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other party, composed of Italian prelates, regarded it as coming immediately from the Pope. An Irish Dominican, O'Hart, Bishop of Achonry, taking the Ultramontane side, spoke thus: "In England the King calls himself Head of the English Church, and creates Bishops, who are consecrated by three Bishops, and they say that they are true Bishops, as being from God. But we deny this, because they have not been acknowledged by the Roman Pontiff; and we say rightly, and by this one argument, and no other, we convict them; for they themselves show that they have been called, elected, and consecrated, sent." This and other arguments received the approbation of the Council. (Nam et in Anglia rex vocat se caput ecclesiæ Anglicæ, et creat episcopos, qui consecrantur a tribus episcopis, aiuntque se veros episcopos, qui sunt a Deo; nos vero id negamus, quia non sunt a Pontifice Romano adsciti; et recte dicimus, hæcque tantum ratione illos convincimus, non aliâ: nam et ipsi ostendunt se fuisse vocatos, electos, et consecratos, missos. Le Plat, "Monum. Conc. Trid." *Vide* pp. 576-579.) *Cf.* Bishop Forbes's "Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles," p. 718.

It should be noted that this Irish Bishop, though speaking four years after the accession of Elizabeth, refers to the King. As there had been no King in England for many years, the probability is that he alludes to the sovereign power; possibly, also, he might have an objection to recognise the position of Elizabeth by calling her *Regina*.

APPENDIX IV.

"L'Auteur n'en est point effrayé, et sur le témoignage de Cambden, et de quelques autres Protestans, sans aucune preuve authentique, il n'hésite pas de soutenir, comme un fait dont on ne peut presque pas douter, que Pie IV. offrit à Elizabeth d'approuver le Livre des Communes Prières, et par conséquent la Liturgie et l'Ordinal qui en sont des suites, si elle vouloit se remettre sous l'obéissance du Saint Siège.

"Que des écrivains Protestans hazardent des faits si injurieux au Saint Siège, il n'y a pas lieu d'en être surpris; mais qu'un Théologien Catholique les adopte, c'est ce qu'on n'a pû voir sans étonnement et sans scandale" (Estcourt's "Anglican Ordinations," Appendix XXXI.).

D. MORRIS.



ART. V.—NONCONFORMISTS AND EPISCOPACY.

AT the Lambeth Conference of 1897 the Bishops reaffirmed the resolutions of 1888 on the subject of Home Reunion, and they added:

"It may be well for us to state why we are unable to concede more.

"We believe that we have been Providentially entrusted with our part of the Catholic and Apostolic inheritance bequeathed by our Lord, and that not only for ourselves, but for the millions who speak our language in every land—possibly for humanity at large. Nearly a century ago the Anglican Church might have seemed to many almost entirely insulated, an institution, in Lord Macaulay's language, 'almost as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas.' Yet

at that time an eminent Roman Catholic (Count Joseph de Maistre) declared his conviction that the English Church was endowed with a quality analogous to that possessed by chemical *intermedes* of combining irreconcilable substances.

"This quality of our Church we cannot forget and dare not annul. We feel we should not be justified in placing 'new barriers between ourselves and the ancient historical Churches.' Nor, in a different direction, do we believe in mere rhetorical calls to unity. Nor would we surrender in return for questionable benefits the very elements of the peculiar strength and attractiveness of our own system—its quiet adherence to truth, its abstinence from needless innovation, its backbone of historical continuity. We cannot barter away any part of our God-given trust, because we feel that such action would involve an amount of future loss and forfeiture which we cannot estimate at the moment.

"For these and other reasons we cannot concede any part of our essential principles."

They had something encouraging to say on each of the first three bases. As to the fourth, they wrote :

"The historic Episcopate not unnaturally raises graver difficulties. Yet, in America many of our Presbyterian brethren appear to have been not unwilling to remember that in England in 1660 their forefathers would have been prepared to accept Episcopacy with such recognition of the laity as now exists in the United States and in the Irish and in many of the colonial Churches. We naturally turn to the Established Church of Scotland, which approached us at the beginning of the present Conference with a greeting so gracious and so tender. That body has amongst its sons not a few who are deeply studying the question of the three Orders in their due and proper relation."

