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STEPS TOWARDS REUNION

A STATEMENT
FOR THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

BY

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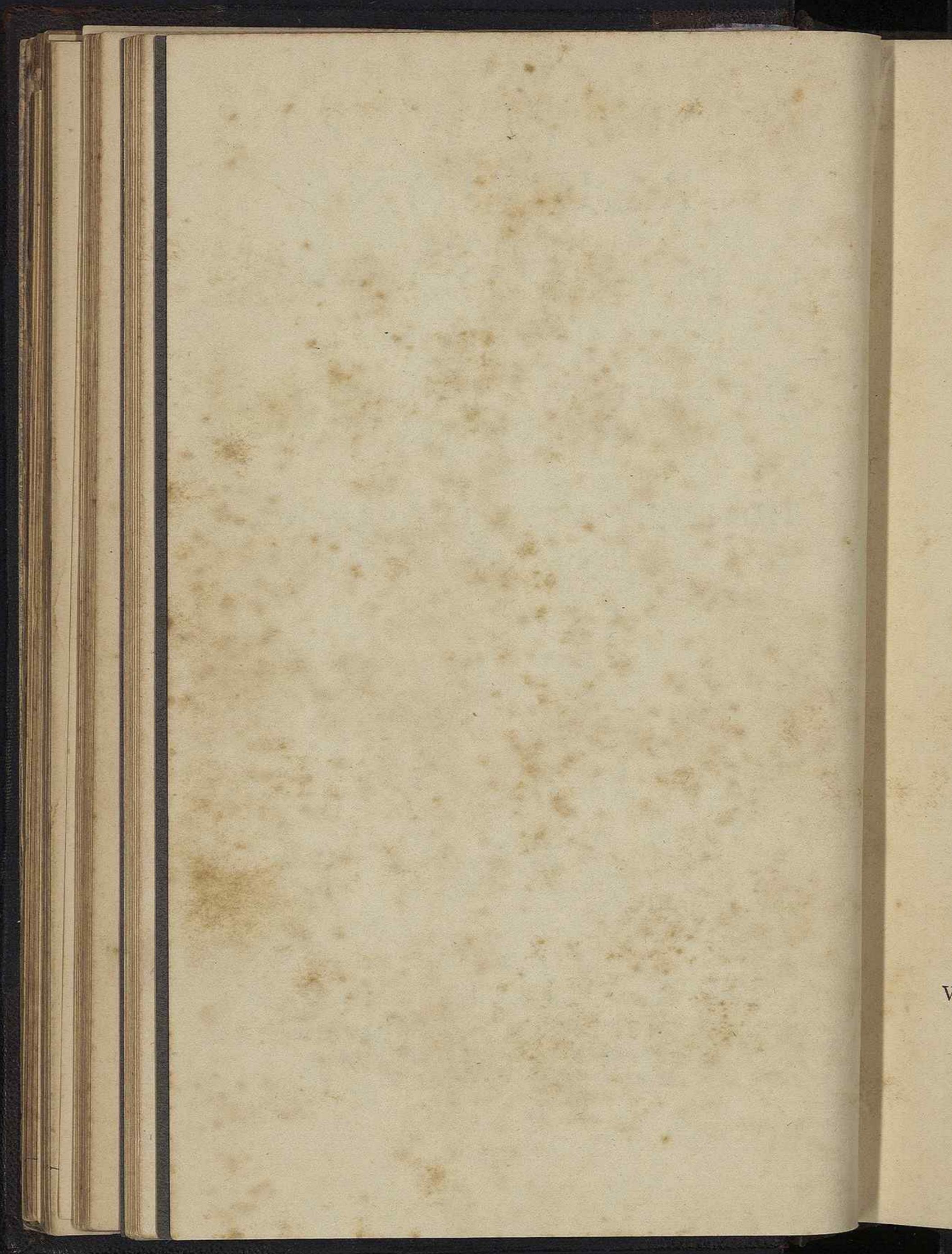
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39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
FOURTH AVENUE & 30th STREET, NEW YORK
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, AND MADRAS

