

THE
Church Review

FOUNDED 1848

EDITED BY THE REV. HENRY MASON BAUM

VOLUME LVII

APRIL, 1890

PUBLISHED IN

JANUARY * APRIL * JULY * OCTOBER

New York

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THE
Church Review

VOLUME LVII. ✻ APRIL, 1890

Christian Reunion.

On the Basis Proposed by the Lambeth Conference.

WE thought it would be, not only a courteous act, but that it was due to representative men of the chief Christian Communions in this country, to offer them an opportunity to say in the pages of the CHURCH REVIEW how far they were willing to accept the basis for Christian Reunion proposed by the Lambeth Conference. Invitations to write were sent out to several leading clergymen of each Communion here represented, and we are glad to state that they were accepted, with but three or four exceptions.

Before entering upon the discussion of the basis proposed for Christian Reunion, we give so much of the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1888 as relates to the subject.

Representative bishops and priests of the English and American Churches will reply, in our July issue, to these distinguished contributors to the great subject now under fraternal consideration. The replies will be written for the purpose of giving more definite information upon the points raised in these articles and not for the sake of controversy.

EDITOR.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER.

TO THE FAITHFUL IN CHRIST JESUS, GREETING:—

WE, Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan, and other Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church, in full communion with the Church of England, one hundred and forty-five in number, all having superintendence over Dioceses or lawfully commissioned to exercise Episcopal functions therein, assembled from divers parts

The Historic Episcopate as a basis of Reunion.

PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D.D. [PRESBYTERIAN],
UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK.

THE aspirations for the reunion of Christendom that have been felt by large numbers of Christians in most, if not all, the denominations, have reached the fullest and strongest expression in recent times in the four articles proposed by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, Oct. 20, 1886, as a basis of approach for such reunion. These were subsequently adopted, with slight modifications, in 1888, by the Lambeth Conference, representing the Church of England and her daughters throughout the world.

In January, 1887, in the *Presbyterian Review*, I said that these articles "are in my judgment entirely satisfactory, provided nothing more is meant by their authors than their language expressly conveys."

In September last I reiterated this statement; namely: —

The four terms that are set forth therein as 'essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom' are in my judgment entirely satisfactory, provided nothing more is meant by their authors than their language expressly conveys. There is room for some difference of interpretation; but these terms ought to be received in the same generous manner in which they are offered, in the hope that the differences will be removed by conference and discussion [*Whither?* p. 263].

I have seen no reason to change the judgment then expressed. The discussions of the subject that have been carried on from many different points of view, and the happy results of the conferences that have thus far been held, have confirmed it. The evolutions that are now taking place in the different denominations in the revision of Prayer-Book and of Creed, in the reorganization of Christian life and work, and in the adoption of new methods for evangelization and Christian nurture, all point in the same direction, and show that the Christian

denominations are moving under the sway of an irresistible impulse into closer combinations that will ere long result in federation, and at last in consolidation. I shall spend no time upon the first three terms, for there will be little difficulty in agreeing upon them. I shall use the space assigned me for the discussion of the real point of difficulty.¹

The great difficulty to be overcome is the Historic Episcopate. We ought not to be surprised at this, for the struggles of British Christianity since the Reformation have been centred in questions of the government and discipline of the Church. The debates about ecclesiastical government have been complicated with the contests over political government. The historical student traces the development of ecclesiastical government in Great Britain and America in the midst of the evolutions of civil government. Political parties and ecclesiastical parties have to a very great extent coincided in the history of Great Britain.

The Historic Episcopate has been historically complicated with the development of the intricate relations of Church and State. The same difficult relation is now one of the chief influences at work in favor of restoring the Historic Episcopate to those Churches that have neglected it or discarded it.

I. *Church and State.*

Even the greatest champions of the *jure divino* theory of Church government have not escaped the subtle Erastianism which, even when it declines to put the supreme authority over the Church in the hands of the civil magistrate, nevertheless insensibly assimilates the operations of Church courts to the civil courts, and the methods of administration of bishops and presbyters to those of magistrates and parliaments. The American Republic, when it severed for the most part the Church

¹ I feel very keenly the difficulties involved in the discussion of such a delicate question within the pages of a Review that represents another body of Christians than the denomination to which I belong. I fear lest I may say something that may be misunderstood, or may give offence to those who may differ from me. This article was written in compliance with the request of the Editor. It is my sincere desire and earnest purpose to remove misapprehensions and misunderstandings, and to promote so far as may be the reunion of Christendom. I am endeavoring to mediate, and my effort should be judged from this point of view. I shall speak in the first person; for it is important that no one should say that I assume to represent any one but myself.

from the State, did not altogether avoid the influence of civil government upon ecclesiastical government. It is a pleasing fiction that the divorce of Church and State is complete in the United States. But it becomes evident so soon as strife breaks out in any congregation, or an irreconcilable battle is waged between parties in the denominations, that the civil courts are the courts of last resort even for ecclesiastical affairs. And now that the Church is becoming more ethical and less dogmatic, more practical and less theoretical, it is plain that the Church and the State must come to an understanding upon the great questions of Public Education, National Religion, Marriage and Divorce; the care of the sick, the disabled, the poor, and the criminal classes; and in the entire field of social and industrial life. This fiction of a divorce of Church and State has been a will-o'-the-wisp that has brought us into many difficult and dangerous places. It is necessary that Church and State should come into closer union, in order to accomplish the great aims of humanity as well as of Christianity. The Church cannot abstain from those ethical questions that are the controlling principles of all sound government. There must be harmony between Church and State, or else there will be conflict. The worst position that can be taken by the Church is indifference, isolation, and abstinence from the religious and moral obligations of public education, good citizenship, sound government, social life, and public morality. Christian ethics comprehend all these things. If the Church in America has neglected them, it is because it has not apprehended and practised the heights and breadths of Christian ethics. The evil effects of the divorce of Church and State are making it evident to thinking men in all denominations that in some way a concord must be established between the denominations, in order that the State may not obstruct the advance of Christianity in the nation, and put itself in opposition to the Church in the great religious and moral needs of humanity.

The so-called American theory of the separation of Church and State has had two results. 1. On the one side, the State has been relieved from the burdens of the support of the Church and the duties of religion. The influence of the Church upon the State is no longer direct, immediate, and pervasive as a recognized force influencing all actions; but it is indirect, subtle, and mediate, through the influence of the Church upon

its adherents among the various officers of the government. The State has been relieved of the support of the Church, and also to a great extent of higher education and of public charities. This enormous burden has thus been shifted from the shoulders of the whole people to the shoulders of the pious, benevolent, and self-sacrificing citizens. The great mass of the indifferent, selfish, and irreligious, whether poor, comfortable, or rich, escape these burdens, which then fall upon a portion of the community in double measure. It is evident that many of the largest estates in America are in the hands of men who do little, if anything, for public charity, higher education, and religion. It is easy to see what enormous savings they make in this respect when compared with the land-owners and bondholders of other countries. The great moral, religious, and educational forces which are most potent to protect their persons and property are supported by others; and to this extent many of our millionnaires are as truly dependent upon public charity as the beggars at their gates.

The United States Congress and the legislatures of the several States pay little, if any, attention to the desires of the Christian public, as expressed in the various Church courts. They are much more influenced by an organized body of merchants, whether these are composed of a few men at the head of great trusts, or of many voters in various trade associations. The splitting up of the Church into so many conflicting denominations, and the organization of ecclesiastical bodies without regard to the territorial divisions of the towns and States, have marred their influence. This has been overcome in recent years in several of the denominations by making the ecclesiastical territories correspond with the political. But much more needs to be accomplished in this regard. It is the better organization of the Roman Catholic Church that gives it more influence with politicians. Let us not deceive ourselves by imagining that it is all due to the wiles of the Jesuits, or to the power of priests to influence voters.