In speaking further of a probable development in the desire for reconciliation they said :

"In this renewed spirit of unity we trust that our beloved Church will have a large share. We speak as brothers to these Christian brothers who are separated from us. We can assure them that we fail not in love and respect for them. We acknowledge with a full heart the fruits of the Holy Ghost produced by their lives and labours. We remember the fact, so glorious for them, that in the evil days they kept up the standard at once of family virtue, and of the life hidden with Christ in God. We can never forget that lessons of holiness and love have been written upon undying pages by members of their communions, and that the lips of many of their teachers have been touched with heavenly fire. We desire to know them better—to join with them in works of

charity. We are more than willing to help to prevent needless collisions, or unwise duplication of labour. We know that many among them are praying, like many of ourselves, that the time may be near for the fulfilment of our Master's prayer that 'they all may be one.' Surely in the unseen world there is a pulsation of joy among the redeemed; some mysterious word has gone forth among them that Christ's army still on earth, long broken into fragments by bitter dissensions, is stirred by a Divine impulse to regain the loving brotherhood of the Church's youth. May we labour on in the deathless hope that, while in the past, unity without truth has been destructive, and truth without unity feeble, now in our day truth and unity combined may be strong enough to subdue the world to Christ; and the muse of the Church's history may no longer be hate, but love! May He grant us (in Bishop Jeremy Taylor's words) 'uniting principles, reconciled hearts, and an external communion in His own good season'!

"Time ripens, thought softens, love has a tender subtlety of interpretation. Controversy in the past has been too much the grave of Charity. We have much to confess and not a little to learn."

They did not minimize the difficulties:

"When we come to consider the practical steps which are to be taken towards reunion, we feel bound to express our conviction as to the magnitude and difficulty of the work which lies before us; a work which can only be accomplished by earnest, and, so far as possible, united, prayer to our Heavenly Father for the help of the Holy Spirit that we may be delivered from all hatred and prejudice, from everything that can hinder us from seeing His holy will, or prevent us from accomplishing His divine purpose."

In repeating the recommendation of Conferences with Dissenters, they added:

"We consider, however, that the time has now arrived in which the constituted authorities of the various branches of our Communion should not merely make it known that they hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference with representatives of other Christian communities in the English-speaking races, but should themselves *originate such conferences and especially arrange for representative meetings for united humiliation and intercession.*"

It cannot be said that much has been done in the direction so urged by the Lambeth Conferences of 1888 and 1897, at any rate by the authorities of the Church of England. The resolutions of 1888 were, I believe, considered by the Congregational Union. But as it appeared to them that the four

bases had to be accepted by them before any conference was possible at all, they naturally enough found themselves unable to get any further, and nothing came of the matter. If the advice of the Bishops could have been taken, and committees appointed on each side to discuss the bases, it would have been more hopeful. The Church, of course, knows well enough the importance and meaning of the fourth basis, but to the Dissenters it is new ground, and what we need is to understand their objections, and to give them our reasons. If you state your case in bald terms to somebody who disagrees from you, on a point on which you know he disagrees, and take no opportunity of setting forth your reasons, not only is no agreement possible, but not even any approach to an agreement. In discussing the bases, the Church could not, by the wildest imagination, be accused of treating any of them as open questions; she would simply be listening to the objections of the Dissenters, and considering how far those objections could be removed. And it must never be forgotten that the Bishops do not set before themselves the hope of effecting a complete reconciliation all at once; what they say is this: We hold ourselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference with any of those who desire intercommunion with us *in a more or less perfect form*. We lay down conditions, not on which such a conference may take place—they do not say a word about that: conference is, of course, a purely preliminary stage—but on which such intercommunion is, in our opinion, and according to our conviction, possible. It is a thousand pities that this very important distinction was not before the Congregational Union.

But an important movement was begun by Dr. Lunn, a Methodist clergyman, in 1892, by holding holiday conferences at Grindelwald and Lucerne during five successive summers. They were at first a good deal sneered at, but many leading men, both among Churchmen and Dissenters, took part in them, and some declarations and speeches were made of considerable interest. For the Dissenters themselves the movement has had an important issue in the federation of the various bodies in a Free Church Council, and the issue of a common catechism which has the approval alike of Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists.

