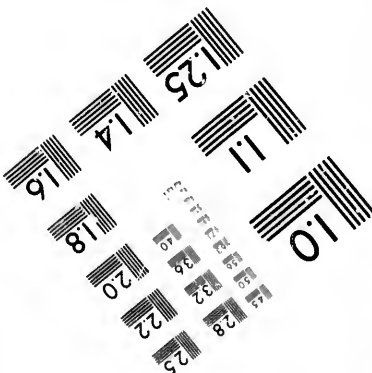
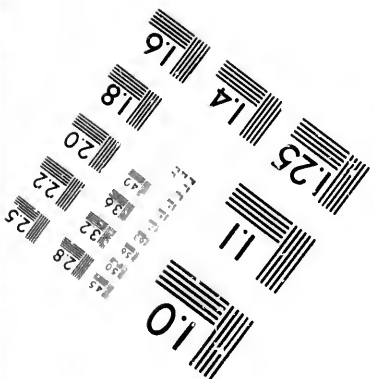
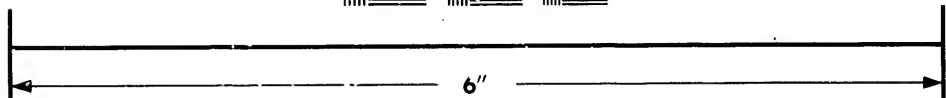
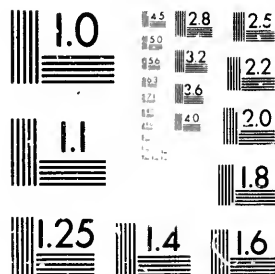


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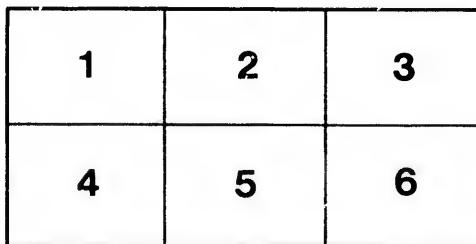
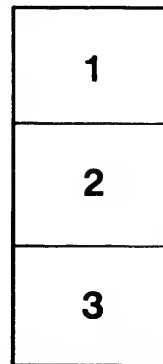
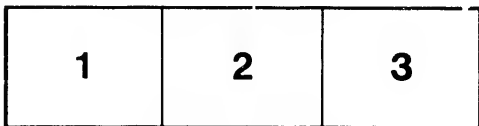
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LECTURES ON

CHRISTIAN UNITY

BY

HERBERT SYMONDS, M.A.

RECTOR OF ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, ASHBURNHAM, AND PRESIDENT OF THE  
CANADIAN SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN UNITY.

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"Till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge  
of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature  
of the fulness of Christ."—EPHESIANS iv. 13.

*(Motto of the Canadian Society of Christian Unity.)*

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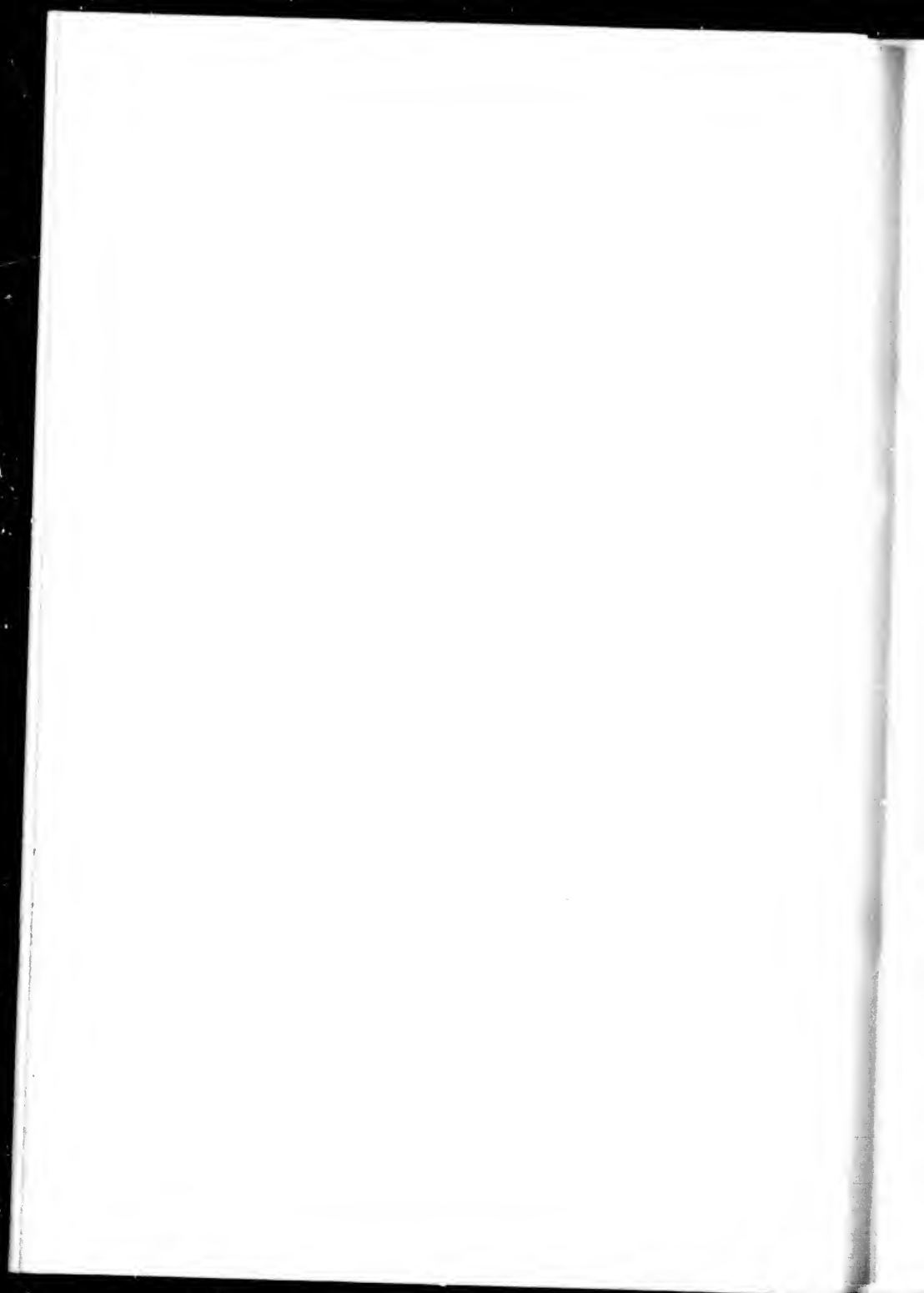
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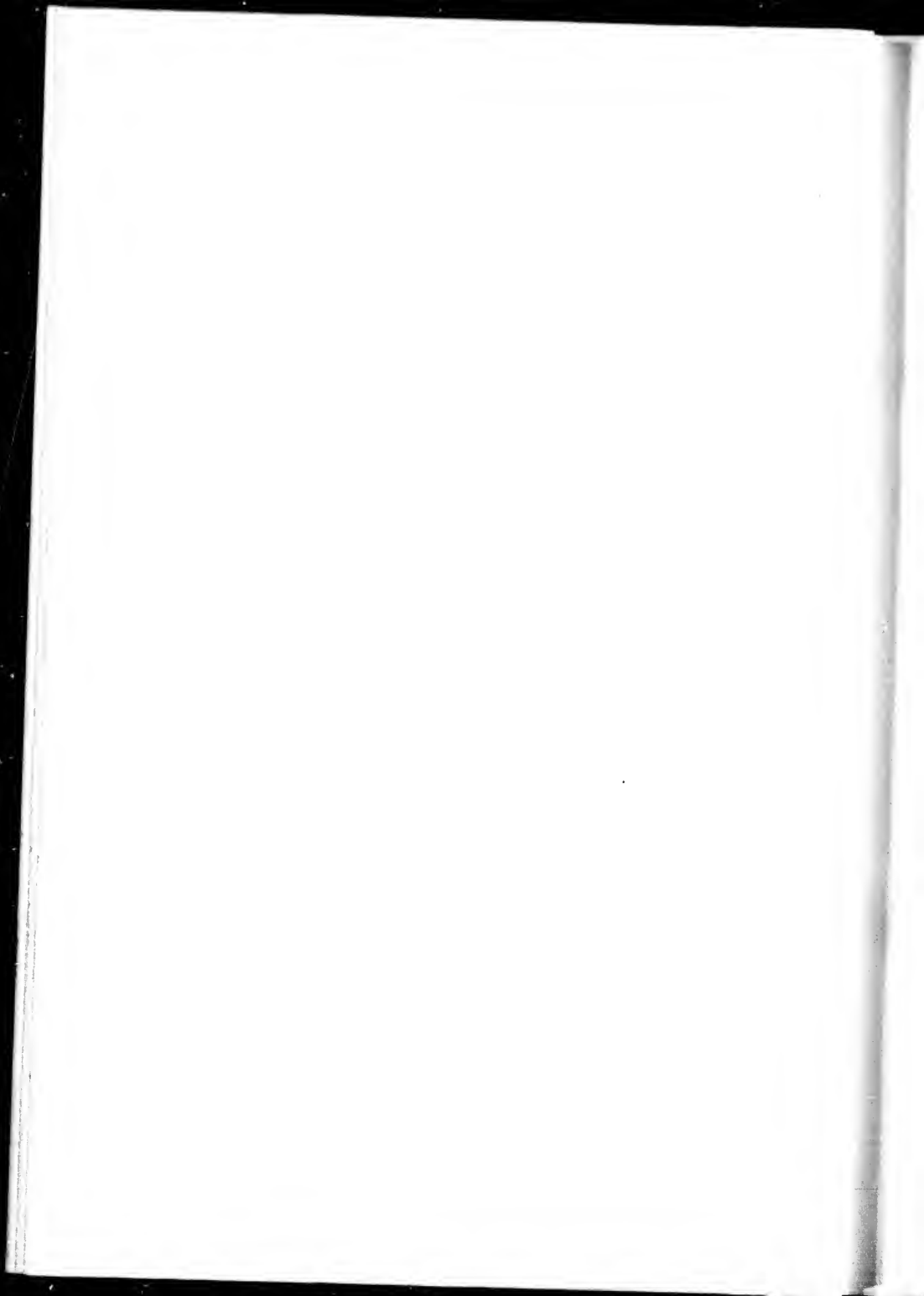


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## PREFACE.

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THE six lectures in this little book are the expansion of a lecture on Christian Unity, which I have delivered at various times and places. This lecture has appeared to create such a genuine interest in the subject, as to lead me to think it might be worth while to publish a small volume dealing with some of the aspects of a large and complicated problem. I would ask the reader to remember that these lectures have been written during the hours with difficulty snatched from the performance of the duties of a large and scattered parish, and lay no claim to the possession of any excellences of style.

I wish to express my thanks to Rev. Professor Clark, D.C.L., of Trinity College, Toronto, for his great kindness—only one of many—in reading the proof-sheets. I need scarcely say he is not responsible for any of the views herein expressed, from some of which he would probably dissent.

HERBERT SYMONDS.

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LECTURES ON CHRISTIAN UNITY.

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LECTURE I.

*THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS UNITY.*

THE subject of Christian Unity is one which has occupied the attention of all the principal Christian communions during the last half of the nineteenth century. The Pope has issued encyclicals. The bishops of the Anglican communions throughout the world have reported upon it; church congresses of all kinds frequently discuss it. At Grindelwald in Switzerland distinguished members of several communions have met to exchange their views upon the subject. Societies for the promotion of Unity have been formed in England, the United States and Canada, and whereas only a few years ago the general public, whose opinion finds expression in the secular press, regarded the idea as an amiable fad, to-day it is widely admitted that Christian Unity has become a question of practical church politics.

Nevertheless, in spite of the remarkable change that has come over the Christian world in regard to this question, it is undeniable that grave difficulties still stand in the way of the consummation of Unity. Along with a general agreement that it is to be desired, there is a wide divergence of opinion as to what Christian Unity is, what it involves, or how it is to be accomplished. The Pope, Lord Halifax, Rev. Hugh Price Hughes have widely differing views as to the principles or essentials of Unity. Submission is the papal demand. The acceptance of the apostolical succession is the prime essential of the kind of Anglicanism that is represented by Lord Halifax and the English Church Union. Federation upon a footing of equality, without any question about validity of orders, is Mr. Price Hughes' proposition. No thoughtful person will deny that these are serious differences which can only be reduced to unity by continued discussion. The main features of any helpful consideration of this question must in my judgment be (1) Absolute candor, combined with the largest charity, and (2) A sincere love of truth. We have outstripped the time when vague generalities will suffice. The subject in its general aspects has been so fully discussed that people are beginning to say, "We all agree that Unity is desirable, but

we want you to convince us that it is possible and to give us some idea as to how it is to be accomplished."

Now, I do not pretend to be able to meet such a demand as this, but I should like these lectures to be regarded as a contribution towards actual Unity, and shall therefore take it for granted that we are all agreed that what has been well called the present state of organized disunion is wrong, and that some form of Unity is to be earnestly desired. Upon the basis of this assumed agreement it is proposed to discuss the following subjects. In the present lecture "The Movement towards Unity" will be considered. The second will be devoted to the question, "What is the goal of the Christian Church?" In the third we shall ask and try to answer the question, "What is Christian Unity?" The fourth and fifth will be devoted to the discussion of the Historic Episcopate, and the last will be upon "The Relation between Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity."

There are to the thoughtful mind few more interesting subjects of study than the beginning, the growth and the maturity of what are called "Movements of Thought." All history may be regarded as a record of a series of movements, beginning in ideas and culminating in action, in the various spheres of human activity. Are



we interested in politics? We may contemplate the whole development of human civilization as a series of political movements. From this point of view we may study the rise and fall of the great world empires of antiquity, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Rome. How little shall we understand modern Europe without a clear notion of the political idea of the Holy Roman Empire and of the Holy Roman Church as it gradually developed during the Middle Ages. What an inadequate idea we shall have of the Reformation, if we fail to study it in connection with the political movement towards national unity, which, from the reign of Louis XI. of France, was common to Western Europe. And to-day, how can we take a sympathetic interest in the problems of government without some conception of the course of the development of Democratic ideals?

Or we may be interested in philosophy, and our study will properly commence with the history of philosophy, and it will at once become clear that the development of philosophy is closely connected with a few great names of men who originated new conceptions, and whose ideas were first imparted to their immediate disciples, and then gradually permeated the minds of a continually enlarging circle.

It is the same in art and in literature, and all

the various interests of life. It is in the study of the growth of any movement that the real nature of the object desired will be revealed, although it may often be difficult to disentangle the accidents from the essentials of the movement.

The idea of Christian Unity is not new. It is as old as the Gospel, and it has never been entirely lost. Circumstances have rendered it necessary for some to put forth a defence of disunion, but no theologian has ever developed a theory of Christian Division. The mere phrase at once strikes us as absurd, and it is interesting to notice that the principal line of defence of the present state of Christendom has been a practical denial of division. It used to be said by those who were satisfied with the present state of things, that the Christian churches were like the regiments of an army, with their various uniforms but all fighting against a common foe. That was an analogy which, so far from defending division, denied its existence. We do not often hear it now, because we all know the analogy is not a good or true analogy. An army with no more cohesion, co-operation or unity of design than the various divisions of the Christian Church, would be doomed to complete and crushing defeat as soon as it found itself opposed to a united enemy. The words

schism and heresy, expressive of division, have always been words of evil import. The word catholic, expressive of unity and universality, has always been of good import. No one wishes to be called a schismatic; we all like to be considered catholic. Divisions have indeed been numerous in the Church almost from its earliest days, and no doubt owing to the fact that in most, perhaps in all, divisions there has been some right on the side of the separating party, divisions have often in the long-run been productive of some good. But alongside of dividing movements there have ever run movements for Unity. Oftentimes efforts were made to compose the great schism of the Greek and Roman churches,<sup>1</sup> and at the time of the Reformation many of the numerous councils or conferences proposed or actually held were, ostensibly at least, for the purpose of restoring Unity.

A list of books on Unity has been drawn up by Rev. Dr. Huntington, of New York, and appended to his interesting little work, entitled "A National Church," and a perusal of the titles and dates of publication of these shows clearly enough that the thought and hope of Unity have

<sup>1</sup> "The Greek emperors labored almost without interruption throughout the fourteenth century to effect a union of the two divided churches."—Gieseler's "Eccl. Hist., IV.," p. 263.

never been wholly absent from the minds of pious and charitable men.

At the same time it is true that the circumstances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not lend themselves to the encouragement of a movement towards Unity. The seeds were sown but they failed to germinate, for they fell into a soil unprepared for their reception. Religion both in England and on the Continent was too closely allied to politics, and after the fierceness of the civil strife in England in the seventeenth century died away, it was naturally succeeded by a period of lethargy. But in the present century circumstances are vastly changed amongst English-speaking peoples. In England itself, the entire abolition of tests and other disabilities under which Nonconformity groaned, has issued in a state of religious freedom that would amaze our ancestors, whilst on this continent there has sprung up a vast population of men and women, who live for the most part in much peace and charity in the different communions wherein they were born or which they may elect to join. Whilst this is very far from being Unity, yet it is a state of things favorable to the promotion of Unity, and hence it is not unnatural that our century should see not merely the publication of a few books on

Unity, but the birth and growth of a popular movement towards Unity.

But there are deeper grounds for this movement than the decline of controversy or the growth of religious liberty, and to these I wish to ask your close attention, for in them I believe we shall find a convincing demonstration that the movement towards Unity is no merely transitory wave of feeling, but is a genuine development, the necessary outcome, of the circumstances of our time, which cannot therefore be stayed or turned aside until it has reached its appointed goal. For Unity is the key-note of our age. It is true that at first sight the facts appear to contradict the assertion. A thoughtful writer indeed declares that the distinguishing characteristic of the nineteenth century would be best expressed by the word disintegration. "Every human institution," says he, "political or religious; every scheme of thought, philosophical, theological or scientific; every fabric of long accredited belief or tradition; whatever product of human reason or practical exigency, in short, that can claim, apparently or really, characteristics of growth and fixity, has either undergone, or is in process of undergoing, the most searching investigation and vivisection."<sup>2</sup> This is perfectly true. The age is an age of criticism.

<sup>2</sup> Owen's "Essay on the Christian Ministry."

Nothing is too sacred to escape the trying process of nineteenth century tests. And at first sight the result seems to be the opposite of Unity. Authority which has been the basis of political and ecclesiastical unity, has been tried in the balances and found wanting. The authority not only of kings, of popes, of bishops, but even the authority of the Bible seems to have been overthrown. What strong and stable foundation of authority can be found upon which to erect the superstructure of a united society?<sup>3</sup>

But a closer examination of the phenomena of the time will convince us that this critical, disintegrating process is only the necessary prelude to the reconstruction of such elements as pass unscathed through the fiery trial, into a unity that shall be vastly more inspiring, enduring and beneficent than anything that has preceded it, just because it will be the unity of mankind upon a higher plane of development and civilization than has been hitherto achieved.

Look, for example, at philosophy. The problem it sets itself to-day is to discover some one principle from which all things may be explained. Philosophy abhors division. It is con-

<sup>3</sup> The subject of authority is a difficult one. Reference may be made to a lucid discussion of the various kinds of authority in the Bishop of Ripon's "Christian Rennion." Address II.

vinced that there is some one fundamental essence at the root of all things, and it has an inextinguishable conviction that, even though human reason can never fully solve the problem of the universe, yet it can continually approach its solution.

Or turn to the sphere of science. It is not inconceivable that there should be "gods many and lords many." Polytheism is inconceivable to us to-day, but there seems to be nothing essentially irrational in it. Yet every discovery in the world of nature only strengthens our conviction that albeit the variety of manifestations of energy is infinite, yet one life, one energy pervades that organism, so that despite the manifold diversity of nature, we have no difficulty in asserting its unity. The world of nature is a harmony, and just as music was almost infinitely enriched by the discovery of the laws of harmony, the tuneful blending of various notes, so it is perfectly clear to us that the beauty, the interest and the value of nature are almost infinitely increased by its infinite variety, which none the less springs from one fount of energy, and works towards common and mutually advantageous ends.

Or if we turn to the study of mankind, either in the comparatively insignificant spot of earth where we reside, or in the pages of history, we

find ample illustration of the same truth. We are increasingly realizing the unity of human nature that underlies all the varieties of human activity. How different are the capacities, the tastes, the virtues, the vices, the prejudices, of even the first hundred people you meet on the street. How much more of a thousand millions, no two of whom are exactly alike. Yet we rightly speak of a common ground, which we call human nature, out of which all this variety springs. Unity in variety is surely one of the great lessons history is teaching us more plainly every day.