The Church has lost immensely in its influence upon the State. The Protestant Churches have less influence than the Roman Catholic, notwithstanding the Protestants are vastly greater in numerical strength, in wealth, in institutions of learning, and in literature.

2. The Church has lost largely in its power to influence the

State, but the State has gained largely in its influence over the Church. This has been in two directions: —

(a) The State has the supreme authority over the Church in all material affairs, — over its property, so far as the Church is a visible organization; and over its communicants and its office-bearers, as having rights of contract, and as having character and reputation. It is really only so far as the Church is immaterial that it is exempt from the authority of the State. The Church has no more freedom than a Masonic lodge, or an association of liquor-dealers.

(b) The State has also a subtle influence upon the Church. The civil government and the civil courts have exerted an irresistible influence upon the ecclesiastical government and the ecclesiastical courts, and thereby modified to a great extent all religious organizations in the United States.

The Episcopal Churches have the executive department of Church government efficiently organized and ever ready to speak and act through the bishops. The non-Episcopal Churches have no other executives than temporary moderators, presidents, and clerks who are unable to go beyond their instructions, and are not competent to act in the emergencies that may arise in the Church or the State, or in the complicated questions of education and social life. Banks and railroads, trusts and commercial companies, cannot get on without presidents. Academies have their principals, colleges and universities their presidents and chancellors. The city has its mayor, the State its governor, the United States their president. There can be no efficiency in commercial, social, educational, and civil life without the executive head. The Church never can be efficient without such executives in the several grades of the territorial organization. The inefficiency of Protestants is largely due to the neglect of the executive function of the Historic Episcopate.

Owing to the irresistible influence of the civil government upon the ecclesiastical government, the denominations have been gradually assimilated. Let any one compare the Congregationalists of New England with the Congregationalists of Old England, and he will see that the former have advanced very far in the direction of Presbyterianism, in the authority given to councils to license and to ordain ministers, to fellowship or disfellowship Churches, and to legislate as to the common affairs of the denomination. It is true there is the old

hostility to any claim of authority, but the authority is all the stronger that it is given in the form of counsel and fraternal advice.

The American Presbyterian Church has departed widely from the Westminster model in the constitution of the Presbytery, in the theory of the ruling eldership and in methods of government and discipline. The theory that the ruling elders represent the people is an American Presbyterian doctrine that has been adopted from the representative theory of the American Republic. The Protestant Episcopal Church is very different from the Church of England in its government. Its two houses, its conventions, Diocesan and General, and their methods of government are more like those of the American Presbyterian Church than those of the Church of England.

We are thus brought to this interesting situation, that the free Churches of the United States under the potent influences of the civil government, all the more powerful that it has been indirect and insensible, have assimilated themselves so far to the civil government and thereby also to each other, that in their ecclesiastical government they are at present not far apart, and that any one of the three types is nearer to the golden mean of parties in the seventeenth century. Why, then, should they any longer remain apart? It is my opinion that the process of assimilation is so rapid, and the constraint of external necessity is so great that it is inevitable that they will unite early in the twentieth century, in spite of all traditions and of every opposition of dogmatists and ecclesiastics. When they unite, it is inevitable that the unity of the organism will find expression in the executive functions of the Historic Episcopate.

II. *The Historic Episcopate as a Term of Union.*

The Historic Episcopate is made the great question of difficulty by the fourth article of the proposition of the House of Bishops and the Lambeth Conference.

But it is really a no more difficult question than the *Historic Presbyter*. I apprehend that before the reunion is accomplished each one of these offices must pass through the fire. I am not sure that it makes any very great difference where we begin. Possibly it may be as well that the Episcopal Churches should settle the question of the Historic Episcopate, and that the

Presbyterian Churches should determine the question of the Historic Presbyterian.

But it is just here that one of the most interesting features of the situation meets us. The Episcopal Churches are no more agreed as to the Historic Episcopate than are the Presbyterian Churches as to the Historic Presbyterate. The Greek Church will not agree with the Roman; neither of these will agree with the Anglican. Let any one consider the differences in the Church of England as represented by the three names, Hatch, Lightfoot, and Gore.

In view of this discord as to the Historic Episcopate, well known to the House of Bishops and the Lambeth Conference, it seems quite evident that these bishops, differing among themselves in their theory of the Episcopate, could not lay down a basis for the reunion of Christendom that would involve any particular theory of the Episcopate. They could only mean that which was essential to the Historic Episcopate, that to which divines like Hatch, Lightfoot, and Gore could agree.

Many Presbyterians and Congregationalists have the feeling that it is the Anglo-Catholic theory of the Episcopate that the House of Bishops and the Lambeth Conference are proposing. This is favored by the industry and boldness with which the Anglo-Catholic party are pressing their theory. But it seems incredible that the House of Bishops would propose a theory to which it would be difficult to rally a majority of the members of the Church of England. It was probably well known to them that Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Lutherans could not accept the Anglo-Catholic theory. But there are multitudes of ministers in all the non-Episcopal Churches who are willing to accept the theory of the Episcopate of the late Dr. Hatch, and there are many who could adopt the theory of the late Bishop Lightfoot.

The progress of the discussion as to the *Historic Episcopate* teaches two lessons: (1) The Anglo-Catholics who really desire the reunion of Christendom should beware lest they make their theory of the Episcopate *essential*. They are entitled to argue for it to the extent of their ability; but they should understand that if they make their theory essential there is no possibility of reunion. They must first conquer other parties in the Episcopal Churches before they can have any prospects of overcoming the hosts in the non-Episcopal Churches, who,

so far as my observation goes, are unanimous against them. (2) On the other hand, those who hold that the Historic Episcopate is *jure humano* and not *jure divino*, that it has historic right, but no Biblical basis, should not make their views essential. The Anglo-Catholic theory has been in the Church of England from the beginning, and it would be an historical wrong to exclude it. I think that theory can be shown to be erroneous. Recent historical research is very damaging to all *jure divino* theories of Church government, but it is a tolerable error, and it should be recognized by all as a legitimate and a lawful theory of the Episcopate. These theories ought to co-exist, and be mutually tolerant and forbearing. The question is to be determined by historic research, and not by dogmatic statements or ecclesiastical decisions.

The view that I have taken of the meaning of the Historic Episcopate as proposed by the House of Bishops and the Lambeth Conference as the fourth term of union is confirmed by one who seems to speak with authority. Dr. Vincent, the Assistant Bishop of Southern Ohio, tells us plainly:—

Nothing is said here of Episcopacy as of Divine institution or necessity, nothing of 'Apostolic succession,' nothing of a Scriptural origin or a doctrinal nature in the institution. It is expressly proposed here only in its 'historical character' and as 'locally adapted to the varying needs of God's people.' All else, unless it be its Scripturalness, is matter of opinion, to which this Church has never formally committed herself. Her position here is the same broad and generous one taken in the preface to her Ordinal. That phrase, 'the Historic Episcopate,' was deliberately chosen as declaring not a doctrine, but a fact, and as being general enough to include all variants. — [An Address on *Christian Unity*, p. 29. Published by the Cincinnati branch of the Church Unity Society.]

This platform, thus interpreted, is broad enough and strong enough for the feet of Presbyterians, and it contains nothing to which they can rightly object.