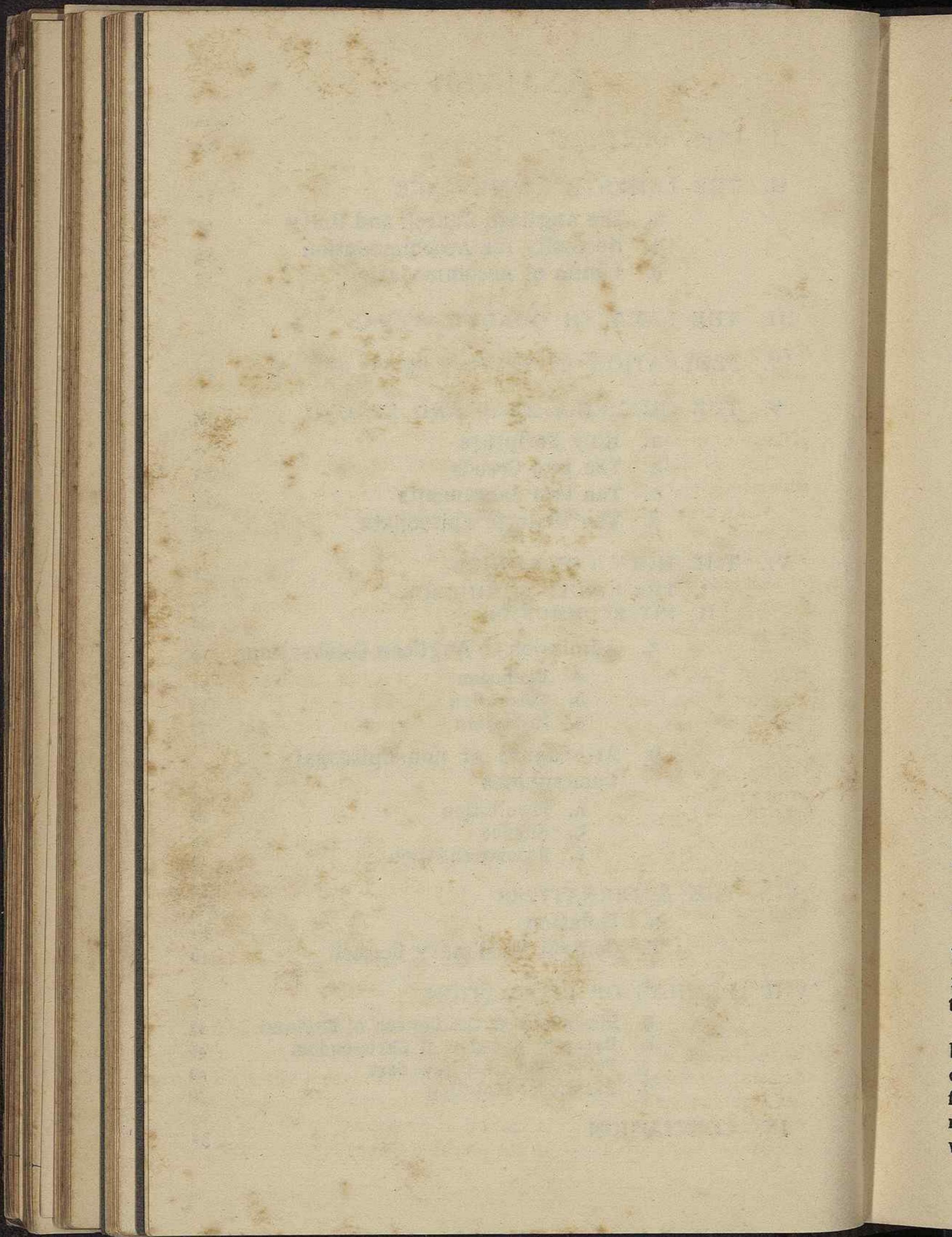
1914

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ANALYSIS

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SUMMARY

Two questions have been referred by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Central Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference (1):

The first concerns the Scheme of Federation proposed by the Kikuyu Conference in 1913 (2).

The second concerns the celebration of the Holy Communion which took place at the close of that Conference (3).

Without attempting to answer *seriatim* these questions, the following statement seeks to define the principles on which action was taken at Kikuyu (4).

All are of one mind, in seeking Christian Unity, and in desiring to avert the danger of transplanting "our unhappy divisions" into the Mission field (5).

As far back as 1888 the Lambeth Conference was convinced that the time had come for taking steps towards making Home Reunion a practical reality (6).

With a view to such Reunion, three successive Lambeth Conferences, 1888, 1897, 1908, have passed emphatic Resolutions urging the constituted authorities of the Anglican Communion to arrange Conferences for consultation and prayer with "other Christian Communions in the English-speaking races" (7, 8, 9); and emphasizing "the imperative necessity for effective and visible co-operation among the workers" in the Mission field (9).

The Conference at Kikuyu was summoned in entire accord with the spirit of these Resolutions (10).

The Anglican Church has always realized that Reunion will not be secured by the simple policy of the absorption of other Communions. On all matters non-essential she is prepared to discuss terms (11).

The impossibility of any other course is sufficiently illustrated by the failure of the Roman Church to unite Christendom. Her demand for unconditional surrender makes any present negotiations for Reunion impossible (12). But while prepared to make all reasonable accommodation in matters non-essential, there is a price which the Anglican Church is not prepared to pay for Reunion.

She is not prepared to snatch at an immediate gain, by securing a local unity which would set back the cause of a wider Reunion (13-14): she is not prepared to secure Reunion at the cost of any essential principle (16). She believes, however, that, Reunion with Rome being for the time impracticable, Reunion may be had with the non-episcopal Churches, which will neither set back the cause of a wider Reunion (15), nor involve the sacrifice of any essential principle (17, 18). The Lambeth Conference of 1888 discussed the difficult question as to what, for purposes of Reunion, must be regarded as essentials, in which there could be no compromise. The result was that four necessary conditions were laid down as a basis of negotiation with other Churches. These were the Scriptures, the two Creeds, the two Sacraments, and the Historic Episcopate (19). These four form "the Lambeth Quadrilateral": its double object is to facilitate Reunion, and to safeguard essentials (20). The "constituted authorities" of the Anglican Communion are urged to make practical use of its provisions (21).

The practical necessity of organized co-operation has long been recognized in British East Africa: and a series of Conferences, at first purely local, and later general in their character, have been held since 1908, with a view to securing for the future a united Native Church in the Protectorate (22-30).

Of these Conferences that held at Kikuyu was the sixth and the most widely representative: it was the first too at which general agreement was secured (30).

The proposals formulated by the Kikuyu Conference owe their existence to the pressure of actual necessity: in their substance they represent not the ideal, but the practicable, and in their form they represent rather the rough material than the finished building (31).

Throughout the negotiations the four conditions of the Lambeth Quadrilateral have been kept steadily in view.

The First Condition, "The Holy Scriptures as the ultimate Standard of Faith" has been satisfied (32).

The Second Condition, The Apostles' and Nicene Creeds has also been satisfied (33). The objection that the Creeds are used, but interpreted in a different sense (34), and the objection that the Athanasian Creed is omitted (35), are considered and answered. The Quadrilateral, while insisting on the acceptance of the two Creeds, does not demand identity of interpretation (34 *d*), nor does it demand the acceptance of the Athanasian Creed (35 *a*).

The Third Condition, the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, has also been satisfied (36).

What is essential to the Sacrament has been demanded, what is non-essential has been left to the practice of the individual Church; in this the Kikuyu proposals have followed the guidance of the Lambeth Quadrilateral (36, 38). The objection that non-episcopal bodies, having no valid Ministry, and therefore no valid Sacraments, are incapable of meeting the third condition (39), is answered by the declaration of the Lambeth Committee on Reunion and Inter-Communion, that the Presbyterian Churches, when loyal to their traditions and standards, "satisfy the first three of the four conditions" laid down in the Quadrilateral (40). The third condition has not been secured in British East Africa without the loss of some missionaries, who, but for it, would have entered the Federation (41).

The Fourth Condition, the Historic Episcopate, offers greater difficulty. It has been widely assumed that, in the Kikuyu proposal, Episcopacy has been ignored (42). This, however, is not the case. A general acceptance of Episcopacy has not indeed been fully secured, and for this reason not Reunion but only Federation is proposed (43). But from the first the importance of the Episcopate has been kept clearly in view. Correspondence of Bishop Tucker, dating from 1908, bears witness to its place in the negotiations (44, 45). The Church of Uganda bears witness to the value of episcopal government, and the terms of its constitution make any other form a practical impossibility (46). Within the Anglican districts in British East Africa, Episcopacy is, under the terms of the proposed Federation, fully secured. The provision in the Kikuyu Memorandum regarding episcopal oversight of Anglican members in all districts attests the place of Episcopacy within the Federation (47). While the future course of the Federation cannot be foretold, there are indications that the African Church of the future will be organized on episcopal lines; and, should it be otherwise, the terms of the Quadrilateral preclude the possibility of Anglicans entering it (48). Meanwhile, provision is made for the better regularization of the native ministry (49).