In the world of politics again, the nations are becoming united. It is growing more and more difficult for two countries to go to war with each other. Something of the deep sentiment for Unity, something of the real yearning of humanity for peace that is imbedded in the human heart, has been manifested in the swift and enthusiastic reception of the idea of Anglo-American Unity, an idea which must assuredly bring forth rich fruits. Without being too sanguine in the face of the armaments of Europe, we may certainly hold that the day is steadily approaching when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Or, to give one more example of the move-

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ment towards Unity, any one who seeks to look below the surface of things and to discern the direction of the noiseless currents of influence, can scarcely doubt that Unity is being silently promoted by the astonishing inventions which in our century have revolutionized our means of locomotion and communication. The measurement of space by miles is now a misleading measurement. Space should rather be measured by time. It is not necessary to dwell upon these changes. I need but mention the railway, the steamship, the telegraph and the telephone. By these the most remote parts of the world have been brought close together. Travel and acquaintance with other peoples is slowly but surely breaking down national prejudices and preparing the way for an impartial study of other methods, other tastes, other ideals than our own. Mutual knowledge will bring in its train mutual respect; mutual respect will breed mutual tolerance. When prejudices are broken down, the best things by their intrinsic worth become predominant. Are there any of us so faithless as to doubt that Christianity alone is the universal religion, and that when prejudice is slain the truth will prevail?

The consideration of these and similar phenomena of our age will, I think, convince us that Christian Unity, regarded as a movement,

is but the religious aspect of the characteristic feature of our age. It is, therefore, the very reverse of a fad, by which we understand the crotchet or whim of an individual or of a few individuals. Judged by the analogy of nature as it is understood in the science of the nineteenth century, judged by the tendencies of the times in things called secular, Christian Unity is revealed as the movement of supreme importance in the sphere of theological thought and in the corresponding sphere of practical religion. Many years ago Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a volume which contains his noblest utterances—the “Lectures on the Study of History”—said: “The Reunion of Christendom is likely at last to become a practical aim. Probably it would be a greater service to humanity, on philosophical as well as religious grounds, to contribute the smallest unit towards this consummation than to construct the most perfect demonstration of the free personality of man. As things are, rationalism and fatalistic reveries may be laboriously confuted, but amidst the energies and aspirations of a regenerated Christendom, they would spontaneously pass away.”

But at this point it may be fairly asked, Admitting that there is such a movement as you have described, what has it so far accomplished? In dealing with this very natural question, I

must ask you to bear in mind that the really great movements of thought or action must in the nature of the case proceed slowly. Where vast bodies of men are interested, where old historic societies, built up through the course of many years, are likely to be deeply affected, we may expect to find a strong conservative sentiment. Men do not wish to endanger the security of the established order of things until they are sure something better will take its place, and even though they may all agree that something better has been proposed, they will want to feel reasonably sure that the proposal can be carried into effect before they are prepared to act. Provided that there is progress, we ought by no means to feel discouraged that it is slow. What progress, then, can we discern in the Christian Unity Movement?

1. Consider in the first place the significance of the papal encyclicals on Christian Unity. Whatever doctrinal or other objections we may take to the Roman Church, we none of us deny that she has a genius for government and a remarkable appreciation of signs of the times. The issue of encyclicals on Christian Unity is a sure proof that the Church of Rome notes with interest the Christian Unity Movement, and regards it as genuine.

2. Of greater practical importance than papal

encyclicals is the movement which has resulted in the union of the various branches of two of the great religious communions of Canada. In this respect Canada is in advance of the older countries. There is no longer an Old Kirk or a Free Kirk in Canadian Presbyterianism, but there is one great Presbyterian Church. Equally successful has been the Unity Movement among the Methodists. A Methodist minister told me some months ago, that Canadian Methodism had little to learn from English Methodism, and there can be no doubt that the union of the various branches of Methodism has greatly conduced to its strength in our country. "In 1873 there were six Methodist churches in Canada: the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Eastern Provinces, the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Ontario and Quebec—two churches historically and organically separate—the Methodist New Connexion Church in Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada and the Bible Christian Church. . . . In 1873 a plan for union was adopted by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Upper and Lower Canada, by the New Connexion Methodist Conference, and by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of the Eastern Provinces. . . . In 1884 the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the Bible

Christian Church, and the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada merged themselves into the larger Church."<sup>4</sup>

3. Other eirenic movements that may be noted, are the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846; of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, and the American Bible Society in 1816. There can be no doubt that these societies have done and still do a valuable work in uniting for common objects members of various denominations. But they are doing but little towards organic union. The Evangelical Alliance, for example, is, to use Mr. Hugh Price Hughes' words, "merely a fortuitous concourse of evangelical individuals who meet together occasionally to say that they love one another, and who also render some excellent service in speaking a kind word for persecuted Protestants on the Continent. All honor to those who started that Alliance half a century ago; it was all of which men were then capable, and it was very much more than any of their predecessors could have done since the sixteenth century. But it falls far short of the union we desire." The Christian Unity Movement of to-day aims at more than the co-operation of individual Christians of various denominations;

<sup>4</sup> "Lectures on Christian Unity." Published by Scribners' Sons.

it aims at the co-operation and fellowship of the denominations themselves.

4. The Church of England has been by no means behindhand in these movements. The so-called "Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral"<sup>5</sup> offers liberal proposals of communion to the various denominations, and is incidentally a striking revelation of the large measure of unity already existing. It was scarcely to be expected that the Historic Episcopate would be accepted right off by Presbyterians, Methodists or Congregationalists, more especially as the exact relationship of the Episcopate to the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Church is in dispute amongst Anglican theologians themselves, but it was no mean achievement to bring conspicuously to light the fact that, with regard to three of the four sides of the quadrilateral, there was already substantial agreement. We can hardly suppose there are many who hold the particular form of church government of equal importance with the faith in Holy Scriptures, the acceptance of the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of our Christian faith, or the recognition of the two great evangelical sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Thus the circle of substantial agreement is very much larger than the circle of disagreement.

5. Such are some of the practical results of the Unity Movement. It only remains to notice one feature of the times, which perhaps may appear to some to partake of the theoretical rather than of the practical, but which appears to me to be the most hopeful of all. I refer to what may be called the Cosmopolitanism of Theology.

It is but a short time since every important denomination used as text-books the commentaries on Scripture or the theological works of scholars of their own denomination and of no other. In a Church of England college you would have found Church of England text-books; in a Presbyterian college, Presbyterian text-books, and so on. To-day the first question that is asked concerning a writer is not, is he an Anglican, Presbyterian or Methodist, but is he a genuine scholar, is he a real thinker, is he an honest, sincere and devout man, and it is only after these questions have been answered that we proceed to ask what his denomination may be. These remarks do not, of course, apply to books upon the distinctive doctrines of the various denominations, but they refer to all kinds of works upon the Holy Scriptures, and as the Holy Scriptures are in all reformed bodies the final criterion of Christian doctrine, you can at once see how unity in the study of

Scripture must tend to unity of interpretation and unity of mind. Consider in this connection the significance of such a publication as the "International Commentary on the Bible." Of this great work some eight volumes have been published, and have been received with a chorus of approbation by the leading religious reviews. No one doubts that this work represents the high-water mark of Biblical interpretation. But it is not the undertaking of any one church, nor even of the scholars of any one country. Here are Scotchmen, Irishmen, Englishmen and Americans; here are Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists united in one of the greatest theological enterprises of the day. "The Commentaries," say the editors, "will be international and interconfessional, and will be free from polemical and ecclesiastical bias." In other words, they are undenominational. But undenominationalism is by many supposed to be the weak, boneless, nerveless residuum of theology that remains after all that is vital has been carefully eliminated. How many of those who despise undenominationalism have ever really examined it? How many use the expression as a shibboleth to stir up a temporary manifestation of zeal for their own Church? If undenominationalism is an altogether bad thing, it must be most injurious in relation to the Holy



Scriptures? Undenominationalism, if it be the feeble, shapeless jelly-fish, which it is sometimes said to be, will be most feeble, most shapeless, most harmful when it deals with Holy Scripture. Be undenominational, if you will, on the platform of a revival; be undenominational, if you will, in works of charity, on hospital or poor-house boards, but when the fount of all doctrine is to be studied, beware of so dealing with it that, for the sake of an imaginary and delusive unity, you sacrifice its very vitals!

Such is the language we might expect to hear from those who denounce sometimes in terms of the utmost contempt undenominationalism. But, as a matter of fact, one is glad to say that no such language has been heard regarding the "International Commentary." It cannot be that the distinguished scholars who are engaged in this work are all jelly-fish theologians, nor that they would co-operate in any scheme for the emasculation of the truths of the Holy Scripture. But if this be so, then consider whether, if men *can* unite for the common study and interpretation of the sources of their faith, there is any good reason why they should not co-operate for the promotion of the faith that is drawn from those sources. If we have inter-denominationalism, if we have a kind of federation for study, and if the results of that

federation are pronounced good, why should we not have federation for action? Remember that all action springs out of thought. At the back of deeds lie ideas. Is it not then a significant and hopeful movement towards Unity that is revealed in this quiet union of men of many denominations in the interpretation of the Word of God?

But this is not all. You may perhaps say, we can understand people uniting in this way to produce a commentary. It is when we come to history and doctrine that differences are revealed. Well, the same publishing house which is issuing the "International Commentary," some years before commenced the issue of what is called "The International Theological Library." In addition to the American, English, Scotch and Irish scholars of the Commentary, we may notice in this list the name of a German, Caspar Gregory, Professor in the University of Leipzig. And the subjects which this Library deals with are such as the following: "The Apostolic Church," "History of Christian Doctrine," "Christian Institutions," "The Theology of the Old Testament," "Theology of the New Testament," "The Ancient Catholic Church," "The Latin Church," and so on. I do not for a moment wish to lead you to suppose that on these varied subjects there are not grave differences of

opinion amongst the writers themselves, or that these books will supersede all others. But is it not a remarkable thing that such a body of scholars can unite together in such labors as these? Can there be a more hopeful augury of practical unity in the future, than what we may call this theoretical unity in the present?

I said at the outset of this lecture that I believed that the time was come for very plain speaking. What, then, in plain language, do these theological undertakings—and there are others of a similar kind, such as the Expositor's Bible, and the Theological Educator Series—indicate? Unless in principle they are altogether wrong, they indicate that the denominational differences of the great reformed bodies are of very much less importance than we have supposed. What we call distinctive doctrines do not, in the light of the nineteenth century intelligence, justify the divisions of to-day. We understand as our forefathers did not understand, how various are the minds and the spirits of men and women. We know that it is due to difference in spiritual constitution that one man is saved by ritual, another by preaching. We know that one man is constitutionally a rationalist, his mind imperatively insisting upon a reason for every faith that is in him, whilst the mystic, on the other hand, only asks to feel. We

know that one man is by nature a predestinarian and another an Arminian. We know that there are mysteries of life, and there are corresponding mysteries of faith which the finite mind cannot perfectly comprehend, because they belong to the region of the infinite. And knowing these things which our fathers did not and could not know, because it is from their experience that we have learnt them, let us plainly say that our distinctive doctrines about predestination and free-will, about sacramental grace, about the externals of church organization and about forms of worship, do not justify division; that they are distinctions not incompatible with unity—distinctions which will probably always exist, but will not always divide. I do not profess to be a Utopian. I am not holding up for your eyes the prospect of a Golden Age when every one will think alike and worship alike. I am not sure that that would be a Golden Age at all. Controversy there will always be, for, as has been well said, "Truth is struck out in the clash of conflicting opinions." But I do ask you as sensible, thoughtful men and women, to consider whether in our day it ought not to be possible to realize a unity which should include schools of thought and varieties of worship. Is not such a unity in principle, at least, expressed in these great words of St. Paul: "There are

diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings but the same God, who worketh all things in all."

In concluding this lecture let me try and suggest a practical answer to a practical question. What is to be your attitude, what is the true attitude of the intelligent layman and laywoman to this movement towards Unity? A thoughtful writer<sup>6</sup> in the *New York Churchman* says: "It is sometimes foolishly imagined that Church Unity is a problem for the clergy to work out, and that if all the ministers in the world could agree on some common basis of belief, that would end the matter, and the millennium would be forthwith inaugurated. Nothing could well be more absurd. The vast body of the laity have quite as vital a part to play in the movement towards Unity as the clergy. Their intelligent co-operation must be enlisted ere the movement is thrilled with that passionate enthusiasm which should mark it out from all other ambitions of men. The conviction that Unity is the will of God must lay hold of the common folk. People must be shaken out of complacency and contentment with the existing state of things." With these sentiments I am in

<sup>6</sup> John Ridd, January 29th, 1898.

entire accord. This question of Unity is one which all may take an interest in, because it is one which affects us all. It is partly a theological question, and doubtless some fine questions of history or doctrine must be threshed out by professional theologians. But it is in a far greater degree a practical question. And in so far as it is a practical question it behooves all to take a practical interest in it. There was a time when theology was a subject of interest to lay people as well as the clergy. Let me remind you that St. Paul's epistles were written not to clergymen or to theological students, but to lay men and women, the congregations of the various churches he established. But in recent years the laity have, in a continually increasing measure, left theology to the clergy. And so far as theology is merely theoretical or critical, it is as well that it should be so. But such a question as this of Christian Unity combines in fairly equal proportions the theoretical and the practical. And therefore I appeal to all to take an interest in it and to seek to inform themselves in regard to the principal issues at stake.

It will be one object of these addresses to state as clearly as possible these issues. "What was the object which our Saviour had in view in inaugurating the Church?" That surely is a fundamental question to which every one should

be able to give some reply. You do not belong to the Freemasons, or the Foresters, or the Odd-fellows without knowing what the object of that society may be. "What is Christian Unity?" A question in hot debate, but one which you may and ought to study; and while I would advocate an open mind always free to receive fresh light, still I would also say that every one ought to have his own conception of Christian Unity. The importance of the discussion of the Historic Episcopate must be obvious to every one. And albeit our last lecture on "The Relations of Ecclesiastical and Political History" is less obviously connected with Christian Unity, I trust it will be made clear that in reality its connection is very close. The attitude, then, of the laity to this question may be summed up in these words:

1. Sympathy. You must not say, "My Church is good enough for me; it will take me to heaven quite well. I do not interfere or care to interfere with others." You are, if a servant and disciple of Jesus Christ, interested in the things that interested Him, and bound to promote the object which He sought to promote. He did not come merely to make it easy for you to get to heaven. He came to save the world. He came to establish the kingdom of heaven, and

every day you pray in His own words for the coming of that kingdom *upon earth*.

2. Study. You have not much time, perhaps. But you have some. There are books small and books great on this subject. Or sermons and lectures are delivered upon it. Or you can talk it over with others who have studied it. There is no question, about which a man is really interested, on which he cannot find information and arrive at some approximate solution.

3. Prayer. How much of our prayer is but for ourselves and our particular needs! How little for the world at large! Brethren, sometimes lift up your hearts, it may be in the church, it may be in the privacy of your own rooms, it may be in some quiet walk, but wherever it may be, sometimes lift up your hearts to God and say, "O my Father, reveal to me what is Thy will for all mankind. Let me not be wrapped up only in my own selfish purposes, but grant unto me that I may know and love Thy will for others." Read over that most beautiful of prayers, the prayer of our Saviour in St. John xvii. If you knew what were the aspirations of Jesus, would you not desire to forward their realization—would you not for once forget your own self, your own soul, your own needs, and cry with a St. Paul, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Well, brethren, here is the



aspiration of the Saviour: "I pray for them which thou hast given me. . . . Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word. That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

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## LECTURE II.

### *THE GOAL OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.*

IN any effective discussion of Christian Unity it is impossible to overlook the question of the nature of the Christian Church. What is the Church? is a question which at some time or another exercises the minds of most religious persons. It is one to which the Roman, the Greek, the Anglican, the Presbyterian and the Congregationalist give different answers. Here, as elsewhere, the Anglican Church permits of a wide diversity of opinion amongst her members, and if I held that any one of the religious communities which together compose Christendom was entitled to claim, to the exclusion of all others, that it was the Church, then the course of these lectures would be very different from what it is. But I do not believe that this is the case, nor does the Anglican Church put forth such a claim. But it is not proposed to attempt to answer the question, "What is the Church?" in this lecture, but rather to go behind this question and ask another, viz., "What is

the goal of the Church?" What is the aim and object of the Church as revealed in the life and words of the Head of the Church, and in the writings of the Apostles which form a part of the canonical Scriptures?

The perennial importance of the question lies in this consideration. Any one who has ever studied the history of organized bodies, knows how fatal is the tendency amongst their members as years roll on to forget the objects of the society in the mere effort to keep the society going. Or where those objects are not altogether forgotten, they are oftentimes degraded from a primary to a secondary position. The proportion of the faith is destroyed. Things that are first are often put second, and things that are of but secondary importance are put first. The Church, if I may assume a part of the answer to the question before us to be more fully unfolded as we proceed, exists as a means to the accomplishment of the brotherhood of man. Has she never forgotten that object? "Vast sections of our great cities, where hundreds of thousands of men, women and children live and die, are as nearly devoid of any opportunity for Christian worship, as nearly desolate of the consolations and helps of the Christian religion as if they were in the heart of the African desert."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Crapsey, "A Voice in the Wilderness," p. 26.

Has she never degraded it from its primary position to a secondary? Has she never appeared to the world as an exclusive or aristocratic society? Has she never, either in whole or in some of her parts, sacrificed the fellowship of brethren for the sake of some unessential or secondary doctrine? This fatal tendency of societies to get astray from the main track of destiny, to forget true ends, to disregard the relative importance of various truths, is illustrated in the Jewish Church in the time of our Saviour. It brought Him into violent collision with the churchmen of His day. It had much, perhaps most, to do with His persecution and rejection by that church. And in dealing with it in the forms in which this tendency came before Him, our Lord, as so often in other cases, laid bare by illustration the true principle by which all societies created for the good of mankind may be tested. The question concerned the nature of the Sabbath. When the Jews violently opposed the attitude of Jesus towards the Sabbath, He uttered those memorable words, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The Jews thought otherwise. They had turned a great truth upside down. In their zeal for an institution they opposed the very objects for which the institution was established. The institution was not an end in itself

it was a means to an end. The end was the spiritual welfare of man. So here at the outset we may lay down as the guiding principle in our discussion of the goal of the Christian Church this saying, "The Church was made for man, and not man for the Church."

The end of any society will always be clearly revealed in its beginning. This is perfectly natural, and, indeed, inevitable. The society is called into existence for some one supreme object. The achievement of that object is its goal. Between the beginning and the end, between aspiration and accomplishment there may intervene a long period of time, and as the society grows more and more complex, as a multitude of subsidiary objects come into view, the supreme object of the society may be forgotten or lost to view, and then when we awake to the fact that the society is somehow or other not accomplishing its true task, the appeal of the prophet is heard, "Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye were digged." This is both the meaning and the justification of the frequent appeal to the past, to the Reformation, it may be, or to the fourth century, or to the primitive church. But to find the goal of the Church we must go further back than this. We must go back to the Church's Founder, and we

must study His work and His words, in order that we may discover His mind and intention regarding the Church.

I. The first and, throughout His life, the main object of the teaching of Jesus was the kingdom of heaven. What did our Lord seek to convey to the minds of His hearers by the use of this expression? It was no new term. John the Baptist came preaching the near approach of the kingdom of heaven, and his generation flocked out in multitudes to hear him. But neither was it new when John used it. That he was a subject of a kingdom, and that that kingdom was the kingdom of heaven or the kingdom of God, was a familiar idea to every Jew. The Book of Exodus records how at the outset of this people's career Moses was commissioned to tell them that they were to be to God "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." The idea of the kingdom of Jehovah runs through the whole of the Old Testament,<sup>2</sup> and is especially prominent in the Book of Psalms.<sup>3</sup> The fall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, so far from involving the destruction of the Jewish faith in the kingdom, proved the starting point of a

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Edersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," I. 265.

<sup>3</sup> For the Old Testament conceptions of the kingdom of heaven and the King, cf. Riehm's "Messianic Prophecy."

new and more spiritual conception amongst the prophets.<sup>4</sup> But the spiritual ideas of the prophets were materialized in the popular faith. The Jews, when Jesus came, expected from the Messiah deliverance from the Roman yoke and the restoration of the earthly kingdom of David. Hence the excitement that followed upon the preaching of John. Hence the multitudes that followed Christ. Hence, alas! their rejection of Him when His idea of the kingdom proved so different from theirs.

It is not easy to give a short definition of the expression, "The kingdom of heaven," as used by Christ, for He did not always employ it in the same sense. Edersheim tells us that it occurs no less than one hundred and nineteen times in the New Testament, chiefly in the first three gospels. He makes it equivalent to "the rule of God; which was manifested in and through Christ; is apparent in the Church; gradually develops amidst hindrances; is triumphant at the second coming of Christ; and finally, perfected in the world to come."<sup>5</sup> Wendt describes the kingdom as preached by Jesus, as "the idea of a divine dispensation under which God would bestow His full salvation upon a society of men who, on their part, should fulfil

<sup>4</sup> *E. g.*, Isaiah ii. 1ff.

<sup>5</sup> Edersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus," I. 270.