The non-Episcopal Churches are willing to consider the Historic Episcopate as *jure humano*, as not essential to the existence of the Church, but as important for its well-being. On that ground we can stand. Not a few Presbyterians agree with me that the Presbyterian form of government, as now used in the Presbyterian Church, is defective. It is impossible for a

whole Presbytery to exercise Episcopal functions in any practical way. A committee of Presbytery is more efficient; but it has been the experience of committees that really the best committee is a committee of *one*, and practically in all committees the chairman or secretary does the major part of the work. The Presbytery needs an executive head who shall be relieved from the cares of a local Church and be consecrated to the superintendency of the whole Church in the limits of the Presbytery. Many Presbyterians feel the inefficiency of the Presbytery very keenly, and are prepared to advance to the permanent moderator or superintendent. Why not call him bishop? The tendency in the Presbyterian Church is toward such a bishop, who will give the Presbytery an executive head and make it more efficient. The Episcopate has in its favor the historical usage of the Christian Church from the second century until the sixteenth. The Episcopate has in its favor also its continuance in several national Reformed Churches, showing that it is not inconsistent with the Reformation. History is a powerful argument for the Episcopate. This, added to the practical argument, makes the future of the Episcopate sure unless the old blunders should be renewed and perpetuated.

III. *Grounds of Opposition to Episcopacy.*

There are four reasons for opposition in the non-Episcopal Churches to the Historic Episcopate: —

1. The claim that the Diocesan Episcopacy has the Divine right of institution by CHRIST and His Apostles.
2. The claim that the Diocesan bishops are the successors of the Apostles.
3. The claim that ordination by Diocesan bishops has in it special grace without which there can be no valid ministry.
4. The claim that Diocesan bishops have Divine authority to rule the Church.

These claims for the Diocesan Episcopate have been associated in the minds of the non-Episcopal ministry with all the tyranny and abuses that the Church has suffered at the hands of Diocesan bishops. These claims are not recognized by the ministry of other Protestant Churches, and it is not at all likely that they ever will be recognized. Unless the Historic Episcopacy can be eliminated from them, the reunion of Christendom is improbable.

1. There is agreement among recent historical critics of all parties that there is no record of the institution of the Diocesan bishop in the New Testament. The only bishops of the New Testament are presbyter-bishops, and these are ever associated in a college or Presbytery. Nowhere do we find a Church under the guidance of *one* of these presbyter-bishops. Nowhere do we find more than one Church in one city. Hatch, Lightfoot, Gore, Sanday, Harnack, and Schaff are agreed as to this point. Hence the battle-cries of all the parties in the seventeenth century have happily disappeared in this new concord of historical criticism. There is no ecclesiastical organization now in existence that corresponds with the organization of the Church in the New Testament. Where do we find the independent Church with a single pastor and a bench of deacons of modern Congregationalism? Where do we find the ruling elders with a presiding parochial bishop of modern Presbyterianism? Where do we find the Diocesan bishop with his subordinate priests and deacons of the Episcopal Churches? None of these are in the New Testament. All *jure divino* theories of Church government that base their orders on the authority of the New Testament are, if not yet buried, inanimate corpses, slain by historical criticism. *Jure divino* Congregationalism and Presbyterianism have but few advocates at the present time. It is probable that it is the failure of the *jure divino* theory of the Diocesan Episcopate that has a great deal to do with the advance of the Church of England and her daughters toward Church unity.

2. The claim that bishops are the successors of the Apostles is no longer defended on the ground of the New Testament, but on the ground of the history of the second Christian century. Early in the second century bishops appear at the head of colleges of presbyters in the leading Churches of Asia; but it is admitted that these do not appear so early in the Churches of Europe and Africa, where the Churches were governed by colleges of presbyter-bishops. It is admitted that these bishops of the cities of Asia are not yet full Diocesan bishops; they are parochial bishops, bishops of cities and towns where but one Church exists so far as can be determined. These parochial bishops are more like the pastors of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches than Diocesan bishops, save that they are at the head of colleges of presbyter-bishops, to which modern

Congregationalism has nothing to correspond except ruling deacons, and Presbyterianism has no sufficient substitute in ruling elders. Such deacons and such elders have no counterpart in the second Christian century; and the breaking up of the Church of CHRIST into a number of different organizations in the same city, even if these be in the same general ecclesiastical organization, was not dreamed of in the second century.

It is a plausible theory that the parochial bishops of Asia were ordained and installed either by the hands of the Apostles or by those prophets, teachers, and evangelists who had Divine inspiration, and who appear in the New Testament as the assistants and deputies of the Apostles in the organization of the Church.¹ It is also a legitimate theory that these parochial bishops were the historical successors of these assistants and deputies of the Apostles who were at first travelling apostles and evangelists, but who gradually became settled and permanent parochial bishops of the larger and more central Churches.² But giving all the importance to these theories to which they may be entitled, by pushing the evidence to the utmost extreme, we do not get any more than probable historical evidence for the parochial bishops as historical successors of the Apostles.

¹ Though the New Testament itself contains as yet no direct and indisputable notices of a localized Episcopate in the Gentile Churches, as distinguished from the movable Episcopate exercised by Timothy in Ephesus and by Titus in Crete, yet there is satisfactory evidence of its development in the later years of the Apostolic age; that this development was not simultaneous and equal in all parts of Christendom; that it is more especially connected with the name of S. John; and that in the early years of the second century the Episcopate was widely spread and had taken firm root, more especially in Asia Minor and in Syria. — LIGHTFOOT, *Epistles of S. Ignatius*, vol. i., p. 376.

² "We have no determining evidence (in the New Testament) as to the exact form which the ministry of the future was to take. . . . Were the local bishops to receive additional powers, such as would make them independent of any higher order? Or were the Apostles and Apostolic men, like Timothy and Titus, to perpetuate their distinct order? And if so, was it to be perpetuated as a localized or as a general order? These questions are still open" [GORE, *Ministry of the Christian Church*, pp. 269, 270]. "In the West no more than in the East did the supreme power ever devolve upon the presbyters. There was a time when they were (as the epistles of Clement and Polycarp bear witness) the chief local authorities, — the sole ordinary occupants of the chief seat. But over them, not yet localized, were men either of prophetic inspiration or of Apostolic authority and known character — 'prophets' or 'teachers' or 'rulers' or 'men of distinction' — who in the sub-Apostolic age ordained to the sacred ministry, and in certain cases would have exercised the chief teaching and governing authority. Gradually these men, after the pattern set by James in Jerusalem or by John in the Churches of Asia, became themselves local presidents or instituted others in their place" [*l. c.*, p. 335].

We are not on the ground of the Divine right of the New Testament. We have nothing more than very ancient historic right for the Historic Episcopate, but no Divine right. On the other hand, the theory that the parochial bishop was a natural evolution of the college of presbyter-bishops; that it was inevitable that the college should have an executive head; and that with the growth of the Church, this presiding presbyter-bishop, who at first was temporary and changeable, or in the order of seniority would become a permanent parochial bishop, having the administration of the affairs of the Church of the city committed to his hands, without any ordering of the Apostles and without any Divine institution, — this theory accounts for all the facts of history as they appear in the ancient documents.¹

The modern Church cannot safely commit itself to any of these theories, for it is within the range of possibility that ere long other early Christian documents may be discovered, of more importance than the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, that will put the whole question in a new light. We cannot agree to any more than that the parochial bishop at the head of a Presbytery of presbyter-bishops was a historic fact of the first half of the second Christian century, and that it became universal at the close of the century. Whether it rests upon Apostolic authority, or the authority of the presbyter-bishops into whose hands the government of the Church was intrusted by the Apostles, it is not necessary for us to determine. The New Testament gives us no *jure divino* on the subject. If it were an essential question, it is reasonable to suppose there would have been a *jure divino* determination of it. We may agree upon the historic fact; we cannot agree upon the Divine institution.