Mr. Price-Hughes, the President of the Methodist Conference for this year, made a declaration in favour of Episcopacy, and subsequently set on foot a movement for adopting the principle in Methodism. He did not carry his object, but he had a very large following. This is what he said at Grindelwald, speaking of ordination:

“There is a great difficulty here, because, as far as I know,

our Congregational and Baptist brethren do not believe in ordination in the sense in which Methodists and Presbyterians believe in it. The difficulty of these brethren was stated by Dr. Glover this afternoon. I am not in a position to say what they would do: but personally I feel that the presence of a Bishop would not interfere with the validity of my orders, and if it would be a comfort or conciliation to those more susceptible than ourselves, in the spirit in which the Apostle Paul made concessions which his own conscience did not need, I should regard it as one of those points on which, without sacrifice of principles, we might agree.

“I personally see no insuperable objection whatever to some such compromise as was suggested to us this morning; certainly there is no objection to the Litany, and I believe in the statement of Episcopacy as found in Bishop Lightfoot’s famous essay. As far as I know, Episcopacy existed in the Christian Church at least from the time of the Apostle John, and I have not the least doubt, from a careful study of this particular question, that the Episcopal system is much more effectual for aggressive purposes than any other. The authority of some representative minister, duly and properly chosen, who has the right of initiative, is of immense advantage in carrying on a war into the enemy’s country.”

Similar language was used by Dr. Stevenson, an ex-President of the Methodist Conference:

“He did not claim to represent anybody but himself, but for himself he must say he strongly believed in the Episcopal system of Church government, and had done so for years. He believed it to be most in accordance with Christian usage from primitive times, and, on the whole, most in accord with the practical requirements of the present moment. At the present there were 25,000,000 in the Methodist Churches, and of those at least 20,000,000 were under Episcopal government. That was a fact well worth consideration. Without pledging himself to exact figures, he thought that of the total number of Methodists four-fifths accepted in one form or another the Episcopal form of government. In America the office existed in name as well as in fact; the bishops were elected for life, and were set apart for their office by a solemn form of consecration, although they were recognised as not differing from presbyters in order. There was considerable reason to believe that John Wesley desired a similar form of Church government in England. It might be confidently stated that he would have created such a system but for his strong desire to avoid any manifest separation from the Church of England.”

Of course, in quoting this language I do not mean to express

approbation of the form of Methodist Episcopacy in America ; I only mean to quote this as Methodist testimony to the principle of Episcopacy.

And again, in 1893, Mr. Price-Hughes said at Grindelwald :

“ For his part, he entirely agreed with Père Hyacinthe and Professor Lias that the Episcopacy was a *sine qua non* of Reunion. If the Episcopacy was not necessary for the *esse* of the Church, it was for its *bene esse*, and he held that his Nonconformist brethren, if any progress was to be made, must make the concession. They had no right to expect that the ancient Episcopal Church should make all the concessions.

“ But it might be said, ‘ What Episcopacy ? ’ Père Hyacinthe said the historic Episcopacy. Personally, he did not know why people should shudder at the word ‘ historic.’ He believed with Bishop Lightfoot that it had existed since the Apostle John ; and if not, it certainly had existed as an almost exclusive form of Church government from the second to the sixteenth century, and if that was not an ancient and long-enduring institution, he did not know what was. There was a passage in Père Hyacinthe’s speech to which he attached immense importance ; Père Hyacinthe, when he referred to the historic Episcopate, suggested that they should accept it as a fact and not as a dogma. That removed the whole difficulty from the conscientious Protestant mind.

“ In like manner absolute organic reunion would be impossible if it was demanded that all should accept the same view of the sacraments. They must carefully distinguish between faith and dogma, and he could not find a better definition of faith than Père Hyacinthe had given, namely, that faith is that which we find in the Bible, and especially that which we derive from the lips of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. All who honestly accept the divinity of our Lord accept the Nicene Creed when they really understand it. That creed was formulated *ex necessitate* because it was absolutely necessary to express truth for the purpose of refuting error. Arius, Nestorius, and others introduced heresies, and for the purpose of warding off such deadly delusions it was absolutely necessary to express the Christian faith in the Nicene Creed. But that was not the positive statement of faith ; the positive statement was in the *ipsissima verba* of the Scripture itself. Here Mr. Hughes interpolated the belief that the Lambeth proposals were most generous, liberal, Christian, and that they had never yet received sufficient recognition from British Nonconformists, either in their ecclesiastical assemblies or at the Grindelwald Conference. He did not know what some of his brethren expected, but he knew that if the Anglican Church had been prepared to make

anything like those concessions in the time of Charles II. there would have been no dissent in England."

