so that you may teach the people committed to your Cure and Charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same?

Will you be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away from the Church all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word; and to use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within your Cures, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given?

Will you be diligent in Prayers, and in reading the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh?

Will you be diligent to frame and fashion your own selves, and your families, according to the Doctrine of Christ; and to make both yourselves and them, as much as in you lieth, wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ?

Will you maintain and set forwards, as much as lieth in you, quietness, peace, and love, among all Christian people, and especially among them that are or shall be committed to your charge?"

Will you reverently obey your Bishop, and other chief Ministers, who, according to the Canons of the Church, may have the charge and government over you; following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting yourselves to their godly judgments?

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