His will in true righteousness."<sup>6</sup> More striking is the definition found in Grimm's Lexicon of New Testament Greek, where we read that "Jesus employed the phrase, kingdom of God, or heaven, to indicate that perfect order of things which He was about to establish, in which all those of every nation who should believe in Him were to be gathered together in one society, dedicated and intimately united to God and made partakers of eternal salvation."<sup>7</sup>

But Jesus not merely preached the kingdom of heaven. He declared that it was the Gospel. "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the Gospel."<sup>8</sup> Remember that in those days "Gospel" was not yet a technical term. It means "good news." What the word Gospel meant to Jesus, then, was "the good news of the kingdom of God." "Repent," or more literally, "Change your minds," cried He, "and believe the good news." So in St. Matthew iv. 23, we read that Jesus went about all Galilee announcing the good news of the kingdom. And at the end of His earthly course He declared that "the good news of the kingdom shall be preached

<sup>6</sup> Wendt, "The Teaching of Jesus," I. 175.

<sup>7</sup> Thayer's "Grimm's Lexicon," *sub βασιλεία*.

<sup>8</sup> St. Mark i. 14.



in the whole world for a testimony unto all nations."<sup>9</sup>

The authorities quoted above are, it will be observed, agreed that by the "Kingdom of heaven" a society is intended. The Gospel, then, in the mind of Jesus, is essentially social. Whether the kingdom be visible or invisible, whether governed by popes, bishops, presbyters, kings, or parliaments, it is a society. In the light of this conception the prevalent idea of the meaning of the word Gospel is seen to be incomplete. Thus, in popular phrase, a Gospel preacher is one who comes exhorting to conversion and faith. That is part of the truth, but only part. Jesus called the Gospel the preaching of the kingdom. You have not, brethren, fully brought yourselves within the sphere of salvation until you have become members of the kingdom. You may have repented, you may have believed—two essential steps—but your regeneration is not complete until you have enrolled yourselves in the kingdom of heaven.

It is when we get thus far that the very difficult question of the relation of the Church to the kingdom of heaven calls for an answer. Some people would identify the two. They would say, Whatever the Church is, whether it be Roman, Greek, Presbyterian, Anglican or

<sup>9</sup> St. Matthew xxiv. 14.

Congregational, or all of them together, the kingdom of heaven is simply the equivalent of the Church. A close examination of our Saviour's language will not, I believe, justify this idea. In the mind of Jesus the kingdom of heaven appears to have been an ideal. But it is an ideal which embodies itself in the Church,<sup>10</sup> but not perfectly nor all at once, in such a sense that the two can be identified, or in such a sense that the actual existing Church may not be contrasted with the ideal of the kingdom of heaven. The ideal of Jesus bears a similar relation to the historical church that the architect's plan of a cathedral bears to the cathedral in the course of erection. No doubt in due time the cathedral may be completed, but meantime in its various stages it would appear to one who knew nothing of plans, to be first a mere hole in the ground, then a number of apparently separate parts. Is this the cathedral? you ask. And the answer is, No: it is only the cathedral in course of erection. And so when men look at the Church they may cry, Is this the kingdom of God? And the answer is, No; it is only the kingdom in course of realization. And just as the contractors or workmen make mistakes in carrying out the plan of the cathedral, so that the architect has

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hort, "Ecclesia," p. 19.

to order this or that piece to be pulled down and reconstructed, just so is it with the Church of Christ. It is liable to corruption, and sometimes needs reformation.

And this brings us to the vexed question of the visible Church. Is the true Church visible, or is it invisible? Around this question a violent controversy has raged. The idea of an invisible Church as distinct from the visible Church is modern. It is not found in the Bible, it is not found in the early Church, nor in the mediæval Church. It belongs to the Reformation period. And this is what it meant to the reformers. "Within the visible Church we might conceive to exist a body of the saints, persons not only communicating with the outward Church, but moreover really sanctified in heart, who not only now partook of Church privileges, but would forever reign with Christ. These formed the invisible Church, whom none knew but God, whereas the visible Church was composed of faithful and sanctified, of tares and wheat."<sup>11</sup>

Now, whilst it is true that there is a distinction between tares and wheat, between the insincere and the sincere members of the Church, we have no authority for applying to the whole body of the truly faithful such an

<sup>11</sup> Browne, on the Articles, p. 453.

expression as the invisible Church, and the doing so has had the injurious effect of leading the reformed bodies to depreciate the visible Church, and finally to arrive at an altogether false conception of the Church. I do not mean that this absolutely false conception is to be found in the theological text-books of the reformed churches, but it is almost universal in the minds of their members. Amongst Protestants the Church sinks into an altogether subordinate place. It becomes a convenient arrangement whereby a great number of people can be preached to at once, or whereby those who hold similar views may unite together. It is a human arrangement; it is Anglican, or Methodist, or Presbyterian, or Baptist, or Congregationalist. Of a Holy Catholic Church there is no conception. Again, I repeat, I am speaking of the popular idea, not of the theological as found in technical theological books.

On the other hand, Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic are not to be held without responsibility for this view of the visible Church. They have regarded the visible Church as the exact equivalent of the kingdom of heaven, whereas the visible Church is the ideal kingdom of heaven in course of realization, but not perfectly realized. The Anglo-

Catholic sometimes forgets that the visible Church may become corrupted, may depart from the architect's plan, and that protest against corruption, if ineffectual, must result in schism, and the sin of schism rests with the corrupt. "If you turn in another direction, and dwell upon the rise and progress of Nonconformity, there can be no question at all—it is, in fact, hardly questioned—that it was due in the past not to any spirit of schism, but, at least, in the great majority of instances, to the fact that the Anglican Church was not behaving as the true mother of the people."<sup>12</sup> The work of transforming the ideal kingdom of heaven into the visible, realized Church of the living God upon earth is committed to the hands of men who are fallible and imperfect. Sometimes they grow careless, sometimes they neglect their plans, sometimes they become self-seeking, and therefore schism may become inevitable; and albeit not contemplated in the ideal, it is yet possible that there may be several bodies working more or less separately and yet not without claim to the title Church.

I would, therefore, ask my High Church brother to reconsider his identification of the visible Church as it is, or ever has been, with the kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, I

<sup>12</sup> Gore, "The Mission of the Church," p. 82.

appeal to the Protestant to consider whether he has not degraded below the level of that Scripture to which he makes his final appeal, the idea and the doctrine of the visible Church. That it has been degraded, a great many evangelical Christians are beginning to see. I might quote from the late Professor Milligan's "Resurrection of our Lord," and would earnestly commend to all earnest people the sixth lecture of that admirable work, but I would prefer to quote the words of a former president of the Methodist Conference in England. The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, speaking not as an individual, but as the spokesman of a new movement for uniting more closely the various Nonconformist bodies in England, says: "The leaders of this movement deeply realize that what the evangelical churches in this country need, perhaps, more than anything else is a definite, positive and scriptural conception of the Christian Church." What it is that the evangelical churches need is more precisely contained in the following words: "We hold as strongly as any that Christ came into the world not merely and not mainly to save individual men, but to establish a Church, and the Church He established is obviously a visible Church. Baptism, the sacrament of initiation, cannot be administered by or to an invisible Church. The Holy Communion, the

perpetually renewed sacrament of membership, is equally inapplicable to an invisible Church. We repudiate the modern dangerous delusion that religion is simply a matter between a man and his Maker. The Christian religion has at every stage relation to our fellowmen as well as to God our Saviour. The highest and richest blessings of personal sanctification are offered not to the individual who isolates himself from his brother Christians, but to the Christian Church."<sup>13</sup>

In concluding this part of the subject, let me repeat that the visible Church is the kingdom of heaven of our Lord's teaching in course of realization, but not yet realized and whilst through the imperfection of its members it may perhaps have been divided, yet Unity (and what Unity is falls to be considered later) is an essential mark of the realized ideal. For in the same passage in which St. Paul bids his readers endeavor to preserve the unity of the spirit, he asserts that there is one body.<sup>14</sup> Mr. Price Hughes, therefore, well says, "All the churches will ultimately realize that visible Unity for which our Lord prayed, and which is the essential preliminary of the final and universal triumph of Christianity."

<sup>13</sup> *The Contemporary Review*, August, 1897.

<sup>14</sup> Ephesians iv. 4.

II. From this discussion of the relation of the kingdom of heaven of our Lord's teaching to the visible Church upon earth, it follows that albeit they are not to be identified, yet they have a common goal. Now, the goal of the Church must be sought in the teaching of Jesus, and the sum total of the teaching of Jesus regarding the kingdom of heaven is admirably expressed in the definition I have already quoted from Thayer's Lexicon: "Jesus employed the phrase, kingdom of God, or kingdom of heaven, to indicate that perfect order of things which He was about to establish, in which all those of every nation who should believe in Him were to be gathered together in one society, dedicated and intimately united to God and made partakers of eternal salvation."

From this definition I take two clauses upon which to comment. (a) "All those of every nation who should believe in Him." What is the picture those words present to our minds? Is it not of a greater or less number of people who individually enter into a relationship with Jesus Christ described by the word "Faith"? In other words, this first clause, "all those of every nation who should believe in Him," expresses the individualistic side of the Gospel. You know how much talk there is to-day about individualism and socialism, about



the individualist and the socialist. Individualism has had a great day, but it has fallen into some little disrepute. But it is perfectly true that Christianity has its individualistic aspect. "What must I do to be saved?" is an important question. Each man must have a personal faith, a personal conviction, must recognize his individual duties and responsibilities, must come out from the world and become one of those "who in every nation believe in Christ." The kingdom of heaven, then, is composed of individuals. (b) The second clause which I take to comment upon is that which immediately follows the first. Those individuals who out of every nation believe in Him, what are they to do next? They are "to be gathered together in one society." Bear in mind that this is not a theologian's clause. It is not written in the interests of Roman Catholicism, or Anglicanism, or Socialism. It is taken from the most scientific and least emotional or partisan kind of book—a dictionary. The whole aim of the writer is to give the most perfect possible definition of the kingdom of heaven as used by Jesus himself. It is, then, the mind of Jesus, the will of Jesus, the design of Jesus, that all those who believe in Him should be gathered together in one society. Here, then, is the expression of the social side of the Gospel, which

it must plainly be said has been largely overlooked in popular Protestantism. The great aim of religious effort has been to convert the individual soul, to bring it in direct relationship with God. It has in only a very slight degree sought to gather the converted souls into the one society. Indeed, it has been indifferent to the society. It has not cared that the society itself is no longer in any practical sense one. But the Gospel, remember, is the good news about the kingdom of heaven. It has its individual side, because men are individuals; but it has its social side, also, because man is a social animal, who cannot possibly work out his own salvation in isolation, but is at every point dependent upon his brother man.

It may be doubted whether the individual ideals set before men were ever higher than to-day. It may be doubted whether there was ever a larger proportion of earnest and good-living individuals than there are to-day. Yet we are told again and again that the social order is decaying, that social corruption is deep-seated in the body politic, that a social revolution may at any day involve our modern civilization in an unparalleled strife and bloodshed. Do not these facts bear out my contention that Protestantism has been strong on the individualistic side and weak on the social side? Do they not indicate

that the prime need of to-day is the frank admission that we have been one-sided in our presentation of the Gospel, that we have overlooked much of our Saviour's teaching, and that if we are to save society we must "raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and raise up his ruins, and build it as in the days of old: that we may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all the heathen which are called by the name of the Lord" ?<sup>15</sup>

When our Saviour came, one of the prime sources of joy to issue from His advent was declared to be that the poor should have the Gospel preached to them.<sup>16</sup> Why was the "good tidings" to be especially joyful to the poor? Have we not sometimes supposed that the words meant that they need no longer mind their poverty, or the oppression under which they then groaned, or their lack of opportunity to enjoy life, because there was revealed a world of bliss hereafter? But this was also revealed to the rich. This is not the peculiar Gospel of the poor. This interpretation seems to be altogether wrong. What, then, does the phrase mean? The clue is to be found by recalling our Saviour's definition of the Gospel, namely, the good news of the kingdom of heaven set up on

<sup>15</sup> Amos ix. 11, 12.

<sup>16</sup> St. Luke iv. 18.

earth. That was, or ought to have been, good news to the poor, telling them of a society wherein they had equal rights and privileges with the rich, in which the wealth of the rich, the strength of the strong, the learning of the wise, were to be held, as it were, in trust for the benefit of all. Ah! have we not forgotten this interpretation? We have separated into learned churches, rich churches, and fashionable churches, and ignorant churches, squalid churches, and poor churches. And why have we done this? Because we have forgotten the social side of Christianity, the one society in which believers were to be gathered. We have taught the past, and we teach the present generation that the one thing is to save our souls. We are willing and anxious to have the souls of the poor saved, but inasmuch as we have no conception of the kingdom of heaven, we think it right and natural that the rich save souls, in their well-dressed bodies, should go to their own churches, well built, comfortably seated, with æsthetic furnishings and sensuous music; and the poor saved souls, in their ill-clad bodies, should go to the poor churches, with dingy furnishings, and no attractions to speak of. The rich man fares sumptuously every Sunday, and Lazarus lies at the gate, feeding on the crumbs that fall from his table. The Gospel in its fulness is not

preached to the poor, *i.e.*, the good news of the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

The goal of the kingdom of heaven, the goal of the holy catholic church, is a perfect order of things in which all those of every nation who should believe in Christ are to be gathered together in one society, dedicated and intimately united to God and made partakers of eternal salvation.

Let us now examine this same question of the goal of the Church from a secular point of view. We talk much of civilization. But what is civilization? We often identify it with what are really only its instruments. Emerson has somewhere said that no one has ever defined civilization, but if you will take the trouble to read the first lecture in the English translation of M. Guizot's "History of Civilization," I think you will find a perfectly clear and luminous description of the essential features of civilization.

"It appears to me," says Guizot, "that the first fact comprised in the word civilization . . . is the fact of progress, of development; it presents at once the idea of a people marching onward, not to change its place, but to change its condition.

"The idea of progress, of development, appears to me the fundamental idea of civiliza-

tion. What is this progress, what this development?

"The etymology of the word would seem to answer in a clear and satisfactory manner; it says that it is the perfecting of civil life, the development of society, properly so called, of the relations of men among themselves.

"Such is, in fact, the first idea which presents itself to the understanding when the word civilization is pronounced; we at once figure forth to ourselves the extension, the greatest activity, the best organization of the social relations—on the one hand, an increasing production of the means of giving strength and happiness to society; on the other, a more equitable distribution, amongst individuals, of the strength."

But the historian goes on to show that this development of the social relations is only one-half of civilization. There is a development other than that of the social life; there is a development of the "individual, internal life, the development of man himself, of his faculties, his sentiments, his ideas."<sup>17</sup> "Two facts are comprehended in this great fact; it subsists on two

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also Mackenzie, "An Introduction to Social Philosophy," p. 340: "We must remember that the well-being of mankind . . . consists of three main elements: (1) The subjugation of nature, (2) the perfection of social machinery, (3) personal development—and that a true progress must include advancement in all."

conditions, and manifests itself by two symptoms: the development of social activity and that of individual activity; the progress of society and the progress of humanity. Wherever the external condition of man extends itself, vivifies, and ameliorates itself; wherever the internal nature of man displays itself with lustre, with grandeur, at these two signs, and often despite the profound imperfections of the social state, mankind with loud applause proclaims civilization."<sup>18</sup>

Guizot declares that all history may be regarded as a history of civilization. The great crises of history are always crises of individual or of social development; facts which have changed the internal man, his creed, his manners, his culture, or facts which have changed his external relations with his fellows. And he further expresses his conviction that civilization, the gradual development of the individual and of society, is a destined fact, what St. Paul would call foreordained.

Now, the reason why I have drawn your attention to this apparently secular subject of civilization, and to its secular treatment by a secular historian, is because I want you to observe how exactly what we may call the programme of humanity, as it is described by the

<sup>18</sup> Guizot's "History of Civilization in Europe," Lecture I.

secular historian, corresponds with the programme of humanity as it is described in the teaching of our Lord. We have seen that there is an individualistic side to the Gospel. It aims at the perfection of the individual. But we have also seen that by the phrase, the kingdom of heaven, Jesus indicated the perfection of the social relations of men, and a world-wide society wherein they could be perfected.

If, in brief, the study of history by one of its most brilliant exponents convinced him that the goal of humanity is the perfect man in the perfect state, we say that this is also the programme of Christianity, and the claim of Christianity to be the universal religion, and of the Christian Church to be the universal society, is vindicated by the observance of the correspondence between its plan and programme and the plan and programme of humanity which is revealed in history.

And now, let us in concluding this lecture, see how the results at which we have arrived stand related to the subject of Christian Unity.

1. We have seen that the actual social relations of men are highly imperfect, that the great questions of our day are social questions, and that the interest shown by all classes of the community in social questions is an indication of our consciousness of social imperfection.



2. In the next place, is it not equally clear that the existing relations between the various portions of the kingdom of heaven, between the numerous churches about us, are equally imperfect? How far different organizations can coexist within one Church, we shall inquire in our next lecture, but no sensible and honest man would describe the present condition of the churches as even remotely resembling the kingdom of heaven as it is described in the New Testament. The various churches, Roman Catholic, Greek, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, are separate and distinct organizations whose work is carried on without any consultation, oftentimes with unexpressed, it may be, but real antagonism, which overlaps both at home and in the mission field, whose expenditure of energy in controversial work has been enormous, and whose expenditure of money has sometimes, and is still, in many places, a vast waste of money extracted with the utmost difficulty from the pockets of the laity, not because they are ungenerous or illiberal, but because they feel that there is something wrong with the whole method of conducting our Christian operations. These various bodies cannot be regarded either separately or all together, as "the perfect order of things which Jesus established in which all those of every

nation who should believe in Him were to be gathered together in one society."

I do not forget the circumstances that have led up to this unhappy state of things. I do not wish to say that the blame lies here or there more than anywhere else, but I do ask that men shall not pretend that what is most imperfect is really a satisfactory state of affairs. Do let us, brethren, strive to understand and to know what is the ideal of Jesus Christ. Let us not be afraid to openly confess that very much in the existing state of the kingdom is discordant with that ideal. Do let us, then, with humility and courage, with meekness and sincerity, with an open and inquiring mind, and yet with confidence, say, "I, for my part, as a disciple of Christ, will never rest satisfied with what is imperfect. I, as a learner in the school of Christ, will seek to know what is His will concerning the kingdom of heaven, and though but the least in that kingdom, will seek to realize its accomplishment."

3. And in the third place, is it not the case that this imperfection of the social relation of Christians has arisen from a one-sided view of Christianity? Is it not the case that individual salvation has been preached in a one-sided way? Have we not largely forgotten that the salva-

tion of the individual is to some extent dependent upon the state of society in which the individual lives? And, therefore, it behooves us now to turn our attention to the perfecting of our social relations—in one word, to the unity of Christendom.

We must, dear brethren, enlarge the horizon of our vision. You know how, when you have been in the city for weeks together, if you get out some fine day to the country, a sense of its largeness, its expanse, fills you with a delight which you cannot describe but only feel. And this feeling is intensified if from some hill-top the eye can embrace a wide extent of land and sea. It is, perhaps, the suggestion of the infinite in nature that corresponds with the infinite in ourselves, that produces this exhilarating effect upon us. And so, believe me, we want sometimes to get in thought beyond the four walls of our own Church, or the limits of our own diocese, or of our own communion. We want sometimes to imagine the fifteen hundred millions of human beings, of every tribe, nation and race; we want sometimes to realize the magnificence of the design of the Almighty for the generations upon generations of mankind. Then our thoughts and ideas will be expanded, and we shall see that the Church is not a mere matter of buildings, and of this

or that kind of worship, of vestments or no vestments, of extempore prayer or a liturgy, but we shall see that it is the universal society of ten thousand times ten thousand men of various needs, capacities, opportunities, powers, tastes, welded together into one society for their mutual salvation. The goal of the Church is not the perfection of liturgy, or of organization, it is not found in any of those multitudinous forms or ceremonies which we call means of grace, but it is the achievement of the perfect man, in the perfect society. Nineteen centuries have passed away, and the Christian Church has not, in the person of any of its members, or in any of its divisions, attained as yet to the height from which St. Paul, like Moses of old on Mount Pisgah, surveyed the promised land. He, caught up by the Spirit of God to the heights, still cries to us and reports what he sees, and this is what he says: "There is one body, and one Spirit. Even as also ye were called, in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all." And then he tells us what is the ultimate goal of the Church: "Till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness

of Christ. . . . From whom all the body fitly framed and knit together, through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ephesians iv. 4-6, 13-16.