To sum up—three conditions have been satisfied: the fourth has not yet been generally accepted, but nothing has been done to compromise the position of members of the Anglican Church within the proposed Federation (50).

Two groups of questions have been raised with regard to the Holy Communion. The first group concerns the actual Celebration which took place at the close of the Conference: the second concerns the proposals of the Conference with regard to Inter-Communion (51).

With regard to the Celebration of the Holy Communion at Kikuyu, it is urged—that the occasion was exceptional (52 *a*); that no demonstration was intended (52 *b*); that the Service was spontaneous, not prearranged (52 *c*); that it was throughout Anglican (52 *d*); that no Church other than the Presbyterian existed in the neighbourhood (52 *e*); that all who attended were missionaries (52 *f*); that all had agreed in their acceptance of the Creeds (52 *g*). With regard to the wider question of Inter-Communion, it should be observed that proposals for attendance at Communion among the Churches within the Federation are rather deduced from than specifically laid down in the Memorandum of the Kikuyu Conference (53, 54). With regard to the reception of members of non-episcopal Churches, who wish to attend an Anglican Communion, three possible courses are open (55).

We may *exclude* them. This course is apparently necessitated by the letter of a Rubric in the Confirmation Service (56); Literal observance cannot always, however, be pressed to its logical conclusion (57); Comity of Missions demands a certain relaxation, and to refuse it is to involve the native convert in a very grave injustice (58). Such a literal interpretation, further, is not necessitated by the facts, nor is it justified by the Rubric rightly understood (59). It may be urged that the word "admitted" signifies admission to full membership (59 *a*); that the Rubric applies only to "our own people" (59 *b*); that historically it has not been held to prevent even the compulsory attendance of unconfirmed persons at the Holy Communion (59 *c*); and that, in any case, the laws of necessity and of charity overrule the letter of even an inspired law (59 *d*). Neither regard for order (60), nor jealousy for the honour of the Sacrament (61), can be held to justify, in the Mission Field, the rigid interpretation and application of this Rubric.

Secondly, we may *allow* visitors from non-episcopal Churches to attend at our Celebrations (62). Such relaxation of the Rubric is frequent at Home (62, *a, b*), and is imperatively demanded by the conditions abroad (62, *c, d*).

Thirdly, without waiting for the individual to ask for special permission, or leaving with him the responsibility of decision, we might *invite* members of other Churches to attend when no church of their own denomination exists. Such liberty seems to be demanded by any principle of Missionary Comity (63).

With regard to the more difficult question of attendance at Communion in non-episcopal Churches, advice to converts may take one of three lines (64).

It may be *negative*: we may *forbid* them to attend (65). But

to do so is to "pronounce negatively" on the value of non-episcopal orders (69). Such a position has not been taken by the Anglican Church (66), nor is it justified by the facts, whatever be the precise meaning attached to the term *valid* (67-70).

To forbid our converts to attend elsewhere is to expose them to the same danger of moral lapse from which we would guard converts from another mission (71).

Or it may be *neutral*: we may leave the decision to the individual (72).

Or it may be *positive*: we may advise them to attend, lest spiritual isolation lead to a greater evil (73).

In any case it is important that no Federated Church should repel the communicant from another Federated Church who is in good standing in his own church (74).

Two alternatives have been suggested in place of the proposed Federation.

(1) The Bishop of Oxford advocates isolation from any general scheme of Protestant Federation (75). He dreads any participation as likely to endanger the cohesion of the Anglican Communion (76), and it is urged that there *can* be no alliance between episcopal and non-episcopal Churches (77). This, however, is not the position taken by the Lambeth Conference (78).

(2) The Bishop of Zanzibar proposes the formation of a Central Missionary Council, on which representatives of episcopal and non-episcopal Churches shall sit in equal numbers (79). The proposal has much to recommend it (80), but is open to certain serious objections. It is the product of a single mind (81); its doctrinal basis is deficient (82), and its proposed regulations as to the Holy Communion makes its general acceptance an impossibility (83).

Various results of such a Federation as is proposed have been predicted. It is urged that it will (a) endanger the cohesion of the Anglican Communion (84). But steps towards Reunion, if not forbidden by principle, are a simple duty, and no fear of consequences ought to deter from a positive duty (85). But there seems no adequate reason why such a result should follow, the proposed measure of co-operation falling far short of a relationship which once existed with the reformed Churches (86).

It is urged (b) that such Federation will set back the general cause of Reunion (87). But Reunion with Rome and the East is not yet practicable. Before it becomes so, vast changes will have passed over those ancient Communion (88, 89). There is nothing in the Federation which will place us at a disadvantage when the time comes to enter upon negotiations with Rome (90). Rather

would Federation, on a large scale, seem to facilitate the course of Reunion (91). And it is urged (c) that Federation would degenerate into undenominationalism (92). This will not be the case if the Lambeth Quadrilateral is faithfully preserved (93). No "new Church" is contemplated (94) but a refusal on our part to federate may result in the formation of such a Church (95).

If the dangers of Federation are great the dangers of isolation are greater. Such isolation involves permanent disunion (96). Federation would seem to be the only possible course towards reunion (97). Everywhere the tendency is strong towards the formation of National Churches (98,99). To join in such a movement is to influence it; to hold aloof from it is to endanger, in a very real sense, the position of the Anglican Church abroad (100).

The Kikuyu proposals are at least an honest attempt to meet a pressing difficulty and have been framed in entire loyalty to the spirit of the Lambeth Conference as we understand it, and in humble obedience, as we believe, to the will and purpose of our Divine Lord (101).

I. INTRODUCTORY

[Unless otherwise stated the *italics* throughout are our own, and are used simply to draw attention to the particular point which it is desired to emphasize.]

1. Two questions raised by the Conference of Missionaries that met at Kikuyu, June, 1913, have been referred by your Grace to the Central Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference. The questions are these:

(i) "Do the Provisions of the proposed scheme contravene any principles of Church Order, the observance of which is obligatory upon the Bishops, the Clergy, and the layworkers of the Church of England at Home and abroad? If so, in what particulars?"