The Apostles had a unique office, — to bear witness to what they had seen of the historic CHRIST, His life, His teachings, His

¹ We do not underrate the historical argument even when it comes so close to the Apostles themselves and the prophets who were associated with them. But we claim that it is necessary to carefully distinguish it from the Divine right of the New Testament. In the consideration of this difference I have been greatly impressed by the inconsistency in which many modern Presbyterians have become involved. The old Presbyterians were entirely consistent when they demanded a Divine right from the New Testament itself for the ministry and the canon of Scripture. But modern Presbyterians who have abandoned the argument from the testimony of the HOLY SPIRIT for the canonicity of Scripture, and rest the authority of the canon of Scripture upon the historical evidence connecting it with Apostolic penmen, can no longer with consistency demand a *jure divino* for Episcopacy, and refuse the candid and firm historical argument of Bishop Lightfoot.

death on the cross, His resurrection, His ascension, and the Christophanies of the enthroned SAVIOUR. No successors could fulfil this office. The other parts of their office, teaching, governing, and administration of the sacraments, they transmitted to others. In the New Testament the presbyter-bishops are seen doing all these things. They could transmit these things to their successors without any need of a higher order, superintending them and governing them. It seems to many historical critics that this very thing they did. If others find comfort in a theory that the Apostles or Apostolic men had a hand in instituting the parochial bishops, we have no objection to the theory, if held as a theory and not urged as essential to the existence of the Church. But the second century gives us only the parochial bishop. The Diocesan bishop and the village bishop were later developments. Certainly these had no institution from the hands of the Apostles or Apostolic men. We may accept the Diocesan bishop as a historic evolution in the growth of the Church under the guidance of the DIVINE SPIRIT, but we cannot accept the Diocesan bishop as linked by Apostolic succession as a distinct order to the ordaining hands of the Apostles. The ordination of presbyter-bishops may be linked to Apostolic hands by the testimony of the New Testament. The ordination of the parochial bishop may be linked to the Apostles' hands by a plausible interpretation of historical facts. But the Diocesan bishop is an evolution out of the parochial bishop, and the only Apostolic succession he has is through the parochial bishop, or possibly only through the presbyter-bishops.

3. The claim that ordination by Diocesan bishops has special grace, without which there is no valid ministry, is the most objectionable of all the claims that are put forth on behalf of the Historic Episcopate at the present time. We hold that there is no evidence for this in the New Testament, or in the second Christian century. The New Testament tells us of ordination by a Presbytery of presbyter-bishops, but gives us no example of ordination by a parochial bishop, still less of ordination by a Diocesan bishop. The Presbyterian Churches claim that their ordination by presbyter-bishops is in accordance with the example of the New Testament, and that the Apostolic succession has been regularly transmitted through the centuries in the laying on of hands of these presbyter-bishops. At the Reformation some of the National Churches of northern Europe laid

aside the Diocesan bishops, and by the highest authority in those Churches gave the entire authority of the ministry to the presbyter-bishops' meeting in Presbytery.

Presbyterian ministers have been ordained by the laying on of hands of presbyter-bishops, in regular succession from presbyter-bishops ordained by Diocesan bishops at the head of bodies of presbyter-bishops.

Gore admits "that the Church principle of succession would never be violated by the existence in any Church of Episcopal powers, whether free or conditional, in all the presbyters, supposing that those powers were not assumed by the individual for himself, but were understood to be conveyed to him by the ordination of the Church."¹ Now this is precisely the case with the Reformed National Churches of Europe. The Churches of Switzerland, Germany, and Scotland were reformed in doctrine and discipline by the same authority as the Church of England; namely, the authority lodged in the National Church itself. It is quite evident that the National Church was less free to reform itself and more hindered in its development in England than in any other Protestant country. The Diocesan bishops were deposed for tyranny, immorality, and heresy in many of the Reformed Churches in an orderly way. In those countries where Diocesan bishops led or followed the National Churches in their reform, they were retained. But where they were deposed, and discontinued in the interests of the good order and discipline of the Church, the whole authority of the Church was given over into the hands of the presbyter-bishops. Did these National Churches die with their deposed Diocesan bishops? Was there no inherent authority in the Church to govern itself when its historic bishops had left it in the lurch? Even granting that in the interests of good order ordination by a Diocesan bishop at the head of a Presbytery is necessary to a valid ministry, yet the disorders of the Reformation, and the separation of the bishops from the Churches of the Reformation, left the National Churches in such an abnormal condition that the only ordained ministry left to them were obliged to exercise all the functions of the ministry. Their acts, even if irregular and disorderly, were therefore valid, because they were not the usurped authority of individuals; they were the authority of organized National Churches, in accordance with national law and order.

¹ *Ministry of the Christian Church*, 1889, p. 143.

Principal Gore says, "It cannot be maintained that the acts of ordination by which presbyters of the sixteenth or subsequent centuries originated the ministries of some of these societies, were covered by their commissions or belonged to the office of *Presbyter*, which they had received."¹ But this is precisely what has been maintained in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches from the beginning. The Westminster Directory teaches,—

(1) No man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the Word without a lawful calling [John iii. 27; Rom. x. 14, 15; Jer. xiv. 14; Heb. ix. 4]; (2) Ordination is always to be continued in the Church [Tit. i. 5; 1 Tim. v. 21, 22]; (3) Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some publique Church office [Num. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22; Acts vi. 3, 5, 6]; (4) Every minister of the Word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong [1 Tim. v. 22; Acts xiii. 3; xiv. 23]; (5) The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole Presbytery [1 Tim. iv. 14].

It is not presbyters gathered in societies who ordain, but presbyters organized in a Presbytery for the government and discipline of the Church. These presbyters claim Apostolic succession through the laying on of hands of presbyters in successive generations, leading back to the Apostles in the New Testament times. These Presbyteries claim succession to the Presbyteries that have governed the Church in all ages under various names. Their authority was not destroyed when the presiding bishops were lawfully deposed and the office of Diocesan bishops was for good reasons discontinued. The whole authority of ordination fell to the whole Presbytery or whole body of presbyters organized as National Churches.

Principal Gore also says, "Beyond all question they 'took to themselves' these powers of ordination, and consequently had them not."² But Presbyterians claim, on the contrary, that they did have these powers of ordination by right of succession and that they did not take them to themselves, and that they consequently had them. They not only had them by transmission in ordination by presbyters and Diocesan bishops, but they had them by becoming, through the deposition of the Diocesan bishops, and the commission into their hands by the General Assembly of the National Church, and by the consent of the National Parliament, the seat of the whole authority in the

¹ *Ministry of the Christian Church*, 1889, p. 344.

² *Ibid.*, p. 345.

National Church. There was no more taking to themselves powers of ordination by Scotch, Swiss, Danish, Dutch, and German presbyters in these National Churches of Northern Europe than there was in the case of the Protestant bishops of the Church of England who were deposed by the Roman Church, and whose authority to ordain has never since been recognized by the Roman Church. Did the deposed Diocesan bishops retain in their hands the sole authority to ordain in the National Church, and were the whole body of presbyters and the people and Parliament doing unlawful acts in vindicating the purity of the Church, its orthodoxy, and the Divine rights of JESUS CHRIST? GOD forbid! The accident or good providence that enabled the Church of England to advance into the Reformation with her bishops at her head, does not entitle that Church to lord it over other National Churches, or to claim the only valid ministry in Protestantism. The Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the continent of Europe and the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of Great Britain and America, challenge comparison with the Church of England and her daughters at this point, and at any other point. The ministry of those Churches who honor the names of Luther and Melancthon, Zwingli and Calvin, Knox and Alasco, and a host more of the greatest men of modern times, will never dishonor the memory of these heroes of the Faith by denying the validity of their ministry. The reunion of Christendom at such a cost would be a dishonorable transaction. Presbyterians and Congregationalists will continue to honor the memories of Cartwright and Travers in their contest with Whitgift and Hooker; of Marshall, Palmer, and Baxter in their contest with Laud, Hall, and Taylor; of Robinson and his band of Separatists who founded the Plymouth Colony; of the patriarch White of Dorchester and his associates, who founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony; of Melville, Welch, Livingston, and Rutherford, and a host of brave Presbyterians and Congregationalists, who battled against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny of bishops and king. Such names as Cartwright, Melville, Baxter, and Bunyan shine among the heroes of the Faith. Such lordly and tyrannous prelates as Whitgift and Laud no modern Church would tolerate for a moment. The English people of our day would hurl such bishops from their thrones with thunderbolts of wrath. Such prelacy is not the Historic Episcopate.