### LECTURE III.

#### *WHAT IS CHRISTIAN UNITY?*

THAT Unity will be a mark of the perfected church no one will deny. That Unity is an ideal for whose realization there is a call to labor, most serious people will agree. One of the first members and warmest supporters of the Canadian Society of Christian Unity, in a letter upon this subject, said: "I work with the society in the conviction that we not only ought to be, but are, essentially one, and that it is our duty and privilege in all practicable ways to manifest that unity." There is a measure of truth in this view; there is a large territory of common doctrine, common hope, and in matters of philanthropy, even of common action, occupied by the principal communions of English Christianity. We are essentially, that is, in essentials, one. Bishop Cosin, reckoned amongst the High Church divines of the seventeenth century, when writing his last will declared himself as knit in spirit "to all true Christians all the world over. In what part of the world soever any churches are extant,

bearing the name of Christ and professing the true catholic faith and religion, worshipping and calling upon God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost with one heart and voice, if anywhere I be now hindered actually to be joined with them, either by distance of countries, or variance amongst men, or by any other lot whatsoever, yet always in my mind and my affection I join and unite with them; which I desire to be chiefly understood of Protestants, and the best of the reformed churches; for, where the foundations are safe, we may allow, and therefore most friendly, quietly and peaceably suffer in those churches where we have not authority, a diversity, as of opinion, so of ceremonies, about things which do not adhere to the foundations, and are neither necessary nor repugnant to the practice of the universal church."<sup>1</sup>

According to the view of my correspondent, the problem of Christian Unity becomes the problem of the manifestation of Christian Unity. In other words, the practical question is greater than the theoretical question.

Nevertheless, I do not altogether assent to this view of the matter, which I cannot help thinking indicates an imperfect estimate of the Church as the universal society, which is not only pervaded

<sup>1</sup> Boyd Carpenter, "Christian Reunion," p. 218.

by one spirit, but whose members are knit together in a living body.

Whilst, then, it is not necessary to dwell at any great length upon the doctrinal or ritual questions connected with Christian Unity, for no trouble is raised regarding the Apostles' and Nicene creeds, or the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, it is necessary to inquire somewhat carefully into the nature of Christian Unity, *i.e.*, the Unity which is described first in the teaching of Christ, and then in the teaching of His apostolic interpreters.

The subject, then, of this lecture is, "What is Christian Unity?"

St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians and elsewhere, regards Christianity as the culminating point of a long period of preparation. He describes it as "the mystery of Christ, which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men, as it has now been revealed unto His holy apostles and prophets in the spirit; to wit, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs and fellow-members of the body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the Gospel."<sup>2</sup> Consider these words carefully, and you will see that the mystery of Christ, *i.e.*, the doctrine of Christ, not known or understood of previous ages, was the doctrine of a universal

<sup>2</sup> Ephesians iii. 4*f.*



society, "the Gentiles are fellow-heirs, and fellow-members (*i.e.*, with the Jews) of the body." But in the Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul speaks of the law as being our tutor to bring us to Christ, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the same thought of a long preparation culminating in the manifestation of the Son of God is clearly expressed in its opening verses: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son." We may, then, reasonably expect to find the mystery of Christ, the revelation of the universal society made clearer by a study of the pertinent points in the preparatory revelation given to the fathers through the prophets.

The Old Testament may, for purposes of study, be divided in various ways. We may study it by books, or by periods, or by subjects. For our present purpose we may notice how it falls into two main divisions. In the first division it has to do with men grouped in families—Adam and his family, Noah and his family Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph. The Book of Genesis is a book of families. Whatever of revelation there is in that book is a revelation made through the family. There was in that early time no church and no nation, or rather

the family was the nation and the church in germ.<sup>3</sup>

Must we not, then, conclude that in the mind of God the family is a divine institution equally with the Church, and that the understanding of the family will help us to understand the Church, and *vice versa*, the understanding of the Church will help us to understand the family. Unless we grasp this truth of the divine institution of the family, the stories of the patriarchs must appear childish and trivial, and we shall not understand why, *e.g.*, Isaac's journey to find a wife, or Jacob's dealings with his sons, and even some more unexpected things should form a part of the divine revelation. Again, we notice that revelation is social in its character. That

<sup>3</sup> As against all theories which trace the origin of society to some artificial or mechanical contrivance or arrangement invented by men, the following quotations are interesting:

"Many writers begin with considering mankind as a multitude of units. They ask, 'How did any number of these units form themselves into a society?' I cannot adopt that method. At my birth I am already in a society. I am related at least to a father and a mother. This relation is the primary fact of my existence. I can contemplate no other fact apart from it."—Maurice, "Social Morality," Lecture 2.

"We do not get first the idea of man, and then add to it the further idea of society or the social union; for man is not man, the idea of human nature cannot be expressed apart from the social relation in which alone that nature is realized."—J. Caird, "Philosophy of Religion," pp. 188, 189.

whilst it is perfectly true that God reveals himself to individuals, it is equally true that His greatest revelations come to men not as individuals but as living in social relations. This is a fact that has, as we shall see, a real bearing upon the question of Unity. "Man," says Bishop Westcott, "is made by and made for fellowship. The Family, and not the individual, is the unit of mankind." And again: "The Family is not only an expression of divine law. It is, under the conditions of earth, in some sense a reflection of the divine nature. Every Family, every Fatherhood, derives that in virtue of which it is from the one Father. We must therefore strive with reverent patience to enter into the meaning of the Family, if we desire to understand the divine conditions of our life."<sup>4</sup>

The second half of the Old Testament is mainly taken up with the history of a Nation. The Family has grown into a People. There is as yet no Church, or we may say the Nation is the Church. This Nation believes itself to be divinely called, believes itself to be bound together by a divine constitution. The Hebrew represented his relations with the Divine under the figure of covenants. In Genesis we have family covenants; in the Book of Exodus we have the story of the national

<sup>4</sup> "Social Aspects of Christianity," pp. 21, 23.

covenant. The covenant is ratified by a solemn ceremonial. "And he (Moses) took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the Lord hath spoken will we do, and be obedient. And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words."<sup>5</sup>

The Nation, then, no less than the Family, stands out as a social organism, designed by God to be one of the means through which humanity should develop itself, and should press on to that

"one far-off divine event  
To which the whole creation moves."

And if the Old Testament revelation of the divine origin and significance of families will help us to understand the divine origin and significance of the Church, the same thing is equally true of the Nation. This Nation, called of God to fulfil a unique destiny, thought of itself as the kingdom of God, and regarded its king as God's vicegerent. The revelations of God through prophets were national revelations; the Messianic prophecies are almost all clothed in a national garb. And here again we may notice the social significance of this national revelation, God re-

<sup>5</sup> Exodus xxiv. 7, 8.

vealing himself to men, guiding and directing their lives through the medium of their relations to one another as members of a commonwealth.

But men are not bound together only because they are members of a common family, or citizens in a commonwealth; they are bound together by the possession of a common nature. And so "in the fulness of time" comes the ultimate revelation of a universal society, the Church, which, in idea and in intention, is co-extensive with the race. Along this line of social religion, Christianity is the supreme and unique revelation. There cannot be anything greater or nobler in conception, or in realization, than the unity of the human race.

We notice that our Lord took up, as the keynote of His message, a familiar expression, the kingdom of God. The Gospel itself is defined as the good news of the kingdom of God.<sup>6</sup> Our Lord, however, gave it a wider connotation than that in the minds of the exclusive Jews. And this was one cause of His rejection by them. They could not endure to be told that many shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and sit down in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom should be cast out.<sup>7</sup> In His teaching about the kingdom our Lord

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lecture II.

<sup>7</sup> St. Matthew viii. 11.

gradually became more and more explicit. The field is no longer the Holy Land, it is the world.<sup>8</sup> The leaven of the kingdom is to penetrate the whole mass of humanity.<sup>9</sup> The Gospel of the kingdom is to be preached amongst all nations.<sup>10</sup> And finally comes the command, "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations."<sup>11</sup>

The old elaborate national rites of the Jews are replaced by two simple signs, adapted for use in a universal society—Baptism, the initiation into the society, with the symbolie use of water, and the Holy Communion, token of fellowship divine and human, in the simple elements of bread and wine. The more one studies the work of Jesus Christ and brings to bear upon it the rays of light that stream from the preparatory revelation of the Old Testament, the more clearly do we see how the kingdom of heaven is the last stage in a threefold revelation of human relations—the Family, the Nation, the Church.

I have, in the previous lecture, spoken of the relation of the kingdom of heaven of our Saviour's teaching to the historical church. The kingdom is the ideal, the Church is the actual—the kingdom in course of realization.

<sup>8</sup> St. Matthew xiii. 38.

<sup>10</sup> St. Matthew xxiv. 14.

<sup>9</sup> St. Matthew xiii. 33.

<sup>11</sup> St. Matthew xxviii. 19.

Now, this being so, I want to ask you to consider whether the unity of the Church must not be similar to the unity of the family and of the nation. The spiritual unity of the family and of the nation are impaired and perhaps ultimately destroyed by division. So the spiritual power of the Church must be injured, and unless it be repaired, sooner or later destroyed by division.

In other words, Christian Unity, to be real, must be manifested in some outward form. "What the Church ought to possess," says Dr. Milligan, "is a unity which the eye can see. If she is to be a witness to her Risen Lord, she must do more than talk of unity, more than console herself with the hope that the world will not forget the invisible bond by which it is pleaded that all her members are bound together into one. Visible unity in one form or another is an essential mark of her faithfulness. Let it be allowed that differently organised branches of the one Church of Christ may exist in different lands, or even in the same land; they must occupy such a relation to each other that their unity shall be manifest to the world. There must be intercommunion, mutual helpfulness—even to a certain extent confederation—among them. Unless it be so, the unity of the Church of Christ is destroyed, and without it she cannot

fulfil her mission. . . . The world will never be converted by a disunited Church."<sup>12</sup>

The result of this general view of the development of what we may call social revelation, is such as to convince us that for the realization of the ideal of Jesus Christ, "The Kingdom of Heaven," there must be a visible unity of the Church, in a similar sense that the unity of the family and the unity of the nation is visible.

We must now attempt to give a more detailed description of this unity. It will, I trust, be understood that in making this attempt I do not presume to offer more than suggestions, or ideas which may perhaps serve as a basis for further discussion.

It is often supposed that Christian Unity means uniformity—uniformity of government, and uniformity of worship. Perhaps this is why the overtures of Anglicans towards other communions have been received with a measure of suspicion. They say, "We appreciate your motives, of whose sincerity we have no doubt, but the unity you propose does look to us like absorption. No doubt you would offer us liberal terms, but at bottom you aim to make us all Anglicans." The popular mind expresses itself

<sup>12</sup> Milligan, "The Resurrection of our Lord," pp. 206, 207.



in a rough-and-ready fashion thus : " The Methodists will never give up extempore prayer, or class-meetings, and the Anglicans will never give up the Prayer Book, so all this talk about unity is nonsense."

It is necessary, therefore, emphatically to deny that Unity means uniformity of either government or worship. In this matter we must be guided by the magnificent utterance of St. Paul : " Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all things in all."<sup>13</sup> Yet in the same passage he compares the unity of the Church to the unity of the human body. " For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body ; so also is Christ."<sup>14</sup>

The unity of the Church must first of all consist in a unity of spirit. " Giving diligence," says St. Paul, " to keep the unity of the Spirit." And so in our Prayer Book, when praying for the Catholic Church, the first thing we ask is,

<sup>13</sup> 1 Corinthians xii. 4*f*.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Corinthians xii. 12. *Cf.* Boyd Carpenter, " Christian Reunion," p. 14 : " The expectation of reunion on the basis of uniformity is thus neither likely nor desirable. It is also uncatholic. In the best days of the Church this principle of variety was understood and recognized."

“that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of Spirit.”

Now, I do not dwell at any great length upon this point, because, whilst it is the fundamental necessity of all, one rejoices to feel that in a large and growing measure we already possess that spirit. As the correspondent to whom I referred at the opening of this lecture says, “We are essentially one.” The problem is, How can we manifest that unity?

1. In the outward manifestations of unity, then, whilst there may be diversity in details of government and of worship, there must be some central body, to which certain important matters shall be referred. That central body need have no more to do with the affairs of the various bodies of Christians than the Government at Ottawa has to do with the Province of Ontario. Within its purview only such matters would come as affected the interest of the Church as a whole. But it seems clear that in breaking new ground at home, or in foreign missionary work abroad, some such body would be necessary for the avoidance of some of the evils of to-day, both at home and abroad—the evils of overlapping, with its consequent rivalries, waste of money, and dissipation of energy.

2. In the outward and visible manifestation

of unity, there must be some association of various churches in our large towns, or in the counties. Already the way is paved for these. We have ministerial associations, and in the country districts the Sunday School workers are in most parts thoroughly organised; and I can bear testimony not only to the excellent work that is done by these Sunday School associations, but to their value in promoting Christian unity. But the Ministerial Association at present only considers the theoretical side of the Church's work and the minister's duties. It meets for the discussion of theological questions. Occasionally, perhaps, it oversteps these bounds, but in a united church it would have to deal with the practical questions connected with the practical work of the Church. It is just here that difficult questions would arise. But it is not claimed that Christian Unity would at once realize the millennium. It is quite true that there would be thorny questions, disputed points, and practical problems of many kinds. Hence we must not be too eager to see the consummation of Unity. The movement for Unity is a movement that must grow; it is a movement which must have strongly commended itself to the hearts and minds of the people before it is realized. The walls of our City of God must not be built with untempered mortar, otherwise

of a surety they will soon fall down. Whilst we may and must see visions and dream dreams of the Golden Age to come, yet in practical affairs we must echo the poet's words :

“I do not ask to see

The distant scene ; one step enough for me.”

3. With provision made for a central representative and for local councils, there would be nothing inconsistent with unity in the continued existence of Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches. It is probable that for a long time to come, at least, these four types would continue to exist. I have in these remarks reference to Canada only. Some of the smaller communions might at once coalesce with one or other of these—the Congregationalists, for example, with the Presbyterians. And one of the problems connected with the extension of unity would be the gradual bringing into unity of some bodies that probably would at first hold aloof, such as, for example, the Christian Alliance, or the Salvation Army.

4. In a united church of this kind, it is probable that each branch would come to appreciate and profit by the excellences of the others. The minds of some are prejudiced against the Anglican Liturgy, simply because it is regarded as a badge of division, or a mark of exclusiveness. With the disappearance of this prejudice, it

might come to be universally appreciated as one form of service suitable for all Christians. Anglicans, on the other hand, would lose their prejudice against extemporaneous forms of worship, and might come to see how universally good this form of worship (clearly primitive) might be at certain times. There seems to me to be nothing unlikely in the supposition that the day may come when, for example, in the morning, we may have a grand united morning prayer or Holy Communion service after the Anglican type; in the afternoon, in the same building, a preaching service, in which the sermon or lecture shall be the special feature, and in the evening, in the same building, a popular evangelistic service, with extemporaneous prayer, popular hymns, and hortatory or revival addresses. In such a way we might derive all the advantages and avoid the evils of those various methods.

It is probably clear to you all that what I have been describing is a federation of the churches. And let us not forget that federation is a very strong form of unity, and peculiarly adapted to our own times. We live under a federal government. The United States is a federation, and it is not improbable that the British Empire will become a federation of states. That this is the form in which Unity will be realized I am

strongly convinced, and there are many signs that it is actually in course of realization.<sup>15</sup>

In England the Nonconformist communions have succeeded in forming what is called "The National Council of the Evangelical Churches." It is a representative body formed to discuss matters of common interest, and to combine for certain common objects. It is, in short, the beginning of a federation. Its constitution defines the objects of the movement in the following terms: (a) To facilitate intercourse and co-operation among the Evangelical Free Churches. (b) To assist in the organization of local councils. (c) To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches. (d) To advocate the New Testament doctrine of the Church, and to defend the rights of the associated churches. (e) To promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.

Since the above was written an interesting account of a similar movement in New York City has been published, called "The Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York City." Some highly important facts were revealed in a house-to-house visitation of the 21st Assembly, which has a population of

<sup>15</sup> For the development of this idea cf. Lecture VI.

50,000. For example, it was discovered that 48 per cent. of the Protestants of a district, not by any means in the poorest part of the city, were not attached to any congregation. On the other hand, only 12 per cent. of the Roman Catholics were unattached, although the church accommodation of the Protestants was greatly in excess of that of the Roman Catholics. Surely this fact goes far to show how unreliable is the oft-repeated statement that competition amongst the churches increases the effectiveness of their work. The work of the Federation has been so successful that a movement is now under way for the permanent organization of a National Federation of Churches.<sup>16</sup>

Or, as a sign of the times, I turn to the United States, and read that at the fifth annual convention of the open and institutional Church, held at Worcester, Mass., on November 2nd, 1898, the federation of the American churches was discussed under three heads, when Rev. Dr. Hagerman, of New York, "stirred every heart by his powerful presentation of the opportunity that now offers for bringing the Christian and denominational forces of the country into federative relations."<sup>17</sup>

Rev. Dr. Benjamin Andrews, formerly presi-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *New York Churchman*, July 15th, 1899.

<sup>17</sup> *The Outlook*, November 26th, 1898.

dent of Brown University, who is, I believe, a Baptist, and who delivered a lecture at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, on "The Sin of Schism," is a federationist, and makes some practical suggestions. The result of a policy of federation would, he thinks, be such that "instead of many a spindling plant, each town would soon have at least one strong church with an able ministry, a flourishing Sunday School, good music and desirable accommodations of every kind. Cold Christians and the worldly would be attracted, unbelief would be matched and the kingdom of God would grow apace. Feeble, dying churches will be far less numerous in our hamlets and border settlements; city congregations will cease to crowd each other; co-operation will supplant rivalries; all missionary fields will be cultivated up to the limit of the resources of the total church; immense economies in the way of theological teaching, and missionary, educational and philanthropic machinery will be introduced, and the Golden Age of perfected humanity be hastened in a thousand ways."<sup>18</sup>

It is, of course, quite possible that in time the federation of churches would give way to some form of closer union still. For my part I

<sup>18</sup> "Church Unity." Five lectures delivered in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1896.



believe the day will come when the names Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist will cease, and when there shall be one church of the English-speaking people, a church which in its turn may be federated with other racial or national churches. But meantime, federation of the different communions amongst us appears to be the practical goal that is already within sight, towards which all who believe in unity should press forward.

And now, in concluding this lecture, I should like, in order that we may more intelligently work towards *our* goal, to indicate what are the fundamental *issues* of any possible unity amongst the reformed churches of the English-speaking people.

1. The underlying and guiding idea which has really directed the internal movements of the progressive nations of the world during the past four hundred years, has been that of liberty, both political and religious. The idea of liberty in reality underlies the reformation doctrine of the direct communion of the individual soul with God. Political liberty was the moving cause of the great struggles between the Crown and the Parliament of England in the seventeenth century. However much it came to be abused, liberty was in truth one of the great watchwords of the French Revolution.

But it is in England, in the spheres of both Church and State, that this development of the movement for liberty can be most profitably studied. A writer quoted by Lord Acton in his lecture on "The Study of History," describes the three great reforms that have renewed England as religious liberty, parliamentary reform and economic freedom.

One of the characteristics of movements of permanent influence is development. A genuine idea manifests itself in the growth of its application to practical life. The idea is like the germ, which contains within it all that hereafter shall spring out of it; but like the seed, it must first take root downwards before it bear fruit upward. And this has been characteristic of the development of English liberty:

"It is the land that freemen till,  
That sober-suited Freedom chose;  
A land where, girt with friends or foes,  
A man may speak the thing he will.

"A land of settled government,  
A land of old and just renown  
Where Freedom slowly broadens down  
From precedent to precedent."

And again:

"Of old sat Freedom on the heights,  
The thunders breaking at her feet;  
Above her shook the starry lights;  
She heard the torrents meet.

“There in her place she did rejoice,  
Self-gathered in her prophet mind,  
But fragments of her mighty voice  
Came rolling on the wind.

“Then stepped she down thro’ town and field  
To mingle with the human race,  
And part by part to men revealed  
The fulness of her face.”

Therefore we ought to lay it down as a fundamental principle, that no proposals for Unity have the slightest prospect of success which do not lay down as one of its foundation stones the necessity of liberty. Any terms or proposals that neglect to take full account of the modern doctrine of liberty, are in reality reactionary and not progressive. And when we bring our faith in liberty to the test of the New Testament, our hearts must leap within us when we find that liberty is indeed a key-note of the Gospel. “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,” cried our Lord in His first recorded sermon, “because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor: he hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.”<sup>19</sup> “If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples; and ye shall

<sup>19</sup> St. Luke iv. 18.

know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."<sup>20</sup>

"The aim of Jesus Christ was to make all men free. He saw around Him servitude in every form—man in slavery to man, and race to race; His own countrymen in bondage to the Romans; slaves, both of Jewish and Roman masters, frightfully oppressed; men trembling before priestcraft, and those who were politically and ecclesiastically free, in worse bondage still; the rich and rulers slaves to their own passions. Conscious of His inward Deity and His Father's intentions, He, without hurry, without the excitement which would mark the mere earthly liberator, calmly said, "Ye shall be free."<sup>21</sup>

And St. Paul, with his magnificent insight into this element of the Gospel message, utters the splendid saying, "Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty."<sup>22</sup> But it is not merely in a few proof texts that we find our idea of liberty contained in the Bible (whence in truth, consciously or unconsciously, men have derived it), but it is rooted in Christianity itself, for Christianity is not a religion of precepts or laws, but of principles, and principles must be absorbed by the heart, and it is only the free spirit that

<sup>20</sup> St. John viii. 31, 32.