(ii) "Whether, due consideration being given to precedent and to all the circumstances of the case, the action of the Bishops who arranged and conducted the admittedly abnormal service in question was . . . consistent or inconsistent with principles accepted by the Church of England." *

With reference to these two questions we venture to submit to the Consultative Body, through your Grace, the following considerations which, in our opinion, justified and necessitated the proceedings of the Conference.

2. The first question involves two, which are clearly distinguishable:

(i) "Can the Anglican Church properly *federate* with non-episcopal Churches?"

(ii) "Can we, in British East Africa, *federate in the way proposed?*"

The former question is not, indeed, specifically raised by the

* "The Missionary Conference in East Africa." The Archbishop of Canterbury's answer to the "formal appeal" made by the Bishop of Zanzibar, pp. 13 and 14.

terms of the Referendum, but it is fundamental, and in any consideration of the subject cannot be ignored.

3. The second question in the Referendum involves three distinct issues. Was the Communion Service that followed the Conference,

(i) "Consistent or inconsistent with *principles* accepted by the Church of England?"

(ii) "Contrary or otherwise to Anglican *precedents*?"

(iii) "Justified or not by the *circumstances* of the case?"

4. We do not propose to answer *seriatim* those specific questions that have been referred to the judgment of the Consultative Body, but rather to state the principles on which we have acted, and our grounds for believing that the proceedings of the Kikuyu Conference have been consistent with the doctrines and practices and the expressed intention of the Church of England.

II. THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE

A. The Anglican Church and Unity

5. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the conditions under which it may be realized, there can be none as to the ideal of Christian Unity. Whatever may be the indirect gain of diversity and independence, the evils inseparable from division far more than counter-balance the good. Here at least we are on common ground; we are alike in lamenting "our unhappy divisions," unhappy indeed at Home, disastrous amid a non-Christian environment abroad; and alike in a sincere longing and earnest prayer for "a greater visible unity among those who hold the same Creed" and serve and love the same Lord. (Appendix i.)

6. This desire has been voiced, with no uncertain sound, by the official representatives of the Anglican Communion. The Lambeth Conference of 1888 appointed a Committee to discuss and report on the whole question of *Home Reunion*. The "strong consensus of authoritative opinion" (Appendix ii) from all parts of the Anglican world convinced the Committee "that the time for some action in the matter had already come" (Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 81). No one could fairly complain of hasty or

ill-considered action being taken; for nearly thirty years before the Committee met Convocation had had the subject before them. So general was the desire for Unity and so strongly expressed that the Committee considered themselves "more than justified in recommending to the Conference that some steps should be taken" (Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 85) towards that end.

7. The following Resolution, submitted to the Lambeth Conference of 1888, may be taken as an expression of the matured convictions of the Committee:—

"That the constituted authorities of the various branches of our Communion, acting, so far as may be, in concert with one another, be earnestly requested to make it known that they hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference . . . with the representatives of other chief Christian Communions in the English-speaking races, in order to consider what steps can be taken, either towards corporate Reunion, or towards such relations as may prepare the way for fuller organic unity hereafter."

(Committee of Lambeth Conference on Home Reunion, 1888, p. 88.)

This Resolution was officially endorsed in Resolution 12 (Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 25.) Its immediate significance is that it clearly contemplates, under certain conditions, "corporate reunion" with "other Christian Communions in the English-speaking races," and that, failing the consummation of this, it urges steps "towards such relations as may prepare the way for fuller organic Unity hereafter."

8. Nine years later a larger Committee of the Lambeth Conference, under the Chairmanship of the then Archbishop of York, deliberately reaffirmed the position taken up in 1888. "We are more than willing," wrote the Committee, "to help to prevent needless collisions, or unwise duplication of labour" (Lambeth Conference Report, 1897, p. 112). This Committee on *Church Unity*, indeed, went even farther than that of 1888. After referring to the Resolution already quoted (paragraph 7), their Report proceeds:

"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.*"

(Committee of Lambeth Conference on Church Unity,

1897, pp, 113 and 114. The italics are as printed in the Report.)

Again the Lambeth Conference associated itself with the recommendation of its Committee,

“That every opportunity be taken to emphasize the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christians, as a fact of revelation.”

(Resolution, 34. Lambeth Conference, 1897, p. 43.)

And in a further Resolution (40) the importance of “*united prayer* and mutual *conference* between representatives of different Christian bodies” is urged especially on the Bishops of the several Churches of the Anglican Communion.

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1897, p. 43.)

9. If the Lambeth Conference of 1908 marked no very clear advance towards a solution of the problem of Reunion, it at least held to the position already taken up:

“At the head of their Report they desire to reaffirm once again the principle asserted by the Conference of 1897 (Resolution 34) that ‘the Divine purpose of visible unity among Christians’ is ‘a fact of revelation.’”

(Committee of Lambeth Conference on Reunion and Inter-communion, 1908, p. 170.)

And it once more urges, in the concluding words of its Report, the importance of meeting in conference:

“Finally, your Committee . . . venture to suggest that the constituted authorities of the several Churches of the Anglican Communion should, as opportunity offers, *arrange conferences* with representatives of different Christian bodies.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 186.)

Once again the Report of the Committee received the *imprimatur* of the entire Conference in a series of carefully worded Resolutions:

76. “Every opportunity should be welcomed of co-operation between members of different Communion in all matters pertaining to the social and moral welfare of the people.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 65.)

78. “The constituted authorities of the various Churches of the Anglican Communion should, as opportunity offers, *arrange conferences* with representatives of other Christian Churches.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 66.)

The Encyclical Letter of the same Conference calls attention to “the *imperative necessity* for effective and visible co-operation among

the workers": and deploras "the waste of force in the Mission field."

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 41.)

10. It is impossible to read such utterances without coming to the quite clear conviction that the Church of England, whatever may be the attitude of individuals among its members, does not stand for ecclesiastical isolation.* Whatever may be thought of the actual proposals of the Kikuyu Conference, its promoters may fairly claim that, in the summoning of that Conference, and in the great end for which it met, they had behind them the sanction and encouragement of the highest authorities of the Anglican Communion.

B. Necessity for Accommodation

11. So great a blessing as Christian Reunion is not to be secured without cost: and the necessity for accommodation has been frankly recognized by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion. In the words of the General Convention of the American Church, 1886, we:—

"do not seek to absorb other Communion, but to cooperate with them on the basis of a common Faith and Order."

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 84.)

In this spirit the American Church declared herself prepared to make all reasonable allowances in "all things of human ordering and of human choice."

And in the same spirit the Committee of the Lambeth Conference two years later (1888) looked forward to a re-united Church, not in all points conformed to our own, but "*with large freedom of variation on secondary points of doctrine, worship, and discipline.*"

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 87.)