It should be definitely understood that the ministry of the non-Episcopal Churches will not in any considerable numbers dishonor the Apostolic succession of their ministry through such presbyter-bishops. If our brethren of the Episcopal ministry think there is any special grace in ordination by the hands of a Diocesan bishop, and offer that grace to us without exacting from us any renunciation of the ministry we have received as Presbyterians, by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, I am free to say that in order to the unity of the Church, and in order to the historical continuity that there is in the Diocesan Episcopate, honored through the centuries of Christian history, I would accept the offer of Episcopal ordination, and I doubt not that many ministers would follow me in such a step. But we cannot accept the doctrine that the grace of Apostolic succession drops only from the bishop's hands, or that the presbyters who take part in the ceremony of ordination are merely attendants, communicating nothing of the authority of the ministry from their share in the ceremony of ordination.

4. The claim that bishops have Divine authority to rule the Church was pressed in former times. But unless we mistake, it has been for the most part abandoned in Great Britain and America. The fight against Episcopal usurpation and tyranny has been fought to the end; and the Church of England and her daughters are now among the freest and most tolerant Churches in Christendom. There is much more of tyranny in modern Presbyterianism, and even in modern Congregationalism, than there is in the Historic Episcopate, as it is now known in Great Britain and America.

None of these four claims that have been associated with Historic Episcopacy would be recognized by the ministry of the non-Episcopal Churches. Many of us are willing that all who desire to make these claims may do so for their own comfort and edification, in so far as they do not force them upon us, or endeavor to make them the law of the Church of CHRIST. We do not follow the ancient Puritans in rejecting them as anti-Christian errors. We do not agree with the old Presbyterians in casting out *jure divino* Episcopacy in order to set up *jure divino* Presbytery. Cartwright and Travers were as much in error on the one side as Laud and Hall on the other.

We have to consider under the Historic Episcopate that which is essential to it as a bond of union, and not those unes-

sential theories and claims that have been put forth by certain parties in its behalf. These are but the outer garments of the Historic Episcopate, that may be exchanged for other robes. These are the features that may be pleasant for some parties to look upon, and we shall not deny them their pleasure in them. But when the proposition of the House of Bishops is adopted, "the Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of GOD into the unity of the Church," then, if we mistake not, all these unessential things will be referred to the special charge of the Anglo-Catholic party to nurse them and care for their future, while all other parties will agree with the Anglo-Catholics in rallying round the Historic Episcopate in its essential features as seen in all lands and in all times, taking form in the several Dioceses as the conditions and circumstances require.

IV. *Advantages of the Historic Episcopate.*

Where, then, is the advantage of the Historic Episcopate? Where is the *substance* in which all Episcopal Churches and parties are agreed, and to which it is probable non-Episcopal Churches will adhere, in order to the reunion of Christendom?

1. *The Historic Episcopate was a Historical Evolution in Church Government.* Although there were no other bishops in New Testament times than presbyters, yet it was a legitimate and inevitable result of a bench or body of presbyters that one should have the management of affairs, be the executive head, and preside over the government of the local Church. The presiding bishop therefore sprang up in the latter part of the first century, or early in the second century. At first this bishop was a parochial bishop. There was but one Church organization in the city, with missions in the suburban villages. The unity of the Church maintained itself with its increase in size, so that in the latter part of the second century, or early in the third century, the parochial Presbytery had grown into a Diocesan Presbytery, and the parochial bishop into a Diocesan bishop, and later chorepiscopi, or pastors of village Churches, came into the field. The system continued to develop in history until the archbishop and patriarch and pope, one after the other, gave expression to the higher unities of the

growing Church of CHRIST. The Historic Episcopate is a historical evolution. It has a vast variety of form in history. At what stage in the development shall we take it as a basis of union? The Roman Church presents us the system in its highest form in the Pope. The Greek and Oriental Churches give us an earlier stage in the patriarch. The Church of England presents us the still earlier stage in the archbishop. The American Episcopal Church does not rise higher than the Diocesan bishop. The Presbyterian Church goes farther back to the parochial bishop. What Church is there that goes back to the earlier form of government as it appears in the New Testament, with a bench of parochial presbyter-bishops under Apostolic oversight? Not one. They all have made the mistake of pleading a *jure divino*, while they all represent a later stage of *jure humano* development. At what stage, then, shall we take our stand for Church unity? What is the essence of the Historic Episcopate in which all can agree?

It seems to me that the solution is not in going backward, but *forward*. History speaks very strongly for the Historic Episcopate. My historic sense not only gives me great respect and veneration for the office, but also leads me to the opinion that the Church, guided by the DIVINE SPIRIT, did not err in its Episcopal government through all these centuries. The abandonment of the Episcopate was not a natural result of the Reformation. It was not a part of the Lutheran movement. The national Lutheran Churches of Denmark and Sweden have retained bishops until the present day.

Sweden claims Apostolical succession for her bishops. The Episcopal office was restored to Denmark, but the first bishops were ordained by Bugenhagen.¹ Bishops continued at the head of the Reformed Churches of Prussia and Brandenburg for a long time. England began with bishops. Scotland had superintending bishops. It was the jealousy that princes in Germany felt of the Episcopal prerogative that prevented the Lutheran Church from having Diocesan bishops. However, superintendents were appointed to exercise many of the functions of the Episcopate in the larger portion of Germany and Austria.

It was the tyranny of the bishops, and their close alliance with the Crown, that forced the reforming party in the State as well

¹ *Briefwechsel zwischen H. L. Martensen und I. A. Dorner*, Bd. i. s. 238.

as in the Church to take ground against them. The King was the supreme bishop of the Church of England, and became a national pope.

There was nothing in the principles of the Reformation that at all interfered with the Episcopal office. There was nothing in Puritanism that forced the abolition of the Episcopate. Some of the ablest archbishops and bishops of England and Ireland were Puritans. It was more the evolution of civil politics and the political complications of the bishops that made the difficulty in Great Britain. Whitgift and Laud did more to injure the Episcopate in Protestantism than any other agencies whatever. The opposition to the Episcopate in Presbyterian circles is a traditional opposition that goes back to the Laudian usurpation and the civil and religious wars that followed. The Episcopate of *Abbot* and *Ussher* Presbyterians are under historical bonds to accept.

The difficulty is not to be solved by stopping at any of the stages in the historical evolution of the Episcopate, whether with the parochial bishop, the Diocesan bishop, the archbishop, the patriarch, or the pope. The whole process is a natural evolution of the Historic Episcopate. As I have recently said: —

Christendom might unite with an ascending series of superintending bishops that would culminate in a universal bishop, provided the pyramid would be willing to rest firmly on its base, the solid order of the presbyter-bishops of the New Testament and of all history, and all Churches. But the pyramid will never stand on its apex, nor hang suspended in the air supported by any of its upper stages [*Whither?* p. 238].