<sup>21</sup> Robertson of Brighton, "Freedom by the Truth."

<sup>22</sup> 2 Corinthians iii. 17.

can take up and embrace principles. You may impose actions upon men by force of arms or of intellectual or spiritual servitude, but you cannot compel men to embrace principles. Freedom is essential to the highest development of Christianity. And again, Christianity teaches the doctrine of God's fatherhood and man's sonship. But in proportion as man realizes his sonship, he realizes his freedom. "Ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father."<sup>23</sup> Hence the unity of Christ's kingdom must be the unity of free men, inspired by the spirit of brotherhood.

2. And this brings us to the second idea which must underlie the coming unity, namely, the idea of love. At first sight liberty seems to be opposed to love, but it is not so. They are complementary ideas. He who cherishes freedom selfishly, who understands by it the power to do what he likes, will inevitably become the slave of his own passions. Liberty must be interpreted in connection with our whole human nature. And it is an essential condition of humanity to stand in social relations. Man finds his perfect development only in recognition of his relations as a member of the family, of the nation, of the race. And here, too, it is scarcely

<sup>23</sup> Romans viii. 15.

necessary to point out how entirely this idea accords with—being, indeed, derived from—the New Testament. The idea of service is fundamental to Christianity. And the service is not that of slaves, but the free, mutual service of brothers. It springs not out of compulsion but out of love. And just as in the Epistle to the Galatians St. Paul works out the idea of the liberty of the sons of God, so in that to the Ephesians, he works out the idea of a unity based upon love. “I, therefore, the prisoner in the Lord, beseech you to walk worthily of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love; giving diligence to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body and one spirit, even as also ye were called, in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all. . . . And he gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ: till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. . . . From

whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love."<sup>24</sup>

And thus we can see why it is impossible that reformed Christendom should ever accept the invitation of the Roman Church to find unity within its pale. For the unity it offers is, in truth, not based upon either liberty or love. It is not a unity of sons, but a unity of servants. The Church is one because its people are not free, and it is possible to pay too great a price even for unity.

The religious problem which emerges at the end of this nineteenth century, and which will, I believe, be solved in the twentieth century, is this—to discover the true nature of Christian

<sup>24</sup> That these two ideas both underlie the Reformation is pointed out by Ritschl: "In order to express accurately the one principle of the Church Reformation, we must take the thought of the certainty of salvation in the individual believer—a certainty which is independent of and rises above all mentionable instrumentalities, being determined solely by Christ; and, on the other hand, the thought of the community of believers under Christ—a community appointed and foreordained by Christ."—"Justification and Reconciliation," pp. 157, 158.

Protestantism has developed the first principles, but not the second. Hence its weakness on the social side, and the emergence of all sorts of social problems at the present time.

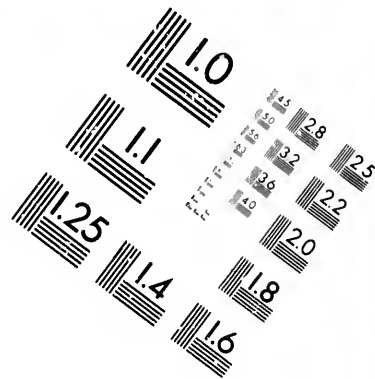
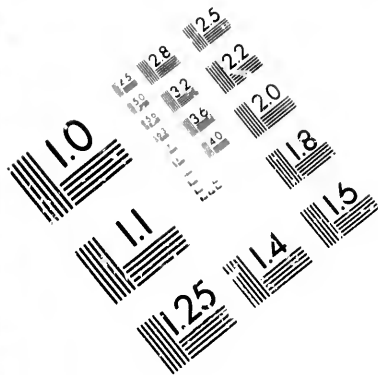
Unity. The problem is not an easy one, but with God all things are possible. I venture to submit to you that the unity of liberty and love is the only possible unity. Only let Protestantism devote itself with faith and zeal to this task, and then shall come to pass the eloquent prediction of the Bishop of Ripon:

"The religion of the future will be neither Catholic nor Protestant, but simply Christian. The dogmas which have separated communion from communion, will fall off, as autumn leaves before the fresh winds of God. . . . The Church of God will renew its strength. . . . It will not need any longer Trent, or Westminster or Lambeth, or the Vatican to lead it. It will be satisfied with simpler thoughts and a purer faith. It will be satisfied to realize that there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all."<sup>25</sup>

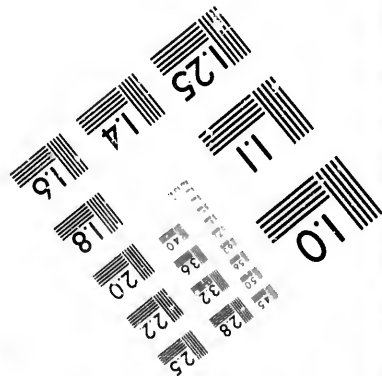
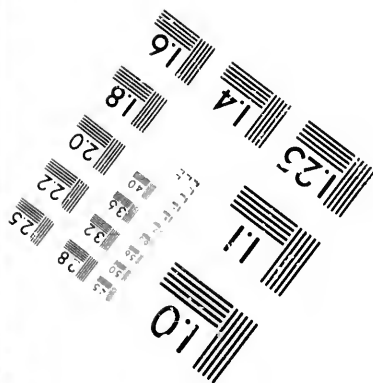
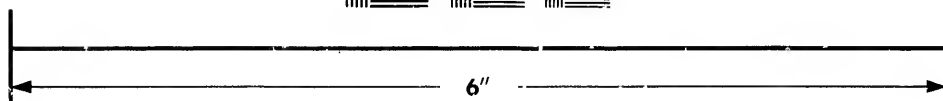
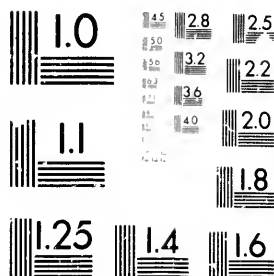
<sup>25</sup> Bishop of Ripon's opening address at the Bradford Church Congress, 1898.







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## LECTURE IV.

### *THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE.*

THE so-called Chicago-Lambeth Articles propose to the Christian world four terms of unity. As expressed by the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, in the year 1886, these are :

1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the revealed Word of God.
2. The Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.
3. The two sacraments—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with the unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.
4. 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 His Church.

Of these, the first three would be generally accepted by most of the principal bodies of reformed Christendom, but the Historic Episcopate

is apparently an insurmountable barrier to unity. The subject is one of great delicacy and difficulty, because of the divergence of opinion upon this subject within the Anglican communion, and at first it was my intention to omit any consideration of it from this course of lectures, but it afterwards seemed to me, that to leave out the discussion of the most difficult problem was to play the part of cowardly unfaith. Since the year 1886, much has been written upon the subject of the Christian ministry, and albeit, to the superficial observer we may appear to be as much at a dead-lock as ever, I hope to be able to show that there are some prospects of a mutual understanding between the High Churchman, on the one side, and the various Protestant communions on the other.

It is obviously impossible to treat fully in two lectures the subject of the Christian ministry. What I propose to attempt is to discuss carefully the scriptural view of the Church; secondly, to glance at the subsequent developments during the first three centuries, and then thirdly, to attempt to sum up the attitude of the Church of England towards this question.

In the consideration of the scriptural view of the organization of the Christian Church, we must begin with the four Gospels. And here

the first thing to notice is the absence of any recorded instructions of a definite character by our Lord to the apostles. "There is no trace of bishop, presbyter, deacon, metropolitan, patriarch or pope in any of the four Gospels."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless there are, as we have already seen, certain indications of the intention of our Lord to found a church, and an organized church. And all the evidence points to the fact that this organization was, in the beginning, analogous to that of the Jewish synagogue, and not to that of the Jewish temple. "The synagogue," says Dr. Plumptre, "was the order with which the first Christian believers were most familiar, from which they were most likely to take the outlines, or even the details, of the worship, organization, government of their own society. Widely divergent, as the two words and things they represented afterwards became, the Ecclesia had its starting point in the synagogue."<sup>2</sup> The same writer in summing up his remarks on the organization of the synagogue, says: "It will be seen

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stanley, "Christian Institutions," chap. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Plumptre, Art. Synagogue, "Dict. of Bible." But this divergence did not exist at first. Cf. St. James ii. 2. The term "synagogue" was applied to Christian meetings by Ignatius, Ep. ad Trall., c. 5, ad Polyc., c. 3. It is used of the churches by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6. See also Scheurer, "The Jewish People in the Time of Christ," II., ii., p. 58.

at once how closely the organization of the synagogue was reproduced in that of the Ecclesia." The beginning of this correspondence can certainly be traced to the directions of our Lord himself. At first He taught everywhere in the synagogues; but at last, the opposition of the Jews reached its climax in excommunication. The decision of the Jews, "that if any man should confess him to be Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue,"<sup>3</sup> implies that Jesus himself and His disciples were excommunicated.<sup>4</sup> This placed the followers of Jesus in a position of entire separation from the nation of which they had hitherto formed a part. It was at about this time that St. Peter made his famous confession, in response to which Jesus said, "Upon this rock I will build my church." At the same time came the famous commission, first to St. Peter, then to the other apostles, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed in heaven." This power, which has been so strangely misunderstood because men have not asked the obvious question, "How

<sup>3</sup> St. John ix. 22.

<sup>4</sup> For what follows, *cf.* Skene, in his introductory chapter to Bickell's "Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual."

would the twelve themselves have understood this saying?" was one exercised continually by the officers of the synagogue. "No other terms," says Edersheim, "were in more constant use in Rabbinic Canon Law than those of 'binding' and 'loosing.' The words are the literal translation of the Hebrew equivalents, 'Asar,' which means 'to bind,' in the sense of prohibiting, and 'Hittir,' which means 'to loose,' in the sense of permitting. For the latter, the term 'Shera' or 'Sheri' is also used. But this expression is, both in Targumic and Talmudic diction, not merely the equivalent of permitting, but passes into that of remitting or pardoning. On the other hand, 'binding' and 'loosing' referred simply to things or acts, prohibiting or else permitting them, declaring them lawful or unlawful. . . . These two powers, the legislative and the judicial, which belonged to the Rabbinic office, Christ now transferred . . . to His apostles—the first here to Peter, as their representative; the second, after His resurrection, to the Church."<sup>5</sup>

Again, when our Lord said, "If thy brother sin against thee, go and tell him his fault, between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will

<sup>5</sup> Edersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," II., pp. 84, 85. St. John xx. 23.



not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the church,"<sup>6</sup> he was adapting to the use of the Christian church a custom of the Jewish synagogue. "Their rule was that any one against whom a sin had been committed must deliver his soul by reproving his brother; and if he could not bring him back to the right way, he must reprove him before witnesses, so that they might testify that he against whom the sin was committed, used due reproof, the witnesses also adding their friendly admonition; and if the offender hearkened not unto them, then they made proclamation concerning him in the synagogues for four Sabbaths."<sup>7</sup>

Yet once more, by the custom of the Jews there could be no synagogue unless there were ten men of leisure who could attend its services regularly, and it came to be a belief among them that unless these ten men were present, their prayers in the synagogue were not heard by God. But Jesus vindicates the efficacy of common prayer without any condition as to numbers; for He said that if even "two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they

<sup>6</sup> St. Matthew xviii. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Skene, in his introductory chapter, *ut sup.* p. 15.

shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."<sup>8</sup>

Upon this testimony one or two remarks must be made. In the first place we may notice that the later analogy between the church and the temple with its Levitical priesthood is entirely unfounded.<sup>9</sup> It is a mere coincidence that bishop, presbyter and deacon numerically correspond to the high priest, priest and Levite. There is no real parallel between them. There is at least an apparent, and perhaps a real, analogy between the chief or ruler of the synagogue, the board or college of elders, and the receivers of alms<sup>10</sup> and the primitive bishop with his presbyters and deacons. Secondly, the idea of succession, or of continuity through an order of men, specially consecrated, does not belong to the Jewish synagogue. The prayers, lessons and sermons could be undertaken by any one appointed by the ruler of the synagogue, or even without such appointment, as several familiar passages in the New Testament, as well as the evidence of the Talmud, prove. And, thirdly, we require very

<sup>8</sup> Skene, in his introductory chapter, *ut sup.* pp. 15, 16.

<sup>9</sup> It belongs to the time of Cyprian. *Cf.* Lightfoot, "Epistle to Philipians," p. 256ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Cf.* Scheurer, "The Jewish People in the Time of Christ," pp. 65, 66.

strong evidence from the Acts of the Apostles and from the apostolic epistles, that the idea of succession of the order, especially consecrated was entertained by the apostles, before we can set aside such strong indirect testimony of the Gospels. We may, perhaps, anticipate a little, to quote here the words of Professor Hort on this head: "The true way, the apostolic way of regarding offices and officers in the Ecclesia is to regard them as organs of its corporate life for especial purposes, so that the offices of an Ecclesia at any period are only part of its organization. . . . There is no trace in the New Testament that any ordinances on this subject were prescribed by the Lord, or that any such ordinances were set up as permanently binding by the Twelve, or by St. Paul, or by the Ecclesia at large."<sup>11</sup>

But there is a further question connected with this part of our subject, viz., "To whom were the various powers referred to above committed? Was it to the apostles alone, or to the apostles as representatives of the Church?" Take the famous passage, St. John xx. 23: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." Bishop Westcott, the foremost Eng-

<sup>11</sup> "Ecclesia," p. 230.

lish commentator on the Gospel of St. John, shows good reason for supposing that they were not uttered to the apostles only but also to an indefinite number of disciples with them. For the appearance of our Lord here recorded is, in all probability, parallel with that of St. Luke xxiv. 33ff, where we read that the eleven were gathered together and them that were with them, *i.e.*, other disciples.

But whether this be the case or not, both Bishop Westcott and the late Professor Hort are agreed that this and other commissions were given to the apostles, not as exclusive representatives of the ministry, but as the representatives of the whole Church of which they were the nucleus. "The main thought," says Westcott, "which the words convey is that of the reality of the power of absolution from sin granted to the Church, and not of the particular organization through which the power is administered. . . . The commission . . . must be regarded properly as the commission of the Christian society, and not as that of the Christian ministry."<sup>12</sup> So Dr. Hort says: "The Apostolic age is full of embodiments of purpose and principles of the most instructive kind, but the responsibility of choosing the means was left forever to the Ecclesia

<sup>12</sup> Westcott on St. John *in loc.*

itself, and to each Ecclesia, guided by ancient precedent on the one hand, and adaptation to present and future needs on the other."<sup>13</sup> "Dr. Hort," says Prof. Armitage Robinson, one of his old pupils, "believes that authority for determining the method of government and administration is lodged by Christ in the Church as a whole."<sup>14</sup>

Now, this view finds very strong support in the description of St. Paul's dealings with a flagrant offender in the Corinthian Church. This man had been guilty of a heinous offence. The Church of Corinth, which during the Apostle's absence had degenerated, had taken no notice of the matter. St. Paul, as the spiritual overseer, instructs them what to do. In the sentence passed upon the offender he associates the whole Church, no mention being made of clergy at all, whilst throughout the passage it is implied that the Church ought to have dealt with the case without his intervention. "In the name of our Lord Jesus, ye being gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> "Ecclesia," pp. 232, 233.

<sup>14</sup> *Guardian*, March 9th, 1898. Cf. the whole passage.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Corinthians v. 4, 5.

This case is the more interesting in that we know the sequel. St. Paul makes reference to the same man in his second epistle, written some months later. The offender had repented, and the Apostle urges his restoration. But mark how he implies that everything that had been done, and was to be done, was done by the Church at large. "Sufficient to such a one is this punishment which was inflicted by *the many*; so that contrariwise ye should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you to confirm your love toward him. For to this end also did I write that I might know the proof of you, whether ye are obedient in all things."<sup>16</sup>

The concluding verse, here quoted, does not imply absolute authority, which would be inconsistent with what precedes and follows, but is to be interpreted with reference to the fact that the loyalty of the Church of Corinth to St. Paul had been disturbed. "Obedient" is, therefore, equivalent to "loyal." "But to whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also."<sup>17</sup> In this famous case the seat of authority is the whole Church. No doubt the Apostle has a lofty authority, too; but it was of the kind which Dr. Hort attributes to the twelve. "Their

<sup>16</sup> 2 Corinthians ii. 6-9.

<sup>17</sup> 2 Corinthians ii. 10.

commission was to be witnesses of [Christ] himself, and to bear that witness by preaching and by healing. But it is inconceivable that the moral authority with which they were thus clothed, and the uniqueness of their position and personal qualifications, should not, in all these years, have been accumulating upon them by the spontaneous homage of the Christians of Judea, an ill-defined but lofty authority in matters of government and administration."<sup>18</sup>

There is, however, yet one point connected with the indications of church organization found in the Gospel. However true it is, it may be said, that the Christian Church was founded upon the Jewish synagogue, we must remember that there are two rites in the Church of Christ that do not come from the synagogue, viz., Baptism and the Holy Communion. We may admit the right to preach or teach without distinct apostolic commission, but we cannot allow to any the right to celebrate or administer the Lord's Supper. Here, too, it is a point of contact between the Christian Church and the Temple with its priests and sacrifices, for the Holy Communion springs out of the Jewish Passover.

Here we must notice, first, that it is doubtful whether the meal of which our Lord partook

<sup>18</sup> Hort's "Ecclesia," p. 84.

was the regular paschal meal;<sup>19</sup> secondly, that no mention is made of any lamb at the Last Supper, *i.e.*, the part of the Passover with which the priest had to do; thirdly, that our Lord deliberately instituted the Supper in that which was not part of the sacrifice proper, but only its accompaniment.

In the fourth place there is not the slightest ground in Scripture for supposing that the administration of the Holy Communion requires any different authority from that of baptizing, preaching, or teaching. Indeed we might claim, although I do not press the point, that it requires less authority, for whereas, when our Lord departed from the earth He commissioned the eleven to go and "make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you,"<sup>20</sup> nothing is said about the Holy Communion at all. Yet we know that baptism administered by a layman is admitted to be valid, provided it be administered in the form appointed by our Lord. There is no ground in Scripture whatever for the drawing of a line of distinction between the administration of Baptism and that of the Holy

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Archdeacon Watkins in Ellicott's Commentary on the New Testament.

<sup>20</sup> St. Matthew xxviii. 19, 20.



Communion. There is, so far as I can see, not the slightest ground in Scripture (and bear in mind the Anglican view of Scripture), for saying that the Baptism of the Presbyterian or Methodist or other organized communion of Christians is valid, but that their administration of the Lord's Supper is invalid.

From the testimony of the Gospels we pass to that of the Acts and the apostolic epistles. Here it will be necessary to select, but I think the conclusions reached will not be such as can be invalidated by the testimony of any passage omitted.

Professor Hort, in his "Ecclesia," maintains that the commission of the apostles was not a commission to govern, but "to be witnesses of [Christ] himself and to bear that witness by preaching and healing." With this agrees the account of the selection of an apostle to take the place of Judas Iscariot. The candidates were chosen with especial view to their qualifications as witnesses. "Of the men therefore which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with us of his resurrection."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Acts i. 21.

From this we pass on to the sixth chapter of the Acts, which records the institution of the Diaconate. The circumstances connected with this event show clearly that the apostles had no predetermined scheme of a threefold ministry, but that the institution of the Diaconate was the outcome of especial circumstances and was designed to meet especial needs. "Ecclesiastical organization proper arises under forms determined by experience."<sup>22</sup>

Of the institution of the presbyterate there is no record whatever. The presbyters of the Primitive Church almost certainly correspond to the Jewish elders of the synagogue. "There is no evidence that the leaders of the new Ecclesia devolved on any local officers, functions substantially other than those of elders of a synagogue in the old Israel."<sup>23</sup> That the Acts of the Apostles supports the doctrine that the whole Church is the seat of authority (an authority, of course, exercised in every society by qualified officers), seems to follow from a study of Acts xv. When a council is summoned, the apostles, despite their altogether unique position, do not act as the absolute rulers of the Church, but first we are told that "the apostles and elders were gathered together to consider of

<sup>22</sup> Bartlet and Carlyle, *Contemporary Review*, August, 1898.

<sup>23</sup> *Ut sup.*

this matter." (Acts xv. 6.) And then, when, in the presence of the whole congregation (verse 12), the matter had been discussed, "it seemed good to the apostles and elders with the whole Church, to choose men out of their company and send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas" (verse 22). The letter which is sent to Antioch is not addressed to any church officers, but to the Church in general. "The apostles and elder brethren to the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia" (verse 23.)

A candid study of these and other passages, with a view to understanding the conceptions of the Apostolic age, leads to the conclusion that the ideas of Apostolical Succession, or even of clergy and laity as separate orders, were not, as yet, born, and that organization was an altogether secondary consideration.

Nor do we find anything inconsistent with these conclusions in the epistles.