The Encyclical Letter that same year urged the supreme importance of so representing our faith and practice to the growing Churches in the Mission field as neither to "give cause for offence, nor *restrict due liberty*" (Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 18); and this to the same effect—"A certain *liberty* of treatment must be extended to the cases of native and growing Churches, on which it would be unreasonable to impose, as conditions of communion, the whole of the Thirty-nine Articles, coloured as they are in language and form by the peculiar circumstances under which they were originally drawn up."

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 19.)

* Such conferences are, we believe, of real value, and in our opinion it is the duty of the Bishops and Clergy working in connexion with the Church of England to take part in them . . . But nothing can be accomplished by a policy of isolation."—Dr. Headlam in *The Church Quarterly Review*, January 1914, p. 406.

The Encyclical Letter of 1897 was even more emphatic.

“Nothing ought to be laid on them (the native churches) but what is of the essence of the Faith, or belongs to the due order of the Catholic Church.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1897, p. 30.) *

12. The hopelessness of any other course is seen in the result of the unbending attitude of the Roman Communion. It is true that no unity of Christendom can ever be complete which leaves out of account the ancient Churches of the East and of the West; but at present it is that inflexible attitude of Rome which dooms to failure every attempt at Reunion, and which called forth the reluctant verdict of the Home Reunion Committee in 1888:

“The Committee with deep regret felt that, under present conditions, it was useless to consider the question of Reunion with our brethren of the Roman Church, being painfully aware that any proposal for Reunion would be entertained by the authorities of that Church only on condition of a complete submission on our part to those claims of absolute authority, and the acceptance of those errors, both in doctrine and in discipline, against which, in faithfulness to God’s Holy Word and the true principles of His Church, we have been for three centuries bound to protest.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, pp. 85-86.)

When the next Lambeth Conference met the situation remained unchanged, and the foregoing words were adopted “as the substantial expression of their own opinion.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1897, p. 106.)

In 1908 the position was the same:

“Your Committee can only repeat the opinion which has been expressed with deep regret in two former Conferences, viz: that, under present circumstances, it is useless to consider the question of Reunion with our brethren of the Roman Church.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 176.)

Nothing could better demonstrate the deadlock produced and perpetuated where one Church exacts as terms of communion nothing short of absolute, unconditional, and unjustifiable surrender. Happily this is not the attitude of the responsible representatives of the Anglican Communion. They fully recognize the necessity, if Unity is to be secured, of reasonable accommodation.

* Resolution 19: “That it is important that, so far as possible, the Church should be adapted to local circumstances, and the people brought to feel in all ways that no burdens in the way of foreign customs are laid upon them, and nothing is required of them but what is of the essence of the Faith and belongs to the true order of the Catholic Church” (Lambeth Conference Report, 1897, p. 37).

C. Limits of Accommodation

13. But while quite prepared to make every right and reasonable allowance there must be clearly a limit to accommodation. Unity may be purchased at too high a price.

There must be no attempt to purchase a local at the cost of a universal Unity.

“In all partial projects of Reunion and inter-communion the final attainment of the Divine purpose should be kept in view as our object: and care should be taken to do what will advance *the Reunion of the whole of Christendom*, and to abstain from doing anything that will retard or prevent it.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 170.)

“Nevertheless they desire to place on record their conviction that no projects of Union can ever be regarded as satisfactory which deliberately leave out the Churches of the Latin Communion.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 176.)

14. These statements of the Committee on *Reunion and Inter-communion* were endorsed by the Lambeth Conference of 1908, in its 58th Resolution.

This Conference reaffirms the resolution of the Conference of 1897 that

“Every opportunity should be taken to emphasize the Divine purpose of visible Unity amongst Christians as a fact of revelation.”

“It desires further to affirm that in all partial projects of Reunion and inter-communion, the final attainment of the Divine purpose should be kept in view as our object; and that care should be taken to do what will advance the Reunion of the whole of Christendom, and to abstain from doing anything that will retard or prevent it.”

(Resolution 58. Lambeth Conference Report, 1908.)

15. This Resolution utters a wise and necessary warning; but it is certainly not designed to crush out any attempt at local or partial unity because the whole or the ideal is not yet practicable. For, after solemnly recording its unwilling conviction that “it was useless to consider the question of Reunion”—under existing conditions—“with our brethren of the Roman Church,” the Committee of the Lambeth Conference proceeded, in the immediately following paragraph of its Report, to discuss “the question of unity with Christians bodies, *other than* the Eastern and Roman Churches” and to lay down afresh the terms which, in their opinion

“supply a basis on which approach may be, by God’s blessing made towards Home Reunion.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1897, p. 106, 107.)

There is certainly no suggestion here that, an immediate approach to Rome being impossible, the Anglican Church should isolate herself from the non-episcopal Churches, lest, by too close an identification with them, her own position should be further compromised in the eyes of the great historic Churches. She would not do anything which, while securing a temporary or partial gain, would involve the ultimate sacrifice of a universal unity; but she does not consider that a close co-operation with “Christian bodies, other than the Eastern and Western Churches,” will necessarily have that result.

16. In the second place, *there must be no attempt to purchase Unity at the cost of any essential principle.* (Appendix iii.)

“However we may long to embrace those now alienated from us, so that the ideal of the one flock under the one Shepherd may be realized, we must not be *unfaithful stewards of the great deposit* entrusted to us. We cannot desert our position either as to faith or discipline. That concord would, in our judgment, be neither true nor desirable which should be produced by such surrender.”

(Lambeth Conference Encyclical Letter, 1888, pp. 15, 16.)

The Letter proceeds (p. 16) to suggest steps that may at once be taken in the direction of Unity “until such time as matters may be ripe for a closer alliance *without any sacrifice of principles which we hold to be essential.*”

(Lambeth Conference Encyclical Letter, 1888, p. 16.)

“Native Churches,” says the Encyclical Letter of the following Conference, 1897 :

“should be perpetually impressed with the necessity of *holding the Catholic faith in its integrity, and maintaining their Unity with the Catholic body.*”

(Lambeth Conference Encyclical Letter, 1897, p. 30.)

The Letter then speaks of the special obligation which has arisen in the Mission field,

“to avoid, as far as possible *without compromise of principle*, whatever tends to prevent the due growth and manifestation of that ‘Unity of the Spirit’ which should ever mark the Church of Christ.”

(Lambeth Conference Encyclical Letter, 1897, p. 31.)