2. *The Historic Episcopate is the Crown of Presbyterian Government.* It was so historically; it is so practically. Therefore Presbyterians should be willing to accept it as such. They are not willing to accept the theory of the *three orders*, but many are willing to accept the bishop as the executive head of the one order of ministers, — the first among his brethren, the most honored, the most efficient, of them all. It is the theory of Apostolic *orders* that makes the difficulty in the Historic Episcopacy. We can agree upon orders as differences in rank as *jure humano*, for the well-being of the Church, so far as these higher orders are higher by election of their brethren.

ren, and not higher by descent of Apostolical succession. I could agree to bishop, archbishop, patriarch, and pope if these were all chosen by the Church in stage upon stage of advancement toward the executive head of the Church. But I could not agree that the bishops had any exclusive Divine right or historic right to transmit the Episcopal order, any more than that the Pope should transmit papal authority. The bishops should be simply the executive officers of the Church chosen by the Presbyteries. I am willing, in other words, to agree to the whole system of Episcopal orders even up to a papal head, but am not willing to agree to theories of higher orders, which are associate with prerogative, pride, ambition, tyranny, and despotism. Presbyterians might be willing to recognize all sorts of theories of the Episcopate and tolerate all kinds of human weakness and follies in bishops; they could not unite on any of the theories of the Historic Episcopate, but they might unite on the Historic Episcopate itself. And if the Anglo-Catholics desire to conserve their theory by any rites and ceremonies in the way of consecration and ordination by bishops, they should concede to others the Presbyterian election, Episcopal responsibility to synods or conventions in which presbyters shall have their rights; and they should put such checks upon Episcopal authority as will prevent any of those evils from which the Church suffered so much in the past.

It is interesting to observe just here two historical facts: (1) What the Presbyterians offered in 1661, as their ultimatum; and (2) What is the actual condition of the Historic Episcopate in America, when compared with this ultimatum.

The Presbyterian ultimatum of 1661 was given in the Proposals of the Presbyterian ministers, drawn up after nearly three weeks' debate, in Sion College, in which Edmund Calamy, Reynolds, Newcommen, and Baxter, had the chief hand.

That although upon just reasons we do dissent from that ecclesiastical hierarchy or prelacy disclaimed in the Covenant, as it was stated and exercised in these kingdoms, yet we do not, nor ever did renounce the true ancient and primitive presidency as it was ballanced and managed by a due commixture of presbyters therewith, as a fit means to avoid corruptions, partiality, tyranny, and other evils which may be incident to the administration of one single person, which kind of attempered Presidency, if it shall be your Majesty's grave wisdom and

gracious moderation, be in such manner constituted as that the fore-mentioned and other like evils may be certainly prevented, we shall humbly submit thereunto.

And in order to an happy accomodation in this weighty business, we desire humbly to offer unto your majesty some of the particulars which we conceive were unwise in the Episcopal government, as it was practised before the year 1640.

1. The great extent of the Bishop's Diocess, which was much too large for his own personal inspection, wherein he undertook a pastoral charge over the souls of all those within his bishoprick, which must needs be granted to be too heavy a burthen for any one man's shoulders, the Pastoral office being a work of personal ministration and trust, and that of the highest concernment to the souls of the people, for which they are to give an account to CHRIST.

2. That by reason of this disability to discharge their duty and trust personally, the bishops did depute the administration of much of their trust, even in matters of spiritual cognizance, to commissaries, chancellors, and officials, whereof some were secular persons, and could not administer that power which originally appertaineth to the pastors of the Church.

3. That those bishops who affirm the Episcopal office to be a distinct order by Divine right from that of the Presbyter, did assume the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction to themselves.

4. That some of the bishops exercised an arbitrary power as by sending forth the Books of Articles in their Visitations, and therein unwarrantably enquiring into several things, and swearing the churchwardens to present accordingly. So also by many innovations and ceremonies imposed upon ministers and people not required by law, and by suspending ministers at their pleasure.

In reforming of which evils, we humbly crave leave to offer unto your majesty, —

1. The late most reverend primate of Ireland his Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government, received in the ancient Church: as a ground work towards an accommodation and fraternal agreement in this point of Ecclesiastical government: which we rather do, not only in regard of his eminent piety and singular Ability as in all other parts of Learning so in that especially of the Antiquities of the Church, but also because therein expedients are offered for healing these grievances.

And in order to the same end, we further humbly desire that the suffragans or chorepiscopi, mentioned in the Primate's Reduction, may be chosen by the respective Synods, and by that Election be sufficiently

authorized to discharge their Trust. That the Associations may not be so large as to make the Discipline impossible, or to take off the ministers from the rest of their necessary employments.

That no oaths or promises of obedience to the Bishops, nor any unnecessary subscriptions or engagements be made necessary to ordination, institution, induction, ministration, communion, or immunities of ministers, they being responsible for any transgression of the Law.

And that no Bishops nor any ecclesiastical governors may at any time exercise their government by their own private will or pleasure, but only by such rules, canons, and constitutions as shall be hereafter by Act of Parliament ratified and established; and that sufficient provision be made to secure both ministers and people against the evils of Arbitrary Government in the Church.

These Presbyterian Proposals were rejected by the bishops in 1661. But unless we mistake, every one of these Presbyterian Proposals has been complied with by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Baxter said in 1691, "Oh, how little would it have cost your Churchmen in 1660 and 1661 to have prevented the calamitous and dangerous divisions of this Land, and our common dangers thereby and the hurt that many hundred thousand souls have received by it? And how little would it cost them *yet to prevent the continuance of it*" [*Penitent Confession, Preface*]. Then I thank GOD that the Church of England and the American Protestant Episcopal Church are now willing to pay this small cost. I stand by Baxter; and I shall do all I can to reduce the cost. It is no time for Presbyterians to increase their demands. We should vie with our Episcopal brethren in generosity and self-sacrifice. I believe that Presbyterians will rise to the situation so soon as they understand it. I believe that ere long Presbyterians will accept the Proposals of the House of Bishops, and thus show that they have the same spirit of accommodation and desire for the unity of CHRIST'S Church that their fathers showed in the Proposals of 1661. We are thankful that after more than two centuries a House of Bishops has accepted all that our fathers proposed.

3. *Episcopal ordination and Presbyterian ordination are not inconsistent, but complementary.* A Presbyterian minister is ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery with a moderator at their head. The ordination is the act of the

whole body organized for the government of the congregations and presbyters within its bounds. The Episcopal minister is ordained by the laying on of the hands of the bishop, with two or more attending presbyters. We shall place the directory and the ordinal side by side for comparison.

ORDINAL.

The bishop, with the priests present, shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of priesthood, the receivers humbly kneeling upon their knees, and the bishop saying, "Receive the HOLY GHOST for the office and work of a priest in the Church of GOD, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands."

DIRECTORY.

The candidate shall kneel down in the most convenient part of the Church. Then the presiding minister shall, by prayer, and with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, according to the Apostolic example, solemnly ordain him to the holy office of the gospel ministry. Prayer being ended, he shall rise from his knees; and the minister who presides first and afterward all the members of the Presbytery in their order, take him by the right hand, saying, in words to this purpose, "We give you the right hand of fellowship to take part of this ministry with us."