Consider for a moment the circumstances of the Church of Corinth, when St. Paul wrote to it his first letter. He had spent a year and a half there, surely long enough to have not only made a large number of converts, but to have thoroughly organized the Church; and yet, despite the fact that divisions and disorders were rife in the Church of Corinth, that letter

is not addressed to any officers or ministers at all, whether bishops, presbyters, or deacons, but unto the "Church of God, which is at Corinth, even them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place."

It is inconceivable that a modern bishop should write to any church amongst us, under similar circumstances, without especial mention of the ministry. In 1 Corinthians xvi. 16, and again in 1 Thessalonians v. 12, reference is made to the ministering brethren, and the apostle exhorts, not commands, his readers "to be in subjection unto such, and to every one that helpeth in the work and laboreth"; and again, "to know them that labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them exceeding highly in love for their work's sake," but there is no mention of an authoritative commission, and the context and the larger context of the whole letters exclude any such notion. But there are one or two passages in the epistles which the older writers on the ministry either entirely overlooked or of which they failed to perceive the true significance.

There are certain passages in which a direct divine appointment is assigned to certain ministers in the Church. Thus, in 1 Corinthians

xii. 28, we read: "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues." And again in Ephesians iv. 11: "And he gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers." But the striking thing to notice is that as orders of a ministry (if they ever were orders), every one of these has passed away, and, on the other hand, there is no mention at all of bishops, presbyters or deacons. Now, let us suppose that the text had run, 'God hath set some in the Church, first, bishops; secondly, presbyters; thirdly, deacons,' then we might indeed have drawn from it the deduction that these were of divine appointment, and that it would be sacrilegious even to hint that any other form of ministry could be valid. And yet, we should have been wrong in making that deduction. For although God set apostles, prophets, teachers, helps, men with gifts of healing and of tongues, yet these have all passed away, or at all events their offices have undergone transformation.<sup>24</sup>

Somewhat later than the time when 1 Corinthians was written, viz., in the Epistle to the

<sup>24</sup> On Prophets, see Allen, "Christian Institutions," or any recent monograph on the Christian Ministry.

Philippians, we have mention of bishops and deacons, but these bishops are equivalent to presbyters and not successors of the apostles. In the pastoral epistles we have somewhat elaborate directions concerning the ministry, from which it is clear that the importance of organization is growing, but there is nothing, so far as I am aware, that is in contradiction with Professor Armitage Robinson's conclusion that "Church order is from the beginning a sacred growth, directed by the constant presence within of the Holy Spirit, so as to meet the needs of a living and multiplying society; it is not a scheme delivered by the Lord to the apostles, and by the apostles to the Church. The body of Christ is an organism rather than an organization."<sup>25</sup> With regard to the significance of the laying on of hands, Hort says: "Jewish usage in the case of Rabbis and their disciples renders it highly probable that, as a matter of fact, laying on of hands was largely practised in the Ecclesia of the Apostolic age, as a rite introductory to ecclesiastical office. But . . . it can hardly be likely that any essential principle was held to be involved in it. It was enough that an Ecclesia should, in modern phrase, be organized, . . . and that all things should be done decently and in order."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Guardian*, March 9th, 1898.    <sup>26</sup> "Ecclesia," p. 216.

In concluding this part of my subject, let me give two quotations which have this peculiar merit, that whilst they are both from authors of accredited ability, neither of them are from controversial writers or controversial writings. Dr. Latham, in a book which created wide-spread interest a few years ago, entitled "Pastor Pastorum," after a discussion of the relation of our Lord to the Church as an organization, sums up thus: "Church polities, like forms of secular government, were to be formed by men of each age for themselves, and to lay down a system for which divine authority would inevitably be claimed, would bar all human intervention in matters ecclesiastical, and hamper men's minds in ways that I have glanced at before. . . . A visible church framed by our Lord would have afforded a model from any line in the construction of which it would have been heresy to swerve. Men would not only have consecrated the principles of its polity, but they would have seized on the visible constitution and points of practice, and have battled for these to the death. We should have had an institution divinely authorized, and which therefore could not in the smallest particular be changed, imposed on races inheriting different temperaments, and one ecclesiastical rule would have been fixed for all time."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> "Pastor Pastorum," pp. 236, 237.

The second quotation is from a sermon preached by Phillips Brooks, and appears to me exactly to sum up the truth on this subject. "Did Christ construct a system, decree a government, designate officers, establish a perpetual economy by the direct interposition of His divine authority? Or did He establish principles; set truths at work which of themselves were freely to shape the outward form in which they were to live? That to a certain extent He did the first, there can be no doubt. That He ordained an outward Church, established sacraments, intended a ministry, there can be no doubt. But more and more, the longer I am in the Church, and in the ministry, it appears plain to me that He did not order the details of the Church's government or appoint the grades or function of its ministers. . . . He taught His truth, He gave His Spirit, He sent His ministers, but He did not make bishops, priests and deacons. He did not establish any pattern of worship. He did not declare how or when His sacraments should be administered. All these things shaped themselves out of the free life of the Church. They are free to change, as the Gospel, always the same, changes its attitude towards each changing age."

I must ask your attention for a few moments longer whilst we glance at one or two features



of the organization of the Church during the first three centuries. The question to be answered here is, Do we find at the end of the first century a fixed ministry of bishops, presbyters and deacons, or do the facts point to a ministry which, just as in the Apostolic times, was in course of a development largely shaped by the circumstances of the times?

In the first place, we must notice that no one knows when, or by whom, the Episcopal system of government was inaugurated. Bishop Lightfoot has shown excellent reason for supposing St. John had much to do with it, but there is no direct evidence to this effect, although some writers, almost in the same breath that they deprecate the speculations of others, mention it as an ascertained fact.<sup>28</sup> In the opening paragraph of the *Guardian's* Review of Dr. Moberly's "Ministerial Priesthood," reference is made "to the daring speculations of Dr. Hatch," but further on we read: "The Church must have gone, in outlying districts of Syria and in parts of the west, through an anxious period, before, under the leadership of St. John, the definite threefold ministry took shape as the one divinely authorized form for all the churches." This is a surprising sentence. Not only is the theory of Rothe and Lightfoot concerning St. John's

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Guardian*, February 2nd, 1893.

part in the evolution of episcopacy assumed as an historical fact, but a further quite baseless assumption is made that St. John ordained the threefold ministry as the one divinely authorized form for all the churches.

The old and oft-repeated view, that the same officers in the Church who were first called apostles came afterwards to be designated bishops, is said by Lightfoot to be "baseless."<sup>29</sup> "It is not, therefore," he adds, "to the apostle that we must look for the prototype of the bishop." The conclusion to which Lightfoot comes is, that "the episcopate, properly so called, would seem to have been developed from the subordinate office. In other words, the episcopate was formed, not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyteral by elevation; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them."<sup>30</sup> The evidence which we possess, scanty enough, it must be admitted, is in favor of the supposition that this development of the episcopate was the result not of any foreordained scheme or plan of church organization, but, under pressure of circumstances, it became desirable that the elements of the Christian society should be more closely cemented together

<sup>29</sup> "The Christian Ministry," pp. 193, 194.

<sup>30</sup> *Ut sup.* p. 194.

by more compact organization of the Church. Jerome says, that "before factions were introduced into religion by the prompting of the devil, the churches were governed by a council of elders, but as soon as each man began to consider those whom he baptized belonged to himself, and not to Christ, it was decided throughout the world that one selected from among the elders should be placed over the rest, so that the care of the Church should devolve on him, and the seeds of schism be removed."<sup>31</sup> "But," continues Lightfoot, "there is no reason for supposing that any direct ordinance was issued to the churches."<sup>32</sup> After it was "firmly established" in the principal cities of Asia Minor, during the early years of the second century, there is still no trace of the bishop at Philippi or at Corinth, two churches of St. Paul's own foundation. And even as regards Rome, Lightfoot declares that "the attempt to decipher the early history of episcopacy here seems hopeless, where the evidence is at once scanty and conflicting."

Around the history of the Church at Alexandria the storm of controversy has raged, and, indeed, still rages. Yet Lightfoot, despite all written on the other side, adhered to the view that "at Alexandria the bishop was nominated,

<sup>31</sup> "The Christian Ministry," p. 204.

<sup>32</sup> *Ut sup.* p. 205.

and apparently ordained by the twelve presbyters out of their own number."<sup>33</sup> But even after the episcopate was formed, the development of the powers of the bishop, and of the ideas connected with his office, continued until at least the time of Cyprian (*circ.* 250 A.D.).

Let us now sum up our results :

1. The four Gospels contain no record of any definite instructions from our Lord to His disciples concerning church organization.

2. But there are plain indications that He intended to found a society.

3. Which all the evidence shows, was at first analogous to the Jewish synagogue, not the temple. In the synagogue the idea of succession, and other ideas afterwards attached to the ministry, had no place.

4. The commission of Christ is given to the apostles, as representatives of the whole Church, not to the ministry only.

5. No especial authority is referred to as necessary for the administration of the Holy Communion.

6. The Acts of the Apostles and the epistles support these conclusions.

7. They show, just as does the history of the

<sup>33</sup> "The Christian Ministry," pp. 224 and 229. On the other side, the reader may consult Gore, on "The Christian Ministry."

Primitive Church, that the ministry was a gradual development, in accordance with the circumstances and needs of the time.

But there is nothing in all this that is in conflict with the doctrine that the Holy Spirit guides and directs the course of the Church. The Church of Christ has been thought of in the same way that the world itself was thought of by the Deists—as a machine, divinely created and set in motion, and then left. It is supposed that unless we have a variety of infallible authorities—popes, councils, or ministries—the Church cannot endure the assaults of her foes, or maintain the allegiance of men. Such persons forget the promise of Christ, “Lo, I am with you alway.” It is through that same Holy Spirit, who takes of the things of Christ and shows them to us, that the Church is supported. Without that Spirit, there is no security in popes, or councils, or bishops; with the Spirit, no mechanical supports of any kind are essential. As a matter of fact, neither popes, councils, nor bishops, thought of as divinely necessary, have given unity to the Church. By exalting to the place which belongs to that guiding Spirit, any earthly authorities, by declaring this, that, or the other form eternally necessary, may we not be hindering or frustrating the power of the Spirit? Is there no need that we should ask ourselves whether,

by its traditions, the Church has not sometimes made the Word of God of none effect ?

At the same time I must ask you to believe what I hope to make clear in my next lecture, that I am not advancing anything against episcopacy, as it is taught in the formularies of the Anglican Church. I must ask you also to notice that most of the authorities quoted have been names of high repute and honor in the Anglican communion. I believe that, rightly regarded, the Historic Episcopate may yet become a means of external unity. For, as a distinguished Presbyterian writer<sup>34</sup> says, "Anglicans have a strong position when they argue that it would be unwise to depart from a system of government which obtained early and general acceptance." And Dr. Andrews, formerly President of Brown University, says: "A great many clergymen in these bodies" (Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist are cited) "stand ready, for the sake of promoting Church Unity, to take bishop's orders, so soon as any bishops are ready to ordain them, with the understanding that their original ordination is not abjured."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> "G," in the *Queen's Quarterly*.

<sup>35</sup> "Church Unity," p. 103.

## LECTURE V.

### *THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE.*

WHEN one attempts to define the position of the Church of England, in regard to such a subject as the Historic Episcopate, he at once encounters the difficulty that there is within her borders a great diversity of opinion and important variations in the interpretation of her accredited formularies. We are not even agreed as to what the expression, "Historic Episcopate," implies in the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. By some it is taken as the equivalent of Apostolical Succession.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is maintained that the bishops in choosing this expression, "fastened on certain words, the characteristic of which is that they express a fact, without at all insisting upon any theory of the fact."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Francis J. Hall, on "The Historic Episcopate," in the Church Club Lectures, New York, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Dr. Huntington, "The Peace of the Church." Cf. also Dr. Shields in "Church Unity," p. 48.

The Historic Episcopate is certainly venerable with age. It has been the form of Church government under which the world was converted, and under which it lived for sixteen centuries, and is still full of vitality. On these grounds, it is inserted as a plank in the Anglican platform of unity. But no one is asked to accept any particular theory of the nature and sanction of the Christian ministry. That Rev. Francis Hall is wrong, and that Rev. Dr. Huntington is right, seems clear to me from the fact that there are certainly English, and probably American bishops also, who would emphatically reject the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, and who would, therefore, on no account, have agreed to the fourth term, had any particular interpretation of it, such as that of Mr. Hall, been regarded as its only possible interpretation.

When we turn to the formularies of our Church, we find in one place the clearest possible statement of the terms upon which the Church of England allows a minister to officiate in her communion. But the doctrine of Apostolical Succession is nowhere laid down, nor, indeed, any doctrine of the ministry. She neither affirms nor denies the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, as an essential mark of the Church or any branch of the Church. "The English Church has been content to give her



decision as to the right mode of ordaining, ministering sacraments and exercising discipline, without expressing an opinion on the degree of defectiveness in such matters, which would cause other communions to cease from being churches of Christ."<sup>3</sup>

The nineteenth article of the Church of England is entitled, "Of the Church." It is extremely brief, and it defines the visible Church as "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

Nothing is here directly said of a ministry, although, no doubt, something is implied in the words "duly ministered." It is worthy of notice that the article is modelled upon the seventh article of the Confession of Augsburg, the confession of the non-episcopal Lutheran Communion, which says, "There is one Holy Church to abide forever. And the Church is a congregation of Saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administered."<sup>4</sup>

No direct statements concerning the nature of the ministry are to be found in the Homilies or

<sup>3</sup> "Browne on the Articles," p. 467. 12th edition.

<sup>4</sup> *Ut sup.* p. 451.

in the Catechism of Edward VI., 1553, or Noel's Catechism, or Bishop Ridley's definition of the Church.<sup>5</sup>

The preface to the form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons, found in the Prayer Book, defines clearly that episcopal ordination is necessary for any minister in the Anglican Church, and in terms which are by some supposed to imply the doctrine of Apostolical Succession. This preface was composed in 1550, and is found in the first and second Prayer Book of Edward VI. In 1661 it was revised, and it is in this revised form that it now stands in our Prayer Book.

The words pertinent to our inquiry are as follows: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore had in such reverent Estimation that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by public Prayer with Imposition of Hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful Authority.

<sup>5</sup> Browne, pp. 451, 452.

And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England; no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination."

Now, whilst in this preface the Historic Episcopate is laid down as a fact, and I may here remark that nothing in the previous lecture conflicts with this preface, no doctrine is formulated whether of Apostolical Succession or any other. The Church of England, at the time of the Reformation, here as elsewhere acted on certain definite principles, one of which was that things ancient and of proved value, that did not conflict with Holy Scripture, were to be retained. Now, the Historic Episcopate was ancient, of proved value, and did not conflict with Scripture. Therefore it was retained. But it is not laid down as essential to the being or of the *esse* of the Church. Most careful were the framers of this ordinal to say that, "to the intent that these orders may be continued, and reverently used, and esteemed *in the Church of England*, no man shall be accounted or taken

to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon, *in the Church of England.*"

So far, then, the formularies of our Church support the Historic Episcopate. Unless they be in some way changed, no man can exercise any of the offices of a bishop, priest, or deacon, in the Church of England, unless he be episcopally ordained. But I contend that they do not support the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, nor intend to deny to those communions which are without the Historic Episcopate, the right to be regarded as branches of the Holy Catholic Church. But the question may well be asked, "What are the said functions?" referred to in the preface to the ordinal? They are the functions of a bishop, priest, or deacon, as prescribed in the ordinal itself or in the services of the Church. Yet it is interesting to note how large a part of these functions is now taken by laymen—laymen read the lessons, almost the entire order for morning and evening prayer, and preach regularly here in Canada. Surely this is in direct contravention of the preface to the ordinal, or else these things do not exclusively belong to the functions of bishop, priest or deacons, in which event there can be no fundamental reason why a minister of some other denomination should not preach in our churches. As a matter of fact, even in conservative

England, Nonconformist ministers have read the lessons in the parish churches. Is not this a part of the "Ministry of God's Word"? In the use of the lay readers in Canada, we have an instructive illustration of the way in which the pressure of circumstances modifies standing forms and rules.

In order to support this position, let me draw your attention to the opinions of those who were leaders of the Reformation and of the period immediately subsequent to the Reformation.

Let us begin with Hooker. Hooker believed that episcopacy was scriptural, but he also believed that the Church had great liberty in its choice of government and ceremonial. As Matthew Arnold says, "Hooker's great work against the impugnors of the order and discipline of the Church of England was written, . . . not because Episcopalianism is essential, but because its impugnors maintained that Presbyterianism is essential, and that Episcopalianism is sinful."<sup>6</sup>

Hooker himself writes concerning divisions: "Which divisions and contentions might have easily been prevented if the orders, which each church did think fit and convenient for itself, had not so peremptorily been established under

<sup>6</sup> From Allen's "Continuity of Christian Thought," pp. 328, 329—note.

high commanding form, which tendered them unto the people as things everlastingly required by the law of that Lord of hosts against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this it came to pass, that one church could not but condemn another of disobedience to the will of Christ.

Hooker further writes: "The unity of which visible body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord* whose servants they all profess themselves, and that *one Faith* which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptism* wherewith they are all initiated."<sup>8</sup> These, and these only, he describes as "things which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of Christianity." Again, whilst admitting the importance of Church polity, he says: "We must note . . . that the necessity of polity and regimen in all churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all."<sup>9</sup>

He declares that all Church constitutions are of the nature of a human law,<sup>10</sup> but even if otherwise, he contends that "neither God's being author of laws, nor His committing

<sup>7</sup> From "Continuity of Christian Doctrine," p. 329.

<sup>8</sup> Hooker, "The Law: of Ecclesiastical Polity," III. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ut sup.* III. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ut sup.* III. 9.

them unto Scripture, . . . is any reason sufficient wherefore all churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change."<sup>11</sup> He asks, whether when our Lord declared that He had "concealed not any part of His Father's will," "any part of that will required the immutability of laws concerning Church polity," and argues that "Christ did not mean to set down particular positive laws for all things in such sort as Moses did."<sup>12</sup> Finally, he calls certain reformed bodies without episcopal government churches, and will go no further than to say that he regards government, that is, by bishops, as that which best agreeth with Scripture.<sup>13</sup> Hooker had, however, no doubts about the divine origin of episcopacy. "Let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that if anything in the Church's government, surely the first institution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the author of it." Mr. C. Raymond Beazley thus sums up Hooker's teaching on this head: "As to the question of the necessity of episcopacy he will not decide. . . . There are great branches of religious life, he insists, for which no fundamental rules are laid down in the New Testament. There are laws of the Church as there are laws of man, which expediency dictates,

<sup>11</sup> Hooker, III. 10. <sup>12</sup> *Ut sup.* III. 11. <sup>13</sup> *Ut sup.* III. 11.

but which have still a binding force on all who would be governed by reason or constrained by law at all. Much may become requisite which was not at first ordained ; some things, too, may be abandoned which were at first required. . . . The ecclesiastical polity of England is that which most nearly satisfies Scripture and the times. Yet he will not insist that it is immutable, or declare it is of universal obligation."<sup>14</sup>

At the time of the Reformation ecclesiastical and secular politics were closely knit together. It is not surprising, therefore, to find leading politicians taking a great interest in church questions. Thus Lord Bacon writes: "I, for my part, do confess, that in revolving the Scriptures I could never find any such thing, but that God hath left the like liberty to the church government as He hath done to the civil government, to be varied according to time and place and accidents, which, nevertheless, His high and Divine Providence doth order and dispose. . . . In church matters the substance of doctrine is immutable, and so are the general rules of government, but for rites and ceremonies and for the particular hierarchies, policies and disciplines of the Church they are left at large. And, therefore, it is good that we return unto the ancient bond of unity in the

<sup>14</sup> "Social England," Vol. III.



Church of God, which was *one faith, one baptism, not one hierarchy, one discipline.*"<sup>15</sup>

When Archbishop Bramhall (1594-1663), who is described as a great anti-Puritan Irish prelate, and as closely imitating Laud in policy, reordained certain ministers, he inserted the following clause in their letters of orders:

"Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros Ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio judicii relinquimus, sed solummodo suppletentes quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiae Anglicanae requisitum, et providentes paci Ecclesiae, ut schismatis tollatur occasio et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitantes de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversantes."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Purification and Edification of the Church. Speding's "Life." Vol. III., pp. 107, 108.

<sup>16</sup> From *Church Quarterly Review*. Vol. XXI., pp. 132, 133: "Not annulling his previous orders (if he had such), nor determining their validity or invalidity, much less condemning all the holy orders of foreign churches, which we leave to Him who alone can judge, but merely supplying what was previously lacking as required by the canons of the English Church, and providing for the peace of the Church, so as to take away occasion for schism and satisfy the consciences of the faithful; nor in any way doubting as to his ordination or rejecting his presbyteral acts as invalid."