Finally, in discussing the possibility of closer relations with the “Presbyterian and other non-episcopal Churches,” the Lambeth

Committee of 1908 emphasized, as a necessary precedent to all projects of Reunion :

“a general agreement in doctrine and practice, which would *violate no essential principle* of the Churches of our Communion.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 184.)

17. These emphatic warnings, on the one hand, against a compromise in the cause of Unity of any principle, combined with a deliberate attempt on the other hand, to formulate terms which would make possible a closer relationship with “Presbyterian and other non-episcopal Churches,” afford the clearest evidence that, in the opinion of the Lambeth Conference, such relationship *need not* involve the sacrifice of any principles which we hold to be essential.

18. This then would seem to be our position:—We deplore these “unhappy divisions,” which disfigure and weaken our common Christianity: we long for a Unity, comprehensive enough to include all who “name the name of Christ”: we recognize the sad fact that such union is, under existing circumstances, impossible: we stand between two great groups of Churches, holding out to each the “right hand of fellowship.” The fact that that hand is refused by the one, does not compel us to withhold it from the other who would grasp it. We do not abandon the wider ideal; but we do not, for the sake of that which eludes our grasp, refuse that which lies within our reach. Only we stipulate, that no present advantage shall be accepted which would finally prejudice the greater good, or involve the loss of that which is vital or essential. But we believe that it is possible—without sacrifice of things essential, though not without accommodation in matters non-essential—to enter upon a closer union with the separated non-episcopal Churches.

III. THE LAMBETH QUADRILATERAL

19. The supremely difficult task of deciding what, for the purpose of Reunion, must be regarded as matters essential, on which there can be no compromise, as contrasted with matters non-essential, on which there may be accommodation, was definitely faced by the Lambeth Conference of 1888. That Conference—following the lead of the Committee of the House of Bishops in the American Church—adopted the four points known as the LAMBETH QUADRILATERAL (Appendix iv.) as supplying, in their opinion, “a basis on which approach may be by God’s blessing made towards Home Reunion.”

(a) “The *Holy Scriptures* of the Old and New Testaments as

'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

(b) "The *Apostles' Creed* as the Baptismal symbol; and the *Nicene Creed* as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

(c) "The *two Sacraments* ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

(d) "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" (Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 25).

20. Such is the Lambeth Quadrilateral. It is clearly not intended as an exhaustive statement of the Anglican position and belief. There is in this important document no mention of the Athanasian Creed, of Confirmation, or Infant Baptism; yet, not merely a scheme of Federation, but definite and "corporate Reunion" is contemplated, and these four conditions are laid down as a basis on which it may be brought about.

Nor, on the other hand, does the Quadrilateral attempt to unchurch all who do not endorse it. The four conditions are not laid down as the four *notes* of a true Church. This will be more evident when it is discussed in further detail.

But it does represent quite definitely an attempt to achieve two results—to *facilitate Reunion*, on the one hand, and to *safeguard essentials* on the other.

21. It is not without significance that, in the Resolution (12) which immediately succeeds that (11) in which the Quadrilateral is laid down, the Conference "earnestly requests the constituted authorities of the various branches of our Communion" to take practical steps to give effect to its Resolutions—seeking to bring about, if not "corporate Reunion," at least "*such relations as may prepare the way for fuller organic Unity hereafter.*"

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 25.)

IV. FEDERATION IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA

22. The Mission field might be expected to witness the earliest attempts to translate into action the spirit and intention of the Lambeth Quadrilateral. It is a saying attributed to Bishop Westcott that "Reunion, when it comes, will come from the circumference rather than from the centre." Mission Churches tend more closely to approximate to primitive conditions. Abroad, in the newer countries and among younger churches, the problem

is easier ; and the pressure of actual necessity is more keenly felt. Hence, while the immense importance of historic continuity is not forgotten, yet the sense of Christian fellowship, stronger even than that of the ecclesiastical differences that separate, draws together the isolated members of the Church of Christ, standing as they do face to face with some of the dark problems of the non-Christian world.

23. Even apart from direct official encouragement, the actual conditions of the Mission field make some measure of "effective and visible co-operation" a practical and "imperative necessity." And it must be remembered that the Kikuyu Conference and its particular recommendations took shape under the direct pressure of this necessity. (The Kikuyu Conference, by the Bishop of Uganda, pp. 6, 7.) The briefest review of the events that led up to the Conference will serve to make this clear.

24. The first Missionary Conference met in Kavirondo, a country on the N.E. shores of the Victoria Nyanza, January, 1908. It was a purely local Conference, attended by the representatives of different Missionary Societies working in Kavirondo. It discussed purely local and practical difficulties. It decided on a common policy in regard to *language* problems, the use of a *lingua franca*, the unification of native dialects, the submission of translations to one centre, a common method of spelling, the same names for God, for Spirit, for soul, and the like. And it agreed, subject to ratification by the authorities concerned in each case, to respect Mission boundaries in Kavirondo.*

25. A further stage was reached in a second Conference held a year later, January, 1909, also in Kavirondo. This Conference marked a distinct stage forward in negotiations between the Missions, not only in that it touched, for the first time, questions ecclesiastical, but in that, attended as it was by certain missionaries working outside Kavirondo, notably Dr. H. E. Scott, head of the Scottish Mission, Kikuyu, it naturally took a wider view of a problem not peculiar to the one district. It discussed such questions as the length of the Catechumenate, the course of preparation for Baptism, the permanence of a marriage contracted under native laws, and a common attitude towards native customs. And it passed the following Resolution as to the end to be kept in view :

"That this Conference regards the development, organiza-

* The necessary consent, so far as the C.M.S. missionaries were concerned, was given in the following terms:

"The Executive Committee agree to the division as a tentative arrangement for evangelistic purposes, so that it does not prejudice the Diocesan jurisdiction."
(Executive Committee of C.M.S., Uganda, March, 1908.)

tion, and establishment of a *united*, self-governing, self-supporting, and self-extending native Church as the ideal of our Missionary work."

The wording is sufficiently cumbrous, and the details of arrangement had yet to be worked out, but the governing idea is already clearly visible.

26. So far the Conferences had been only partially representative. In June, however, of that year (1909) the first Conference to which all the Protestant Missions working in British East Africa* were invited, met in Nairobi. This United Conference endorsed and adopted the Resolution of the local Conference in regard to a United Church, and appointed a small Sub-Committee† to work out the question of unity in its practical bearings.