In this ceremony the presiding minister is to be compared with the bishop, and the Presbytery with the two or more presbyters associated with the bishop. There is the same ceremony essentially, but there are two striking differences: (a) In the one case the bishop presides and directs the ceremony of ordination. The bishop is the permanent head of the Diocese, and the authority of the Diocese centres in him. He has been chosen bishop because he is the most honored, the most revered, and the most efficient of the presbyters. His presidency is permanent, and thereby of higher rank, giving to the whole service dignity and unity. The presiding minister of the Presbytery may be, and often is, one of the least honored and least revered members of the Presbytery. He adds no dignity to the occasion, and if it should happen, as it not infrequently does, that he presides for the first time, his presiding in the ordination lacks grace and propriety, and in so far disturbs the

solemnity of the occasion. Unless we mistake, it is a common experience in connection with the ceremony of Presbyterian ordination that candidates, presbyters, and people, all alike regret that some other more honored and more graceful presbyter had not been called upon to preside. A shifting moderator lacks the propriety, grace, and dignity attached to the presidency of the bishops in the government and in the ceremonies of the Church. Episcopal ordination therefore is greatly to be preferred to ordination by a temporary presiding presbyter.

(b) On the other hand, we have to compare the two or more presbyters who are associated with the bishop in Episcopal ordination, with the body of presbyters, organized as a Presbytery, who take part in Presbyterian ordination. This body of presbyters, embracing the pastors of the congregations and other grave and venerable members who may be present, all with their hands upon the head of the candidate, and subsequently giving him the right hand of fellowship, make the ceremony a very impressive one, that is never forgotten by the candidates. This impressiveness, this weight of authority, this extent of influence, seems to be lacking in the Episcopal ceremony. Presbyterian ordination is the official act of the entire body of ministers in the Presbytery, and therefore of the Presbyterian Church as such, in the exercise of its Presbyterianial functions. Episcopal ordination lacks this authority of the organized Presbytery, and concentrates the attention upon the authority of the bishop. It is the common theory, if we mistake not, in the Episcopal Church that the presbyters are merely attendants on the bishop and that they do not represent the body of presbyters in their act. It seems to be the common opinion that the term "*our* hands" in the Ordinal does not refer to the hands of bishop and presbyters, but only to the bishop's hands, speaking as the head of the Church. We may be permitted to doubt, however, whether that was the original meaning of the phrase.

When the two ceremonies are compared, each has its advantages and its disadvantages. If the bishop took the place of the presiding minister in the Directory, and the Presbytery took the place of the two or more attending presbyters of the Ordinal, the two ceremonies would be equally improved by becoming identical. When the happy union is consummated, Episcopacy and

Presbytery may each contribute an equal share to a Church that will be higher, better, and more efficient than either.

The difficulty here is not as to the future; that will take care of itself. The difficulty is in making the transition. Let us see what that difficulty practically is. The difficulty is with the theory of the three orders of the ministry as resting on Divine right. Those in the Episcopal Churches who do not accept this theory would have little difficulty in recognizing the validity of Presbyterian ordination as to essence. Presbyterian ordination has all the virtue in it that the laying on of the hands of the presbyters can impart. It only lacks that virtue that comes from the bishop's hands. There can be little doubt that ordination has been carefully guarded in Presbyterian Churches. No minister enters the Presbyterian Churches of Great Britain without the laying on of hands of the Presbytery, or body of presbyters, with a moderator presiding over them. The Presbyteries of the Presbyterian Churches of Great Britain when the Episcopal Church was disestablished had been ordained with few exceptions by Episcopal as well as Presbyterial ordination. Those few had been ordained by the Presbyteries of Swiss, French, Dutch, and German Churches in the same orderly manner. The founders of the Presbyterian Church were regularly ordained, at least a sufficient number of them, even according to the highest theory of the Episcopal function. If these presbyters were entitled to share with bishops in the ordination of other presbyters, in accordance with the lawful practice of the ancient Churches and the Church of England and her daughters, so far as they could transmit authority as presbyters, they transmitted it to the presbyters that they ordained. If they transmitted anything when ordaining with bishops, they transmitted the same when ordaining without bishops. What is lacking, therefore, and the only thing that is lacking in the ordination of Presbyterian ministers, is that virtue and that alone that comes from the Diocesan bishop's hands. Presbyterial ordination therefore may be incomplete, but it is an ordination in part, so far as presbyters can ordain. If ordination belongs to the bishop alone, then Presbyterian ministers have not been ordained. If presbyters are simply the attendants of the bishop, and their participation adds nothing to the ordination, then Presbyterian ministers are not ordained. But if the participation of presbyters has some importance, if their participation

in ordination communicates any grace or authority, then they may communicate that grace and authority whenever they are properly organized as a Presbytery to act. It may be asked which, indeed, is the more valid ordination, — that by presbyters without a bishop, or that by a bishop without the co-operation of presbyters. The authority of the Scriptures can be cited for the former, but the latter has been regarded as irregular, even in Episcopal Churches; and yet such irregular ordinations have taken place in the Church of England. Against them the Puritans rightly complained. And yet these ordinations by bishops alone, that were irregular, were not regarded as invalid. Why, then, should ordination by presbyteries alone be regarded as invalid? The Church of Scotland is an independent National Church, as truly a National Church as the Church of England, and so recognized at the settlement of the Revolution. Those who question the validity of the ordination of the ministry of that Church and her daughters from the point of view of the National Church of England and her daughters, have no more warrant so to do than the Church of Scotland would have to deny the validity of the ordination of the ministry of the Church of England and her daughters. The two Churches were organized by ecclesiastical and civil law, and are on an equality before the law in Great Britain. The Church of England is Episcopal, and the Presbyterian Church of England is Dissenting. The Church of Scotland is Presbyterian, and the Episcopal Church of Scotland is Dissenting. In the United States the daughters of these two National Churches are on an equality before the law; the one is as much the Church of the United States as the other. The two National Churches have different theories and methods of ordination. The one is as regular and lawful as the other, and there is as genuine Apostolical succession in the one as in the other. The Church of Scotland has her succession through the presbyter-bishops. The Church of England traces her succession through the Diocesan bishops. On the theory of two orders by Divine right the Presbyterial ordination is valid only so far as the ordination by presbyters is concerned, and invalid for the failure of the bishop's hands. But on the theory that the bishop is only *jure humano*, and therefore not necessary to the existence of the Church, where a National Church is organized without Diocesan bishops, ordination by presbyters is valid and orderly. All who do not

accept the *jure divino* theory of the Episcopate should agree to this.

The difficulties in the way of the recognition of Presbyterian ordination are ancient difficulties that we should feel bound to respect and to remove if possible. The difficulty is practically this: If a Presbyterian should apply for admission to the Episcopal Church, it would be necessary for him to be confirmed and ordained. If an Episcopal minister should seek admission to the Presbyterian Church, it would be necessary for him to be voted upon after examination by the Session of a Presbyterian Church, and then received into a Presbytery after his subscription to the Westminster Confession. The difficulty in the one case would be *ceremonial*, in the other case it would be *doctrinal subscription*. These barriers are purely ecclesiastical ones. They are fences set up in the interest of the good order of the Church. Let us consider the additional difficulties our fathers had in their way. In 1661 two thousand parish ministers were thrust out of their charges in England because they could not take the following oaths: (1) Non-resistance and passive obedience to bishop and king; (2) Conformity to the Liturgy; (3) Renouncing the solemn league and covenant to which they had previously sworn. During the Presbyterian supremacy hundreds of parish priests had been removed because they refused to swear to the covenant. No one could be ordained during that period, and subsequently, according to the Directory, who did not take "the covenant of the three kingdoms." It was not simply a matter of ordination on either side. These ancient fences have been broken down; others still remain. It would be possible for the Presbyterian Session to waive its right of examination; it would be possible for the Presbyterian Church to reduce its subscription from the Westminster Confession to the Nicene Creed or the Apostles' Creed. I suppose it would be possible in the Protestant Episcopal Church to waive the ceremony of confirmation in the admission of members of Presbyterian Churches, and to waive the ceremony of ordination by those who had been ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.