When accused by Baxter of unchurcing other Protestants, Bramhall replied that "they (*i.e.*, Episcopal divines) do not deny those churches to be true churches wherein salvation is to be had. They will readily subscribe to Bishop Andrews' determination: If episcopacy be of divine right it does not follow that there is no salvation without it, or that a church cannot consist without it. He is blind who doth not see churches consisting without it; he is hard-hearted who denieth them salvation. There may be something absent in the exterior regimen which is of divine right, and yet salvation be to be had." He even adds that he grants to them the true nature and essence of a church, although it is contended that he contradicts this in other parts of his writings.<sup>17</sup>

There appears to be abundant evidence that before the time when the great conflict between the Parliament and the Crown embittered the relations between Churchmen and Puritans, the Presbyterian orders of France and Germany were unquestioned. Bishop Cosin, who was a High Churchman, in advising a person named Cordel, who had scruples about it, to communicate with French Protestants, says: "If at any time a minister so ordained (*i.e.*, unepiscopally)

<sup>17</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, *ut sup.* p. 133. Cf. also quotation from Cosin, pp. 65, 66.

in their French churches came to incorporate himself in ours and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance in many others before my time), our bishops *did not reordain him* before they admitted him to his charge, as they would have done if his former ordination here in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received among us, and to subscribe the articles established."<sup>18</sup>

Nothing can be more certain than that no modern High Churchman of the Oxford school would write thus, and if High Churchmen like Cosin, Andrews and Bramhall held these moderate views, what must have been the opinions of those who correspond to the Low Churchmen of our day? But I have not brought these views before you merely for controversial purposes. It appears to me that they have a practical bearing upon our own circumstances. It was natural enough that after the Commonwealth the lines of division between English Nonconformity and the Anglican Church should

<sup>18</sup> Child, "Church and State under the Tudors," pp. 295, 296.

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be more deeply drawn. The Nonconformist had gone out from the Church. In his hour of triumph he had not failed to heap insult and ignominy upon the Church. At the restoration the Church retaliated. The story is a sad one, and neither side is free from blame, although from the time of Hooker onwards it seems clear that the Puritans were the more exclusive and narrow of the two parties. "The power-holding cause, or school or party, regularly and consistently tried under Elizabeth, under James and Charles—under the great rebellion in America, as in England—to bend all other parties to its will, to produce a uniformity in religion that should answer to the uniformity in the State, and should reflect the mind of the Government for the time being. This was why "new presbyter was but old priest writ large"; this was why, as Matthew Arnold pointed out in "St. Paul and Protestantism," every one of the Stuart attempts at compromise between Anglican and Puritan was such a hopeless failure; this was why every revision of the Prayer Book failed to satisfy. For the opposition was one which aimed not to broaden the Church into something that might include an expanding national life, but at narrowing it, forcing it into the straits of some particular discipline, just as

the giant in the old Greek fable fitted all passers-by into his bed."<sup>19</sup>

But here in Canada we leave behind these old grounds of dispute. We have no Established Church, we have no Nonconformists, and, therefore, it appears to me that, instead of regarding our relations to the Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists in the way in which such relations may with some excuse be regarded in England, we should rather regard them as similar to those between the Anglican Church and the continental Reformed Churches at the period of the Reformation. If Bishop Andrews could say, that "he must be stone blind that sees not churches standing" without episcopal government, surely we have as much reason to say the same here in Canada to-day. And if this be so, then I would earnestly plead that we should without, as yet at all events, proposing any changes in the canons of our Church, seek to co-operate with the churches about us in every possible way. Our attitude towards them must be changed. No doubt, to some extent we are rivals, but to a large extent we are allies. Let us look more steadfastly upon that large circle of things wherein we are agreed, and less often and less particularly upon the

<sup>19</sup> C. Raymond Beazley in "Social England." Vol. III., pp. 433, 434.

smaller circle of things wherein we differ. The results of history cannot be undone in a day. But it is the object of this and the previous lecture to show that no fundamental principle divides us from the larger body of our brethren of the Reformed Churches, and that by drawing together in the bonds of sympathy and charity, and for the courteous exchange of views, we shall easily and naturally promote, and in time consummate, the unity of the Church.

There must be, there need be, no hurry, provided we seek ever to be moving on. Enchanting as the prospect of a great church of the English-speaking peoples may be, we must, with the poet, say :

“I do not ask to see

The distant scene ; one step enough for me.”

At the outset of the previous lecture it was indicated that, although to all appearances the dividing lines between High Anglicanism and non-episcopal Communion are as sharply drawn as ever, there yet appeared to be some faint signs of a mutual understanding.

It is now time to point out the grounds of this opinion.

1. In the first place, amongst a considerable section of the High Church school the doctrine of

the Apostolical Succession is held with less rigor than formerly. Able, candid and unprejudiced men, as many of them are, they cannot be altogether indifferent to the singular fact that this doctrine has met with its ablest antagonists not outside but inside the Anglican fold. And further, that these men have none of them been, in any narrow sense, scarcely in any sense at all controversial theologians, but the ablest, most honest, and impartial scholars of their day. Leaving out Dr. Hatch (whose brilliant scholarship, however, none will deny), we may mention the great names of Lightfoot, Hort and Sanday. The authority of Lightfoot is so great that both parties sometimes seek to claim him. Yet, despite the consternation which the publication of his "Essay on the Christian Ministry" caused, he steadily refused to alter it in any respect in subsequent editions of that essay. The *Guardian* reviewer of "Moberly's Ministerial Priesthood," however, truly says that "there is nothing to be gained by denying that the essay cuts at the root of the principle of an authoritative ministerial commission from God, original in the person of the apostles and transmitted from them down the generations of the Church unto the end."

Westcott has not directly dealt with the sub-

ject, but there are indications that he is in agreement with the others on the main points.<sup>20</sup>

2. Secondly, the zeal and piety of the Reformed Churches is an argument which very properly carries greater weight than previously. How can these churches show so much of the evidence of the Spirit's power if they are outside the sphere of covenanted grace? This is a question more and more difficult to answer from any rigid High Anglican standpoint. It is agreed that the Spirit is not bound to the ordinary channels of grace, but has exceptional modes of operation. But when the exceptions exceed or even approach the rule, then we are apt to think that there must be something wrong with the rule. It is, further, hard to find an answer to the argument that if these bodies are outside the sphere of covenanted grace, and yet show such manifold signs of grace, then the Almighty seems to connive at

<sup>20</sup> For Westcott, in addition to the already quoted comment on John xx. 23, cf. "The Resurrection of our Lord," Chap. III. sections 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 39.

In Hort's "Published Letters" there is one to Dr. Hatch in which he says: "On the question of organization I imagine we agree more than we differ. I quite go with you in condemning the refusal of fellowship with sister churches, merely because they make no use of some elements of organization assumed to be *jure Divino* essential."—"Life and Letters," Vol. II., p. 357.



schism. These difficulties are being felt by the younger High Churchman. Thus the Rev. Hensley Henson in a recent book says: "History is a present teacher, and we may not wisely or reasonably shut our eyes to the lessons of contemporary events. Christianity, as we know it, is largely non-episcopal, and non-episcopal Christians are not less rich in moral fruits than other Christians. The graces of the Holy Ghost are as apparent in the Presbyterian, the Lutheran, and the Wesleyan as in the Anglican, the Roman Catholic and the Greek.

. . . We must acquiesce apparently in a position which is neither logical nor popular. On the one hand, we cannot either abandon an ecclesiastical *régime*, which, as far as we can perceive, derives its authority from our Lord, or surrender an ideal which is the assumption of the New Testament, and the legacy of the primitive ages; on the other hand, we cannot use the language of denunciation or contempt towards the non-episcopal systems, which have considerable historical justification, and are so manifestly blest of God."<sup>21</sup>

These words may be described as the utterance of a High Churchman, but of a High Churchman whose mind is in a state of unstable equilibrium.

<sup>21</sup> "Light and Leaven," by H. Hensley Henson, M.A., quoted from the *Guardian's* review.

It is not a condition of mind that can continue long unchanged. And I venture to think that such minds will, as they continue to study and restudy the evidence, at length agree that it is but a low degree of probability upon the basis of which the larger part of English-speaking Christians are practically unchurched; and that a low degree of probability for a doctrine of such far-reaching consequence as that of the Apostolical Succession is equivalent to its disproof.

Supposing, now, the young High Churchmen should come to this conclusion. Are we to say that the Oxford Movement has come to nought? Are we to say that the whole of the literary work of the High Church school is built up upon an untenable hypothesis? I think not. For the idea of the Church is the fundamental idea of the High Churchman. He has vigorously and successfully protested against the Individualism of Protestantism. He has claimed that the idea of a universal society is a part of the essence of Christianity, and that all forms of Christianity which fail to embody this idea are imperfect. He can find abundant scriptural testimony to the truth of this position.

But to it he has added the assumption that this church must have an unchangeable kind of government, and one that rests in its precise

form upon divine right. To him it seems that without this there can be no guarantee of the continuance of orthodoxy or of unity. He forgets that it is largely out of these claims that our divisions have sprung. He forgets that the Holy Spirit can take care of His own. Like Uzzah of old, he stretches out a human hand to protect the Ark of God. I know how short a distance my voice can reach. I know that there is an appearance of assumption even in the request, but as one who has many intimate friends amongst High Churchmen, as one who knows their love of truth, their sincerity, their zeal, their pure unaffected goodness, as one who acknowledges how much he has learnt from them, I appeal with all my strength to the High Churchman to consider or to reconsider the question whether his idea of the Church and his doctrine of Apostolical Succession are not two separate and by no means necessarily connected things. It has been said, and I believe not without sympathy, although by a Congregationalist, that the point for which High Churchmen have in reality been struggling has been "rather that of the divine character of the Christian Society than the divine authority inherent in one form of Society."<sup>22</sup>

And I make this appeal with the greater

<sup>22</sup> Vernon Bartlet, in *Contemporary Review*, *ut sup.*

earnestness and urgency, because I see that whilst the High Churchman is becoming less rigid in his High Churchism, the Protestant is becoming less rigid in his Protestantism. There is a *rapprochement* between them.

In proof of this, I need not remind you of the thoroughly "High" conception of the Church entertained by the late Prof. Milligan, of Aberdeen, in his lectures on "The Resurrection of our Lord." But I would ask your attention to some words of the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, in the *Contemporary Review*, in which he speaks not for himself only, but for that movement towards the federation of the Nonconformist churches in England, which is sometimes called "The Free Church Unity Movement": "There can be no doubt that as the result of the misery of the times through which we have passed, and of our endless divisions and disputes, many have practically lost all conception of the Christian Church. The astonishing and impressive revival of Anglicanism is due to the new idea of the Church which Cardinal Newman presented to two generations of young Englishmen at St. Mary's, Oxford, and the leaders of this movement deeply realize that what the Evangelical Church in this country needs, perhaps more than anything else, is a definite, positive and scriptural conception of the

Christian Church." And again: "We do not attempt to escape from practical difficulties, by arguing that the Church is an invisible body. . . . We hold as strongly as any that Christ came into this world, not merely and not mainly to save individual men, but to establish a Church, and the Church He established is obviously a visible Church. Baptism, the sacrament of initiation, cannot be administered by or to an invisible Church. The Holy Communion, the perpetually renewed sacrament of membership, is equally inapplicable to an invisible Church. We repudiate the modern dangerous delusion that religion is simply a matter between a man and his Maker. The Christian religion has, at every stage, relation to our fellowmen as to our God and Saviour. The highest and richest blessings of personal sanctification are offered, not to the individual who isolates himself, but to the Christian Church. . . . We do not believe in the permanence of any Christian work which is not securely founded on the Church created by Christ."<sup>23</sup>

These are words which would never have been written without the Oxford Movement. The best, the deepest, the truest spirit of High

<sup>23</sup> Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, on "Free Church Unity; The New Movement." *Contemporary Review*, 1897.

Churchism finds expression in them. Is it not true, then, that there are signs of an approaching alliance between what I may call Catholicism and Protestantism ?

The full and perfect idea of the Church has not as yet been completely grasped by either high or low, perhaps never by any one man except St. Paul. The Catholicism that took its rise in the third century and culminated in what we call Roman Catholicism, makes of the Church a dualism, a double body of clergy and laity, and ultimately locates the Spirit, not in the Church, but in the clergy. Protestantism reacting against this, lost almost entirely the conception of the body, the social organism. . . . To-day we are beginning to understand that it is the whole body that is the Spirit-bearing body. This is the view of Dr. Hort, and hence his "Ecclesia" seems to me to be worthy to be called an Eirenicon. As Professor Armitage Robinson says: "This view at least deserves the most serious consideration; surely it involves the very loftiest conception of the Ecclesia as the Body of Christ and His only complete representative in the world." Worthy of note is also a letter by Professor Sanday, in which, deprecating some criticisms passed upon "Ecclesia," he concludes: "I am tempted

to say both to Canon Gore and to Dr. Moberly that if they could consider the Christian Ecclesia, not so much in reference to the logic of their own system as in the influence which it is calculated to have on those who approach the subject from a different standpoint, and the extent to which it helps to establish a common ground for the two parties, they might perhaps see reason to value more highly those parts of it with which they agree and insist somewhat less on those from which they differ."<sup>24</sup>

And if this position which is, after all, not essentially new, but which I believe agrees more nearly than any other with our Anglican formularies, be openly espoused by the Anglican Church, if we admit that the whole body is the Spirit bearer, I for one believe that for the sake of unity, for the sake of the preservation of what is historically so venerable, and which is yet a living power, our brethren will not indeed submit to reordination, but will accept for all who shall subsequently be ordained, the Historic Episcopate in the democratic form in which it is found in the Anglican Communion on this side of the Atlantic Ocean.

The view of the Christian ministry set forth in this and the previous lecture is in thorough accord

<sup>24</sup> *Guardian*, March 9th, 1898.

with the principles of Lecture III. We saw there that liberty is one of the fundamental ideas of our time, and that no proposals for unity have the slightest prospect of success which do not provide for the liberty of the children of God. The second fundamental idea of our time is love. The idea of liberty inevitably belongs to the idea of divine sonship. And the idea of love as inevitably belongs to the conception of the brotherhood of man. Developed to its logical conclusions, the doctrine of Apostolical Succession involves the idea of a Church within the Church. The ministry becomes a self-containing body, with no necessary connection with the main body of the Church, the laity. But this doctrine cuts at the root of Christian liberty. The laity are not free, but at the mercy of the ministry. It also cuts at the root of the Christian brotherhood, for the ministry, conceived of as quite independent of the laity, and as the necessary channels of grace, are the only true sons of God. All others are dependents or retainers.

The true conception of the Church is that of the family of God, within which is a great diversity of function, but all ideally stand on an equal footing of brotherhood, and are equally near to the Father who is equally accessible to all. No part of the family has exclusive access to the



Spirit. The Church is the Spirit-bearing body. And this view corrects alike the one-sidedness of the individualist who regards the salvation of his own soul as the object of his life, and is indifferent to the unity of the members of the family, and that of the Romanist who reduces the children of God to servants entirely dependent upon the priesthood.

## LECTURE VI.

### *THE RELATION BETWEEN CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.*

THE subject of this lecture, at first sight, appears to have but little to do with Christian Unity. But I trust by the time it is concluded you will see that it has, perhaps, of them all, the most practical bearing upon the question.

The course of the argument will be directed to show that there are always intimate connections between ecclesiastical and civil polity. Contrary to our expectations, however, it is the civil that leads the way, and to it the ecclesiastical adapts itself. If this thesis can be demonstrated, then we ought to be able, from the study of the larger political movements of to-day, to forecast some of the ecclesiastical movements of to-morrow.

When our Lord stood before Pontius Pilate, He acknowledged that He was a King, but added, "My kingdom is not of this world," by which we are not to understand that it does not

exist in the world, but that its principles and methods are not the principles and methods of worldly kingdoms. "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." Not with spear and sword, not by political intrigue, but by the announcement of the truth was the kingdom of Christ to be built up, and the unifying attractive power was not as in the Roman Empire, force, the power of the "big battalions," but Love.

It follows from this that Christianity does not directly interfere with political forms. Of the heathen Emperor, with all his subordinates, the apostle could write: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." For "the powers that be are ordained of God." Thus it was that Christianity did not directly interfere with even so anti-Christian a custom as slavery. Christianity was essentially a new spirit, a body of new ideas—the truth, the good news—and the primary function of its apostles was to be the heralds of this good news to the world. "Christ sent me," cried St. Paul, "not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." Hence Christianity aimed at leavening the world with its new ideas, and thus indirectly and without revolution to transform the face of society. Except in those cases where conscience forbade them, they were the most obedient and loyal

citizens of the Empire. And history shows that it has always been so. Christians are obedient to the powers that be. If, however, in any form of government or in any social customs, there has been anything essentially contrary to the spirit of Christianity, by the faithful proclamation of true principles men's minds have been gradually won to truth and, although not always without violent shocks, the false has been eliminated and steady progress has been made in the transformation of the kingdoms of this world into the kingdom of our God and of His Christ.

But it is not to this process that I wish to draw your attention, but rather to a very interesting phenomenon in church history, viz., the way in which, when the Church by degrees came to define its organization, it followed, in some respects, with a remarkable exactness, the forms of organization of the Roman Empire.

It will not be necessary in the course of a popular lecture to trace out the various stages in the adaptation of the Church's outward form to the lines of the imperial government of the Empire. We may take our stand at that period when, after the conversion of the Emperor, the Church and Empire are in alliance. For purposes of local government the Roman Empire was divided into municipalities, provinces and

dioceses. "An important feature of the Roman imperial administration was the respect which it showed to local liberties. For many important purposes a *municipality* was independent: the reality, as well as the form, of republican government lingered in the towns long after it had become extinct at Rome. For certain other purposes a *province* was independent. . . . Every year deputies from the chief town of a province met together in a deliberative assembly."<sup>1</sup> The municipalities of the Empire were grouped into provinces and the provinces were grouped into dioceses.<sup>2</sup> So in like manner in the Christian Church there came to be a similar division and a similar grouping of the divisions. Each municipality had its own bishop. The municipalities were as for civil, so also for ecclesiastical purposes, grouped into provinces, and the provinces into patriarchates, which correspond with the civil diocese. Thus for purposes of jurisdiction we have gradations amongst the bishops. The bishop of the principal town in a province was called the Metropolitan, and the bishop of the chief city of a diocese or patriarchate was called a Patriarch. At first

<sup>1</sup> Hatch, "Organization of the Early Christian Churches." Lecture VII.

<sup>2</sup> The word is not to be confounded with its modern use. In the Empire it represents the largest territorial division.

the bishop of the chief city of a diocese had the same title as its civil head, viz., Exarch.<sup>3</sup>

The custom of meeting together in ecclesiastical councils was also derived from the similar custom of meeting together in civil councils. "Every year deputies from the chief towns of a province met together in a deliberative assembly. This assembly had to some extent a religious character. Its meeting place was the altar of Augustus; its deliberations were preceded by a sacrifice; its president was named a high priest."<sup>4</sup> "Towards the end of the second century the churches of Greece and Asia adopted the useful institutions of provincial synods, and they may justly be supposed to have borrowed the model of a representative council from the celebrated examples of their own country, the Amphictyons, the Achæan League or the assemblies of the Ionian cities."<sup>5</sup>

But after the conversion of the Emperor it became possible and desirable that in addition to provincial there should be "Ecumenical" or imperial councils representative of the whole Church. And so "for matters which affected

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Neander, "Church History." Vol. III., p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Hatch, "Organization of the Early Christian Churches," Lecture VII.

<sup>5</sup> Gibbon, Chap. XV. Gibbon has antedated the institutions of provincial synods by about a century. Cf. Milman's note *in loc.*

the whole body of Christian churches there were general assemblies; . . . for minor matters . . . there were provincial assemblies." By these gradual steps the Christian churches passed from their original state of independence into a great confederation, which closely followed the lines of the imperial government, but which was formed by a process of an entirely voluntary nature.<sup>6</sup>

The three principal cities of the Roman Empire were Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, and these became the seats of bishops who were patriarchs. But of these Rome was the capital of the whole Empire. Naturally, therefore, the Bishop of Rome becomes the principal bishop of the Church. Other things may have contributed to the establishment of his supremacy, but it is rooted not in any direct divine appointment, nor even in any peculiarly ecclesiastical conditions, but in the political circumstances of the time. That this was understood even in the fourth and fifth centuries when the residence of the emperors was at Constantinople, is shown by the fact that the Council of Constantinople, in 381 A.D., directed that the Bishop of Constantinople should take rank next after the Roman Bishop, since Constantinople was New Rome. In 451 A.D. the Council of Chalcedon

<sup>6</sup> Hatch, p. 175.

confirmed this degree, with the following noticeable comparison between the Church of the ancient and that of the new Rome: "The fathers rightly conceded that rank to the episcopate of ancient Rome, because Rome was the mistress city."<sup>7</sup>

This parallel organization of Church and State was a process which might have been expected to continue until the Church became compactly organized and then to have ceased. But it was not so. I am not prepared to say how far the division of the one Catholic church into the eastern or western churches was the result of the division of the one Roman Empire into the eastern and western empires, but it is significant that the division of the Church followed the division of the Empire. "After the eastern and western empires were separated, disputes gradually arose between the eastern and western churches. They differed on some points both of doctrine and ceremony, but the real ground of quarrel was chiefly because the eastern church would never admit the claims of the Bishop of Rome."<sup>8</sup> But passing over the intermediate centuries between the fifth and the thirteenth, we find in the mediæval political

<sup>7</sup> Neander. Vol. III., p. 232.