27. This Sub-committee met at Kijabe, the headquarters of the African Inland Mission, October, 1909. The question of *Union* in the near future was carefully discussed—only to be dismissed as being, for the present at any rate, impracticable; and the Committee fell back on the scheme of *Federation*, which, in all its main features, was substantially that now under discussion.

28. The proposals of the Sub-committee were referred in the following year (January, 1910) to a second General Conference of Missionaries that met at Nairobi: and later in the year (November 8, 1910) the proposals were formally brought before the Home Committee of the Church Missionary Society. The result was a carefully worded Memorandum, issued by the Committee, which, while entirely favourable to the general idea of closer co-operation with other Protestant Missions, reserved serious discussion of the actual recommendations until such time as they should be formally submitted for consideration by the ecclesiastical authorities on the spot (Appendix v).

29. A third General Conference met at Nairobi, February, 1911, to consider the replies received from the various Home authorities whose Missions were represented in British East Africa. This Conference ended in a deadlock (Appendix vi) no agreement being possible, and for the next two years no further steps were taken.

* It should be remembered that throughout the negotiations the purview has been the British East Africa Protectorate. For this reason no invitations were issued to missionaries whose work did not lie within that area.

† The following were appointed members of this Sub-committee: The Rev. Dr. H. E. Scott, Church of Scotland Mission; the Rev. C. E. Hurlburt, Africa Inland Mission; Mr. A. A. Chilson, Friends Africa Industrial Mission; the Rev. J. J. Willis (present Bishop of Uganda).

30. The Conference at Kikuyu (June, 1913) represented a final attempt to discover whether or not any formal plan of co-operation between the Missions was practicable. For the first time the Bishops of the two dioceses concerned were present in person, and practically all the heads of the Missions working in British East Africa. No invitations, however, were sent to Missions outside British East Africa. In view of the failure in 1911 to come to an agreement, it was obviously premature to invite any whose work did not lie within the Protectorate, and the plan of Federation had this area alone in view. At the Conference of 1913, for the first time, entire unanimity prevailed, and there was evident a deep and sincere desire on the part of all present to come to a definite understanding. No one who was present could doubt that the Spirit of God Himself was manifestly in the Conference.

V. THE QUADRILATERAL AND KIKUYU

31. In forming a judgment on the specific proposals of the Kikuyu Conference, due weight must be given to the following considerations :

(a) They are a serious attempt to solve an *actual* and an urgent problem. They embody a solution which alone has commended itself to men who, living on the spot, best know the actual conditions. If that solution be set aside, it remains to find a better, and one which to the same degree will commend itself to those who are immediately concerned. A purely destructive criticism, which ignores the necessity of corresponding construction, can be of little practical value.

(b) The proposals represent, not the ideal, but the *practicable*. It is idle to lay down, in an ideal scheme, conditions eminently satisfactory to one side, which have not the remotest prospect of being accepted by the other parties. The proposed scheme has passed through the severe ordeal of criticism from many points of view; not all that every one would like to include has been included; not all that has found a place is of equal value; provisions of quite minor importance stand side by side with provisions fundamental in their character. Many minds have been engaged, and the discussions have ranged over a course of years. The Memorandum bears visible marks of the ordeal through which it has passed. The question to be decided is not whether every important article of our faith has finally been included, but whether anything which is essential to our position has been shut out.

(c) And as with the material, so with the *form* in which it is cast, the Memorandum bears marks of its journey. The order is not always logical; the phraseology is not always clear; explanation such as only those can give who have followed the proposals through their various phases is necessary. The proposals must not be viewed as a work of art, but rather as the rough material from which a building may be constructed. Only it is fair to ask that doubtful phrases should be charitably interpreted: that credit should at least be given to those on the spot for realizing, not less clearly than do those at Home, the vital importance of safeguarding fundamental truth.

A. HOLY SCRIPTURE

32. The first principle of the Lambeth Quadrilateral is as follows:

"The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith."

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 24.)

The first of the "Fundamental Provisions" of the Kikuyu scheme of Federation lays down as the basis of Federation:

(a) "The loyal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as our supreme rule of Faith and Practice . . . and in particular belief in the absolute authority of Holy Scripture as the Word of God."

("The Kikuyu Conference," p. 19.)

The paramount position of Holy Scripture stands first. The Creeds are based on this: the Sacraments trace to the same source the earliest records of their institution: the Historic Episcopate hands on from age to age the "faith once delivered to the saints," and enshrined in Scripture. This first condition is primary and fundamental.

This first condition has been, we believe, fully satisfied by the Proposed Scheme of Federation.

B. THE CREEDS

33. The second principle in the Quadrilateral is this:

"The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol: and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith."

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 24.)

The second part of the first "Fundamental Provision" of Kikuyu insists on :

"The loyal acceptance . . . of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief."

("The Kikuyu Conference," p. 19.)

It further insists on belief in "the Deity of Jesus Christ, and in the atoning death of our Lord as the ground of our forgiveness." These clauses are not inserted as additions to the historic Creeds, but as emphasizing positions which were felt by some of the members of the Conference to be peculiarly in danger. This second condition has been fully accepted by the signatories of the proposed Federation.*

34. To their acceptance of this condition, however, two objections have been raised.

First, that while accepting the *words* of the two Creeds, they use them in a different *sense*.

"Again, what are we to understand by 'a loyal acceptance of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, subject to a certain necessary liberty as to interpretation?' † Does that mean a recognition of a conception of the Catholic Church other than that which the Church has always attached to the words 'I believe in One Catholic Apostolic Church.'"

(Lord Halifax, Speech at E.C.U. Meeting, Church House February 19th, 1914.)

To this it is fair to answer :

(a) That the exact sense in which the different articles of the Creeds are to be understood is nowhere defined—

"While in our Communion there is an official Creed, there certainly is no official interpretation thereof."

(The Bishop of Zanzibar, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, p. 10.)

(b) That identity of interpretation is never demanded from *members* of our own Church. On what ground, it may be asked, is

* This second condition was certainly not laid down with any thought of precluding negotiations with the great Churches of the East, but its insistence on the *Nicene* Creed which, as recited in the Western Church with its *Filioque* clause, is not received in the Greek Church, and on the *Apostles' Creed*, which with its Western origin is not used liturgically in that Church, shows clearly the *direction* in which the Quadrilateral is looking.

The acceptance of neither of these creeds presents any difficulty to the non-episcopal Churches.