Again, in September, 1893, Mr. Price-Hughes said :

"I agree with some of our Anglican brethren, that the overtures of the Lambeth Conference have not been received as courteously and as heartily as they might and should have been. They were entitled, I think, to a more generous response. I think Mr. Berry was mistaken in his interpretation of the proposals as being intended to foreclose discussion, and I call attention to the fact that Dr. Mackennal, who speaks with unique authority on behalf of his denomination, responded at once to the statement of Mr. Vernon Smith by saying that if Mr. Smith could secure from the Archbishop of Canterbury, for instance, an authoritative declaration confirming his interpretation of the proposals, then there would be a very different response from the Congregationalists. The only difficulty in connection with the four propositions is what is called the historic Episcopate, whatever that may be. Personally, as I said last year, I am entirely in favour of Episcopacy, and should have no difficulty in accepting it. Of course, I mean Episcopacy of the kind described by Père Hyacinthe — scriptural, primitive, democratic, where the Bishops are elected by the people. The appointment of a Bishop, as a centre of visible unity, is quite compatible with a very simple creed, and with every variety of Presbyterian and Congregational organization within that comprehensive and elastic unity. I cannot resist the force of the argument of the Bishop of Worcester, that for fifteen centuries the whole Christian Church was Episcopalian, and I hold that we Nonconformists must make that concession. We have no right to expect that all the concessions must come from the other side. We can make these concessions without compromising any principle, either ecclesiastical or theological."

I do not again mean to say that a good deal was not said at Grindelwald and Lucerne with which we could not agree, but there was enough, certainly, to encourage us to follow out the advice of the Lambeth Conference of 1897, that *the constituted authorities of the various branches of our communion should themselves originate conferences with representatives of other Christian communities in the English-speaking races, and especially arrange for representative meetings for united humiliation and intercession.*

I will quote, also, from an article in the *Guardian*, December 21, 1892, which points out some obvious tendencies. The writer regards the Grindelwald Conference as an expression of the "self-weariness" (!) of Dissenters. He says that "to some Churchmen the whole thing was painful, and may

well be forgotten, save and except as a somewhat dramatic setting forth of a quiet and almost unconscious drift of modern Dissent at home. Towards that drift all loyal Churchmen ought to give instant and earnest heed, for it may need the sympathetic and yet firm attention of the Church much sooner than some even of the leaders of the Church seem to think. The English Dissenters, with a few Presbyterians over the Border, are falling into line with Church worship and Church work in a most wonderful manner. This movement is almost entirely unconscious, and it is, therefore, so much the more remarkable. It is no sudden spasm or effort; it is the growth of years, and its evolution still continues. Could some of the Dissenters of the last century look in upon their children to-day, they would be more astounded than pleased. The old square chapel, with high pulpit, big galleries, and dwelling-house windows, with large family-pews downstairs, and the 'table-pew' for the singers, have all gone into the limbo of forgetfulness; and to-day the Gothic church, with high-pitched roof, stained-glass windows, arches, and columns, with no galleries, and with organ-chamber, choir-stalls, font, and, in some instances, altar-table, have taken their place. The old order has indeed changed, and the change has been a revolution, and is not yet ended.

"A similar drift towards Church methods of worship has set in. Organs have ousted the 'table-pew choir.' No deacon now 'lines' out the hymn. Chanting has been introduced, with Introits, Anthems, Psalms, and Amens. The 'worship' has grown until it occupies nearly two-thirds of the morning service, and the sermon has declined in length, though not in culture, taste, or literary finish. But a much more serious drift is seen in regard to the sacraments in the modern Dissenting chapel. Up in Scotland some noted Presbyterians have begun to set the Eucharist in its rightful place in worship. Nearer home the Methodist Conference reaffirmed the solemn duty of Baptism as the one entrance into the Church. Congregationalists have not yet followed on that line, but the present dissatisfaction with the position of Baptism in their communion points to the beginning of a movement for which Dr. Dale's suppressed chapter upon Baptism, in the *Congregational Church Manual*, prepared the way. That chapter, if it had any meaning—and all that Dr. Dale writes is full of meaning—was, as the late Dr. Allon said, sacramental. The same is true of Dr. Dale's chapter in the same book upon the Eucharist. Strong language was used therein—too strong for that time, but most significant as to the trend of the deepest and most scholarly thought in the Congregational body. Dr. Dale wrote as only a man who

believes that the Eucharist is more than a 'memorial' could write. And what Dr. Dale thinks to-day his younger brethren, apt learners at his feet, will think to-morrow. It is not too much to say that amongst Dissenters worship is growing in reverence, devotion, and beauty, and in that worship the great Sacrament is slowly taking its rightful place.