<sup>8</sup> Freeman, "General Sketch of European History," p. 149.



theories a remarkable correspondence between the conceptions of the Church and State.

Theoretically, Western Europe during the Middle Ages composed one great empire. The various kings and dukes, and other rulers of the parts of this empire, recognized the supremacy of the Emperor. He was, in the language of feudalism, their over-lord. Over against the Emperor stood the Pope, the supreme head of Church and of the spiritual order; and throughout the Middle Ages the Empire and the Church, and the Emperor and the Pope, stood in closest relation to each other. Out of this relationship of the Church and the State there sprang a splendid political theory. Christianity, men reasoned, is a universal religion expressing itself through a universal or catholic church. Corresponding, and as it came to be thought, of necessity corresponding with the catholic church, was the universal empire, wherein all the people of the world are bound together in one vast political federation, at the head of which stands the Emperor. The idea of one world-wide society, with the Pope as its spiritual and the Emperor as its political head, gradually took possession of men's minds, until they looked upon both Church and Empire not only as part of a divine, but also of an eternal, order of things. St. Thomas Aquinas compares the rela-

tion of papal and imperial powers to that of the soul to the body. "The Pope, as God's vicar in matters spiritual, is to lead men to eternal life; the Emperor, as vicar in matters temporal, must so control them in their dealings with one another, that they may be able to pursue undisturbed the spiritual life, and thereby attain the supreme and common end of everlasting happiness." The Emperor, writes a modern Roman Catholic concerning this mediæval theory, is "the steward of Christendom, the mediator between Christian princes, the guardian of peace, the protector of the widow and orphan, the avenger of all injustice."

"One Pope, one Emperor, one Lord, one faith, one kingdom of God upon earth, with the Emperor as its chief for temporal ends, and the Pope for spiritual—this was the mediæval conception of Church and State, of empire and papacy."<sup>9</sup> The Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church are one and the same thing in two aspects. And these ideas inspired not only mediæval architecture, but its painting and its literature. There is in Rome, Mr. Bryce tells us, the copy of a mosaic constructed by Pope Leo III., about A.D. 800. "It represents in the centre Christ surrounded by the apostles, whom He is sending forth to preach the Gospel; one

<sup>9</sup> Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire."

hand is extended to bless, the other holds a book, with the words *Pax Vobis*. Below and to the right, Christ is depicted again, and this time sitting; on His right hand kneels Pope Sylvester, on His left the Emperor Constantine; to the one He gives the keys of heaven and hell, to the other a banner surmounted by a cross. In the group opposite, *i.e.*, on the left side of the arch, we see the Apostle Peter seated, before whom in like manner kneel Pope Leo III. and Charles the Emperor, the latter wearing, like Constantine, his crown. Peter himself grasping the keys, gives to Leo the pallium of an archbishop, to Charles the banner of the Christian arms. The inscription runs: "Blessed Peter, grant to Pope Leo life and to King Charles victory." Such was the theory of the Holy Roman Empire and of the Holy Roman Church in the Middle Ages, a theory which only needs to be stated to show how closely in this case ideas of civil and ecclesiastical polity were related. It may sound startling to unaccustomed ears, but it is the simple truth that had there been no heathen Roman Empire there would have been no Roman Catholic Church, and the real authors, not, of course, of the doctrines, but of the outward and visible form of the Roman Church, are Julius Cæsar and his nephew Octavian. "The truth is," says Professor Freeman, "that

the power of the bishops of Rome had grown up from the same cause as the power of the Emperor of Rome, that is, because Rome was the head city of the world."<sup>10</sup> This ideal of the one Empire and the one Church was magnificent and inspiring. We may cordially admit that it was for the age and its circumstances divinely ordained. But in order to make this admission, we must adopt the "great reconciling principle of development. . . . That principle has for the first time put into our hands 'the leaden rule of Lesbian architecture,' which can adapt itself to all the inequalities of the varied and complex structure of human opinion. It has made it possible for us to understand the errors of men in the past as partial and germinating truths; and to detect how ideas grow up under forms which are inadequate to them, and which finally they throw off when they have reached maturity."<sup>11</sup> Yet the ideal was never even for a moment perfectly realized. And herein, too, we may trace the operation of divine wisdom, which leaves open doors for progress under new forms,

"Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

This theory bore within itself the seeds of its

<sup>10</sup> Freeman, "General Sketch of European History," p. 243.

<sup>11</sup> E. Caird, "Evolution of Religion," p. 5.

own decay. For first, according to the theory, these twin institutions should have been universal. But the Eastern Empire and the Eastern Church lay outside of the pale of the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church. And secondly, there were flaws in the title deeds of both Church and Empire. The Church rested in part upon the famous Forged Decretals. With regard to the Empire, these questions were never answered: "Did Charles the Great, who received the Empire, win it with his own sword, or was it conferred upon him on that memorable Christmas Day, in the year 800 A.D., when he was crowned by Pope Leo at Rome?" "And if he received it, as the Pope always claimed, at the hand of Leo, by what right did the Pope confer empires?" These questions seriously exercised the minds of politicians and ecclesiastics. The ecclesiastics took the short-cut of forgery. A document, entitled "The Donation of Constantine," was composed, wherein it was pretended that the Emperor had granted power over the West to the Popes. "When this donation of Constantine was proved to be an impudent forgery, the whole structure of the temporal power of the Church, of which it was the chief corner-stone, fell into ruins."<sup>12</sup>

In the third place the heads of the Holy

<sup>12</sup> "Encyclopædia Britannica," Article "Canon Law."

Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church were continually fighting. And fourthly, there was the famous schism in the papacy itself. From 1102-1168 there were no fewer than nine Anti-Popes. Each of these causes was like a fresh wedge driven deep into the mediæval theory of Church and State. They gradually but surely dispelled that awe which produced unquestioning obedience. Questions must arise in men's minds when they saw two popes, each claiming supremacy, or pope and emperor, the twin foundations of the commonwealth, engaged in deadly strife. "The system which Constantine founded amid such rejoicing, which culminated so triumphantly in the Empire Church of the Middle Ages, has in each succeeding generation been slowly losing ground, has seen its brightness dimmed and its completeness marred, and sees now those who are most zealous on behalf of its surviving institutions, feebly defend or silently desert the principle upon which all must rest."<sup>13</sup>

But there was another cause of the breaking up of the mediæval theory of Church and State, which we must more carefully observe, because it introduces us to a new illustration of our thesis, that a close relation is always to be discovered between the civil and ecclesiastical

<sup>13</sup> Bryce, p. 108.

development, and that so far as external form is concerned the civil development precedes the ecclesiastical, the latter always adapting itself to the former.

This cause was the gradual decay of the power of the Empire, and the increasing power of the kings with a corresponding growth in the sentiment of nationality. The great political movement of the fifteenth century, *i.e.*, of the century that preceded the Reformation, was the centralization of the national power in the hands of the kings. Previously to this century the power of the barons, even of individual barons, was often equal to that of the kings. The fifteenth century is the century of "the last of the barons." Their power as independent chieftains, owing only a feudal allegiance to their monarch, was broken. The policy of the crafty Louis XI. of France was directed to the destruction of the power of the nobles and the centralization of the monarchical power. In England the Wars of the Roses destroyed the old nobility and prepared the way for the great kings of the line of Tudor. From Spain the Mohammedans were driven out, and by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain became a united kingdom. "The most remarkable event in the history of the last three hundred years," *i.e.*, prior to the fifteenth century, "had been the formation of

nationalities, each distinguished by a peculiar language and character, and by steadily increasing differences of habits and institutions."<sup>14</sup> And as upon this national basis there had been in most cases established strong monarchies, Europe was broken up into disconnected bodies, and the cherished scheme of a united Christian state appeared less likely than ever to be realized. "You see, under whatever point of view the political history of Europe at this epoch is presented to us, whether we turn our eyes upon the internal state of nations, or upon the relations of nations with each other, whether we consider the administration of war, justice, or taxation, we everywhere find the same characters, everywhere we see the same tendency to the centralization, unity, formation, and preponderance of general interests and public powers."<sup>15</sup> Amongst the causes of the Reformation Mr. Bettany, in his popular "History of the Reformation," enumerates "The interference of the Papal power with the national and princely rights and liberties, and the antagonism thus produced between Romanism and the champions of national liberty."

Following upon this increase and triumph of the sentiment of nationality comes the growth

<sup>14</sup> Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," p. 243. Cf. Guizot.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Guizot, "History of Civilization." Lecture XI.



and partial triumph of the idea of National Churches.<sup>16</sup>

Even in Roman Catholic countries this conception was not wanting. The Church in France came to be known not merely as the Catholic Church in France, but as the Gallican Church, nor did it surrender to Ultramontanism without a struggle. The connection and sequence of the political and ecclesiastical movement is, however, best seen in the history of the English Reformation. It is sometimes urged that the English Reformation was a political movement. This is only partially true, but partially true it is, and in so far as it is true it is no reproach. That the civil interests had more to do with the English Reformation than with other countries arose from the fact that "England was a compact nation with a strong central government; and so instead of splitting into parties and ending in civil war, revolted altogether, the king and parliament acting together, and transferring to the Crown the ecclesiastical jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the Pope in England."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> "And now men were beginning to be discontented with the power of the popes through the same causes which had made the power of the emperors die away. That is to say, Christendom was split up into separate nations and kingdoms, and Rome no longer kept its place as centre of all."—Freeman, "General Sketch of European History," p. 224.

<sup>17</sup> Seebohm, "Protestant Revolution," p. 167.

Thus, in England, the growth and firm establishment of the nation and the centralization of its powers in the king, was quickly followed by the establishment of a national church. How far this idea, that the religion of the State should be the religion of all the people of the State, *i.e.*, that the political unit should also be a religious unit, took possession of men's minds is shown by the very unsatisfactory but very striking motto, *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, that issued from the hollow peace patched up between the Emperor Charles V. and the Protestant States. This motto meant that subjects should follow the religious faith of their rulers. The principle resulted in the breaking up of the Lutheran Church into a number of small national churches. Our object is not to criticise this curious and unstable settlement, but only to observe how strongly it testifies to the dominion of the national idea in the sixteenth century both in the sphere of politics and in that of religion. "By Elizabeth all ecclesiastical disobedience was regarded as treasonable, and the legislation of her later years was directed against those who took offence at the ritual and the hierarchy, and were known as Nonconformists." That this political policy had but little, if anything, to do with the idea that the Nonconformists were, in the theological sense, without

the pale of the Church, is shown by the friendly attitude of England to continental Reformed Churches. Nonconformists were regarded as political offenders, and accordingly their disabilities were largely political disabilities. It is most important that this view should be understood here in Canada, amongst those who work for Christian Unity.

The Roman Empire gave form and organization to the early Church. The mediæval Empire was accompanied by the mediæval Church. The breaking up of the Empire into nations was followed by the formation of national churches. But has this process of progressive change ceased? By no means. Let us then turn our attention for a moment to the political and ecclesiastical movements and ideals of to-day.

The most obvious feature of modern politics is the growth of democratic ideals. Democracy is triumphant. The question, whether the people can govern themselves, has been emphatically answered in the affirmative. The strongest governments are the democratic governments. France may be thought an exception to this rule, but there can be no reasonable doubts as to the success of Democracy in the British Empire and the United States. Whatever changes the future may have in store for us, it is inconceivable that in English-speaking coun-

tries there shall be any diminution of popular power. The best efforts of the State are directed now to the education of the individual citizen in the proper performance of his duties. The gloomy forebodings of many earnest and able men, when, fifty or more years ago, Reform Bills were passed in England steadily increasing the power of the people at large, have not been fulfilled. The testimonies of American writers to the courage, intelligence and coolness of the people in times of trial are by no means all bombast. "One night," says Walt Whitman, "in the gloomiest period of the war, in the Patent Office Hospital in Washington City, as I stood by the bedside of a Pennsylvania soldier, who lay conscious of quick approaching death, yet perfectly calm and with noble, spiritual manner; the veteran surgeon, turning aside, said to me, that though he had witnessed many, many deaths of soldiers, and had been a worker at Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, etc., he had not seen yet the first case of man or boy that met the approach of dissolution with cowardly qualms or terror."<sup>18</sup> Whitman continues: "What have we here, if not towering above all talk and argument, the plentifully-supplied, last-needed proof of Democracy in its personalities?" It is not contended that Democracy is perfect, but

<sup>18</sup> Democratic Vistas.

that it has on the whole justified itself, and raises hopes of greater efficiency as the people grow in education and enlightenment. Bribery and corruption are the chief weaknesses of democracies. Yet the instances of popular venality can easily be paralleled from the history of aristocratic England of the eighteenth century.

But the development of democratic opinion has been vastly different from what the English Radicals of fifty or sixty years ago anticipated. The last thing that Democracy was expected to favor was Imperialism, and yet to-day it is not merely Democracy, but Imperial Democracy that is triumphant. I believe the American people were perfectly sincere when they said they had no desire to extend their territory by force of arms or to become a world power, but the logic of events has been too strong for them. And this development of Imperial Democracy indicates that the national idea is undergoing a transformation. England to-day is not a nation in the sense in which she felt herself a nation in the time of Elizabeth. She is an empire. The political problem that faces her is the problem of federating the component parts of the Empire, so as to preserve both liberty and unity. The United States is scarcely to be regarded as a nation; she is a federation of self-governing

states. The German Empire, though less developed on the democratic side, yet affords another illustration of Imperial Democracy.

But the British Empire and the United States are very different from the Holy Roman Empire. And the difference lies in the difference between the feudal system and democracy. It is being politically demonstrated that the strongest unity is the unity of freedom. We are free. We all have a voice in the government. We are bound together by stronger ties than those of brute force or the voice of kings. Canada could separate herself from England to-morrow, if she chose. But has there ever been a time when she was less likely to do so? What are the bonds that bind together the British Empire? Are they not those of common blood, common aims, common institutions? These things are fundamentally spiritual things; and spiritual things are, in the long-run, stronger than material. Such seems to me to be the characteristic of the most influential political movement of our time—the nation giving way to the free democratic empire. And already there looms upon the horizon the prospect of a wider federation yet, a federation of all the great peoples of the world for the preservation of peace and the promotion of prosperity.

- " I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,  
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder  
that would be.
- "Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of  
magic sails,  
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with  
costly bales ;
- "Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there  
rain'd a ghastly dew  
From the Nations' airy navies grappling in the  
central blue ;
- "Far along the world-wide whisper of the south  
wind rushing warm  
With the standard of the peoples plunging through  
the thunder storm,
- "Till the war-drums throbbed no longer, and the  
battle-flags were furled  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the  
world."

Now, if this brief analysis of the main political current of our times be true, shall we not expect to find some corresponding movement in the sphere of ecclesiastical life? If, in the sphere of politics, liberty and equal political privileges are seen to issue in a federation of kindred peoples, a federation wherein the bonds are spiritual, not material—sentiment, not arms—a federation based upon the principles of liberty and love, does not history teach us to look for similar signs in the sphere of the religious interests?

Looked at from this point of view, we observe, in the first place, that the idea of national churches is dead. I am not unmindful of Dr. Huntington's interesting lectures on "A National Church." His proposals, however, are simply a national church composed of a federation of various communions. I do not think in what follows there is anything that conflicts with his ideas. No one proposes to establish a church on this continent. The Established Church of England embraces not much more than one-half of the active religious life of the country, and the question of disestablishment is a live issue. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, with unity in doctrine and worship, is split into two nearly equal parts on this question of establishment. On the other hand, federation is either directly or indirectly proposed. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, had it been accepted by any communion, would not have issued in complete unity, but in a federation.

The unity of the Free Churches in England, in which Mr. Hugh Price Hughes is so deeply interested, is really a federation of churches. The Anglican communion exists in absolutely independent bodies in England, Ireland, Scotland, America, and the colonies, yet the Lambeth conferences, held every ten years, attended by all bishops in communion with the Anglican



Church, are an outward and visible expression of the federation of the branches of this communion. Federation is the key-note of ecclesiastical no less than of civil politics.

Nothing, again, is more remarkable than the growth of democratic principles in ecclesiastical affairs. It is true that many of the Reformed bodies were organized from the first on a democratic basis, but in the Church of England the powers of the laity were reduced to such a minimum as to be practically non-existent. Today a determined agitation has won some rights for the laity, and aims at far more. But it is most interesting to notice how the Anglican branches in the colonies, preserving the polity and worship of the Mother Church, have from the first recognized the necessity of a full representation of the laity in all their synods.

We may, then, fairly claim to have shown that the civil idea of the democratic federation is finding its parallel in the Church, and may, therefore, venture from the solid ground of present fact to forecast the future growth of this movement. The ideal which I would commend to all English-speaking lovers of and believers in Unity, is the ideal of a church of the English-speaking peoples, with, it may be, many varieties of worship, of ritual, of methods of work; and yet, because voluntary, one with a unity more vital

and infinitely more powerful for good than any which has yet existed. The ideal of the Church of Christ is to bind together into one communion and fellowship all mankind. The ideal of an English Church is of a church wherein all English-speaking peoples shall be bound together into one communion and fellowship. The unity must be the expression of a common spiritual loyalty to the one Lord, and of a common spiritual aspiration—the “one faith and one hope of our calling,” and then it will be not a mere formal fellowship, but a fellowship of free men, freely uniting for a common end. Surely the day is not far distant when there will be not merely Lambeth conferences, or Free Church conferences, or American congresses of religion, but when all the spiritual forces of English-speaking Christians will regularly assemble in the person of their elected representatives in a parliament, for the consideration of the main objects of the various branches of the Church, the uplifting of the masses, the destruction of the tendencies which compel the separation of class from class, the conversion of the world, and the promotion of peace.

And then there arises upon the far distant horizon the vision of a yet wider Parliament, the Parliament of the world, wherein shall be realized those old splendid but premature ideas

of the Middle Ages concerning the Universal Empire and the Universal Church.

Visions, do you cry? Unsubstantial as the fabric of a dream! Visions they may be, but not, I hope, without some promise of truth and reality. The conceptions of the connected progress of civil and ecclesiastical political ideas, which I have so inadequately sought to present to your minds, if true only in main outline, surely afford some solid basis for the flight of imagination. And what is imagination but another word for faith? Difficulties you may see in the pathway of the ideal, but faith can remove mountains. "Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions,"<sup>19</sup> cried the prophet. And the vision was to be the outcome of the outpouring of the Spirit of the Infinite upon finite souls. The ideal which is presented to you by the words "Christian Unity," is the ideal of prophet and apostle. It is the ideal that underlies the words found in both Isaiah and Micah: 'It shall come to pass in the latter days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it. And many peoples shall go and say,

<sup>19</sup> Joel ii.

Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge between the nations, and shall reprove many peoples: and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

It is the ideal of St. Paul, the Apostle of the nations, when he writes that in Christ Jesus there "cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman; but Christ is all and in all." It is the ideal of the same Apostle when he cries, "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye also were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all. . . . And he gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints unto the work of ministering; unto the building up of the body of Christ; till we all attain unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. . . . From

whom the whole body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love."<sup>20</sup>

Ah, yes, and it was, too, the ideal of the Lord himself, an ideal revealed in the words, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." With Him it was more than an ideal, it was a prayer for all the world. "Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me."<sup>21</sup>

The vision of the prophet, the ideal of the apostle, the prayer of the Master,—shall we in these momentous days wherein a great century is drawing to a close, and hopeful eyes look on into a greater century to come—shall we, believing that the prophet and the apostle were inspired, and that the Master is divine, disregard or despise alike the vision, the ideal and the prayer, and with faithless eyes turned down to the

<sup>20</sup> Colossians iii. 11, and Ephesians iv. 4.

<sup>21</sup> St. John xvii. 20, 21.

earth beneath us, wrap ourselves up in the petty interests of our individual, or our business, or our sectarian life? No! "To you and to me and men like ourselves is committed, in these anxious days, that which is at once an awful responsibility and a splendid destiny—to transform this modern world into a Christian society, . . . to gather together the scattered forces of a divided Christendom into a confederation in which organization will be of less account than fellowship with one Spirit and faith in one Lord—into a communion wide as human life and deep as human need—into a church which shall outshine even the glory of its dawn by the splendor of its eternal noon."<sup>22</sup>

O Almighty Father, gather together from all the earth those who love Jesus Christ, the Lord, and pour down upon them thy Holy Spirit in pentecostal fires that shall burn away all the barriers which pride and vainglory, tradition and prejudice have erected, and knit together into one communion and fellowship all mankind in bonds of simple faith and earnest hope and of love unfeigned that never groweth cold, for the sake of him who loved all the world and gave himself for its eternal blessedness, Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

<sup>22</sup> Hatch, 'Organization of the Christian Church.'  
Lecture VIII.

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