I was informed by high authority immediately after the adjournment of the Lambeth Conference that a very considerable proportion of that Conference would be willing to recognize Presbyterian ordination under certain conditions, but that the

time had not come to take definite action. Bishop Vincent confirms this testimony when he says:—

But one expedient so far, has been proposed which promises to meet the difficulty in any practical way, and that is the proposition of Bishop Charles Wordsworth of the Scottish Church, made through a committee of the last Lambeth Conference. It was substantially this: that we should now recognize the full ministerial standing of clergymen presbyterially ordained, providing that hereafter all their ordinations should be by bishops. The report of the Committee says: 'While the Church in her XXIII. Article lays down the necessity of the ministry as a sacred order, commissioned by "those who have public authority given them in the congregation;" and while for *herself* she has defined this expression by insisting in her own Communion on *Episcopal* ordination, she has nowhere declared that all other constituted ministry is null and void.' This proposition was not accepted by the Conference, and probably for two good reasons, if for no other: because it was not prepared to act so suddenly in so serious a matter, and also because, being only a Conference, it had no authority so to act. But it should also be said that ten out of the twelve members of the Committee voted for it, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed his 'very full and hearty sympathy with it' [VINCENT, *Address on Church Unity*, pp. 34-36].

I have been deeply interested in this matter of ordination in connection with the question of the reunion of Christendom, and it has come upon me as a surprise that the divided Church has been thinking of ordination from the same point of view as the Church used to do when there was but one Church in a nation. Presbyterians recognize the ordination of Roman Catholics and Episcopalians as well as other denominations.

They put up the barrier at doctrinal subscription. The Episcopal Church recognizes Roman Catholic ordination as well as her own, but refuses Presbyterial ordination. The Roman Catholics reject Episcopal ordination as well as Presbyterial. But after all, something more than ordination is required for the exercise of the ministry in all of our denominations. The Lord Bishop of London would not be received to the Presbytery of New York without subscription. His ordination would be recognized, but he would not be allowed to exercise his ministry in the bounds of the Presbyterian Church. He might preach, but so might a layman. He could not become a pastor of a

congregation, and he could not rule as a presbyter in the Presbyterian Church. I apprehend that an Episcopal rector or bishop would have no difficulty in allowing a Presbyterian minister to preach a sermon or to deliver a lecture in an Episcopal church or cathedral. The question to him would be simply a matter of good order very much the same as if a lay-evangelist were to be admitted to a Presbyterian pulpit.¹

The difficulty of ministerial recognition comes precisely where it would come in a Presbyterian Church; namely, in the exercise of government and discipline, and in the administration of the sacraments, for these are the functions of the presbyter's office. The preaching of the gospel is not in dispute. That may be done by laymen in all the denominations, but the office of presbyter can be entered upon only by ordination after examination.

The ordination in one denomination will not suffice for another denomination. Examination, and in many cases subscription also, will be required of all those who have been ordained in other denominations. The Church in this way gives authority to the candidate to exercise the office of presbyter. It gives its authority. But it can only impart the authority it has. The Presbytery of New York can give authority by examination, subscription, and ordination to a presbyter to labor as presbyter in the bounds of the Presbyterian Church, but it cannot give him authority to act as presbyter within the bounds of any other denomination. If I desired to be a presbyter in the Methodist Episcopal Church, it would be necessary for me to be received by a Conference and have its authority to serve in one of the Churches under its care. If I desired to serve as a presbyter in the Baptist Church, it would be necessary for me to be immersed and then recognized as a presbyter after examination before a council of Baptist presbyters called for the purpose. If I desired to serve as presbyter in the Protestant Episcopal Church, it would be necessary to be ordained by a Diocesan bishop. As it appears to me, there are obstacles in every case; the most difficult ones are with the Baptists. But

¹ I cannot find that the Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church are any more exclusive than the Directory of Worship and Book of Discipline of the Presbyterian Church. It may be that the Episcopal clergy are stricter in their adherence to the laws of the Church, and the Presbyterian ministry are more independent in their attitude to their own rules. But it may be questioned whether good order is not better than license, even when the laws are wrong and ought to be repealed.

suppose that an Episcopal bishop were called to serve as a pastor within the bounds of the Presbytery of New York, he could not serve without examination before the Presbytery and subscription to the Westminster Confession. I doubt whether an Episcopal rector would find it any easier to become a Presbyterian presbyter than it would be for a Presbyterian pastor to become an Episcopal priest. The denominations are all proceeding on a theory of ordination in the Church which was sufficiently valid when there was but one National Church which could impart authority to a minister to exercise the functions of a presbyter anywhere in the land. But this is no longer the case. An Episcopal ordination does not give a minister as wide an opportunity of usefulness as Presbyterian ordination. Presbyterian ordination does not give as wide an opportunity of ministerial service as ordination to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Each of the denominations ordains its own ministry, and the ministers thus ordained are divided into different camps. The question arises why ordained ministers should not go from the one denomination to the other? The difficulty in the way is a lack of organic union between the denominations. If there were such an organic union by way of federation in the constitution of a council representing the supreme courts of all the denominations, then the organic union thus consummated would be able to arrange for the mutual recognition of the ministry and work of the several branches of the reunited Church. I do not see any other way of overcoming the separation than by organic unity, by confederation first and consolidation afterward. The recognition of the validity of Presbyterian ordination will not remove the difficulty unless it is connected with federation or consolidation. It would remove a strife of words and misapprehensions of many kinds, but it would not make the presbyter of one denomination into a presbyter in another denomination. I see only two ways of accomplishing this. The one is for a considerable number of presbyters to become presbyters in two or more denominations at the same time, and thus become connecting links pulling them together. The other is for all organized bodies of presbyters to become members of a larger body, comprehending in one vast organism all the ministry of our country. That is the ideal that Christian men and women of all denominations should keep steadfastly in view, that we all may be one, having one Bible, one creed, one baptism, one

Table of the LORD, one ministry of bishops and presbyters, one HOLY SPIRIT, one reigning SAVIOUR, one GOD and FATHER of all, over all, through all, and in all.

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EDITOR OF THE CHURCH REVIEW, SIR: —

ON account of special and pressing engagements, I was obliged to decline your invitation to contribute to the proposed Symposium on Church Reunion; but your subsequent urgent request that I would give at least some brief expression of my views leaves me no alternative, lest I should seem indifferent to your courtesy and unappreciative of the object you would promote.

My training and convictions lead me always to think of the Church as a Divine Kingdom, as a fellowship of men with GOD and with one another on the basis of the Incarnation, and of redemption, and to give supremacy to what is vital and spiritual according to the prayer of our LORD, — “That they may all be one; even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in us, . . . I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be perfected into one.” Starting thus with what is spiritual, and anticipating its triumph in the consummation, I believe also, perhaps all the more firmly on this account, in an ever increasing *manifestation* of unity; for the spiritual life of the Church is a principle of fellowship and organization, and requires agencies and methods of organization, and is the one power, from and through the HOLY SPIRIT, capable of producing a real and manifested union of all disciples and Churches of CHRIST. I could not, at least without protest, belong to a society calling itself a Church, that excluded from its fundamental conception the ideal of one visible Catholic Church of CHRIST; and I believe that the progress of history, notwithstanding the schisms that exist or may arise, has been and will be toward this goal, — a manifested fellowship of all believers.

There are many signs of this movement to-day, particularly the changes which are becoming apparent in conviction and feeling. Among these I may mention an uneasy and growing