"But, further, the drift into line with the Church is evident in other directions. On all hands the parochial system, peculiar in England to the Church, is winning the sympathy of Dissenters and stimulating them to practical imitation. At the Free Church Congress at Manchester this was clearly in evidence. The advocates of the parochial system may not just now quite realize what it means for Congregationalism; they will see that soon enough. But, in yet another direction we see how wonderfully the Dissenters are falling unconsciously into line with the Church. They think and speak of Episcopacy in a way enough to make their fathers shiver in their coffins. Episcopacy they admit was first, is primitive, and, in a modified sense, historic. Years ago the Bishop seemed like some monstrous mountain of difficulty for ever blocking the way of return to the Church. To-day, the Dissenting leaders are disposed to accept the Episcopate as primitive and Scriptural. The stone is indeed rolled out of the way. I will give one other illustration of the drift into Church lines. Writing about the Congress of the seven denominations at Manchester, a well-known Dissenting journal says: 'The great feature in the session . . . was the affirmation of the visible unity of the Church of Christ!' To some members of the Congress this was a surprise, but it came with dominant impressiveness. And so, deepening, broadening, yet drifting in one direction and one direction only, the tendency of Dissent is towards Church lines in worship, in work, in a better conception of the Church and the Sacraments, while the old prejudice against the 'parish' and the Bishop is dying a natural death."

I do not myself believe that anything like even formal intercommunion of a less perfect kind is within the possibilities of our generation. I believe that the traditional associations of Independents and Baptists are too deeply seated to render them willing to think of the adoption of an Episcopacy, however modified. Dr. Parker stated this very strongly in a paper in a Round Table Conference in the *Review of the Churches*.

But I would conclude by asking the Nonconformist leaders to remember that the Reformers, in the countries of Europe outside England where the Reformation prevailed, departed from Episcopacy with great reluctance.

The Augsburg Confession says: "We would willingly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical government if the Bishops would only cease to exercise cruelty upon our churches." Melancthon wrote to Luther: "I know not with what face we can refuse Bishops if they will suffer us to have purity of doctrine." In another place he says: "Luther did always judge as I do." Calvin wrote: "Bishops have invented no other form of governing the Church but such as the Lord hath prescribed by His own Word." After describing the character of a truly Christian Bishop, he adds: "I should account those men deserving of every the severest anathema who do not submit themselves reverently and with all obedience to such a hierarchy." Bucer wrote: "We see by the constant practice of the Church, even from the time of the Apostles, how it hath pleased the Holy Ghost that among the ministers to whom the government of the Church is especially committed one individual should have the chief management of the churches and of the whole ministry, and should in that management take precedence of all his brethren. For which reason the title of Bishop is employed to designate a chief spiritual governor."

Beza always warmly commended the English Church polity. "If," said he, "there be any who altogether reject Episcopal jurisdiction (a thing I can hardly be persuaded of), God forbid that anyone in his senses should give way to the madness of such men!" I could quote similar opinions from the reformers of Poland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and Scotland; from Grotius and from the Synod of Dort. In modern times the Methodists have adopted a kind of Episcopacy in America. They are discussing a similar proposal in England. I do not mean that these forms would approve themselves to full Episcopal National Churches; but they illustrate the fact, shown by the opinions which I have quoted, that the aversion of Nonconformists for the Episcopal form of government has been exaggerated. What drove them from Episcopacy was the cruelty and wickedness of the Catholic Bishops abroad and in Scotland at the time of the Reformation; the attitude they were compelled to adopt has become a time-honoured tradition.

I sincerely trust that discussions on this and other subjects will be initiated by the Bishops, in accordance with the urgent recommendations of the Lambeth Conference of 1897.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.