† It should be noted that the words : subject to "a certain necessary liberty as to interpretation" occur in the statement of the Bishop of Uganda ("Kikuyu Conference," p. 10, s. 21) and not in the official Memorandum of the Conference.

a stricter rule to be imposed, for purposes of simple *Federation*, on members of other Churches?

(c) That Rome confessedly, in using the same words, does not cover the same ground as ourselves. Her conception of the "Holy Catholic Church" rigidly excludes Anglicans. The Anglican uses the same words, but in a wider sense.

(d) That to insist (not, as the Quadrilateral does, on the acceptance of the *Creeeds*, as such) but on the acceptance of a certain interpretation of each particular clause is to go far in the direction of exclusion. The Greek Church, admittedly Catholic, does not use the Apostles' Creed at all: may not a non-episcopal Church, which does use the Creed, be admitted to a Federation, unless it can first agree with ourselves in the exact but confessedly undefined sense of each Article? May we not rather be thankful that, in British East Africa, the two great Creeeds have been accepted as a basis of our common faith? (Appendix vii.)

35. The second objection is that the *Athanasian Creed* has been omitted from the Proposed Scheme of Federation.* To this it will be enough to answer:—

(a) That its acceptance is not demanded by the Lambeth Quadrilateral, even from those seeking organic union: how much less is it to be demanded of those seeking Federation?

(b) That the Athanasian Creed is *not* excluded. In all the vernacular Prayer Books, in the dioceses of Mombasa and Uganda, it has its proper place: but it is not imposed on other Churches as a condition of Federation.

(c) That, while its liturgical use is seriously challenged at Home, and relegated to the rarest occasions, it seems strange to impose it on simple native Churches as a condition of Federation.

(d) That, even if adopted by them, the phraseology—sufficiently obscure in a European language—tends to become practically unintelligible in an African dialect.

C. THE SACRAMENTS

36. The third great principle of the Quadrilateral concerns the Sacraments:—

"The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him." (Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 24.)

* "It does not contain the Creed commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius. (Bishop of Zanzibar, "Ecclesia Anglicana," p. 17.)

The third section under "Fundamental Provisions," in the Scheme of Federation, contains the following provision:—

(c) "Regular administration of the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, by outward signs." ("The Kikuyu Conference," p. 19.)

This third provision of the Lambeth Quadrilateral is important, both in what it does, and in what it does not, demand.

It does demand the two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself. In so emphasizing the unique position of the two Sacraments, the Lambeth Conference once again would seem to be looking for Reunion rather in the *direction* of the non-episcopal Churches than in that of Rome.

And it demands that these two Sacraments shall be administered duly, as to *matter* and as to *form*. But it does not declare whether Baptism shall be administered by immersion or by affusion: it does not define the age at which it shall be administered, nor specify by whom. It insists on the things that are essential: it leaves open other questions, not as being unimportant, but as being non-essential.

37. The Kikuyu proposals have at least attempted to follow the same line.

II. "That the Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered either by Sprinkling or by Immersion, according to the usage of the particular Church.

III. "That Baptism shall be administered to infants or to adults, according to the usage of the particular Church.

IV. "That in all Baptism the form 'I baptise thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' be used."

("The Kikuyu Conference," p. 23.)

38. If the Lambeth Conference would be prepared to entertain proposals for definite *Union*, without specifically mentioning the Baptism of Infants, the Kikuyu Conference can hardly be blamed on the ground of laxity because it did not insist upon it as a condition of entrance into a Federation. (Appendix viii.) For our own Anglican members the position of Infant Baptism is exactly what it would be were there no Federation contemplated: only we do not insist, as the Quadrilateral does not insist, on all other Churches doing what we ourselves do and shall continue to do.

39. To the whole question of the Sacraments in relation to non-episcopal Churches an objection which is fundamental—and if sustained by the facts must be fatal—has been raised. It is claimed that, having no Ministry which can be regarded as strictly valid, the

non-episcopal Churches can have no valid Sacrament: that they are, therefore, from the nature of the case, incapable of fulfilling the third condition of the Quadrilateral.

40. Without attempting to discuss the large question of the validity or otherwise of non-episcopal orders (which more directly concerns the fourth of the Lambeth principles—the Historic Episcopate), it will be enough to quote, in regard to the third principle of the Quadrilateral, the words of the Committee on Reunion and Inter-Communion, appointed by the Lambeth Conference of 1908:

“Whenever they have held closely to their traditions and professed standards of faith and government, as formulated at Westminster, they (the Presbyterian Churches) *satisfy the first three of the four conditions* of an approach to Reunion laid down by the Lambeth Conference of 1888.”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 183.)

The peculiar strength of this Committee, and the representative character of the 57 Archbishops and Bishops who composed it, gives special weight to its utterances. That Committee, at least, was prepared to recognize that a non-episcopal Church can fulfil the third condition of the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

41. It should be noted that, in British East Africa, this provision has not been secured without sacrifice. No Mission was more heartily in accord with the ideal of a united Native Church than were the Friends; but the insistence on this provision made it impossible for them to enter the Federation. We insisted with real reluctance on a provision which must make a general Federation for the present impossible, but believing as we do as to the Divine Institution of the Sacraments, we could not do otherwise than so insist.

D. The Historic Episcopate.

42. The fourth principle of the Quadrilateral is thus defined:

“*The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the method of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.*”

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, p. 25.)

It is at this point that the Kikuyu proposals appear to part company with the Lambeth Quadrilateral. No mention of Episcopacy, as necessary to membership in the Federation, occurs in the Memorandum. Some at least of its provisions appear to ignore it. And the inference has been drawn, and widely assumed to be sound, that those responsible for the proposals care little or nothing

for Episcopacy,* and that the Church of England in East Africa is about to be merged in a general union of non-Episcopal bodies.

43. With regard to the whole attitude towards Episcopacy, it is of the first importance that the facts should be clearly understood.

Three of the four principles of the Quadrilateral have been accepted; but no general acceptance of the fourth principle has yet proved practicable. And precisely for this reason no *Union* is proposed, but only a scheme of *Federation*, which falls far short of organic Union, is brought forward. The Lambeth Conference, in enunciating its four conditions, had in view the question of *Reunion*. Organised and effective co-operation is not Union: and for the lesser thing a less exacting standard is required.

44. But that the importance of Episcopacy has not been overlooked will be sufficiently evident from the following extract from a letter written by Bishop Tucker, dated September 15, 1909 (the date is significant). It is addressed to the Rev. Charles Hurlburt, Director of the African Inland Mission—a Mission which at that time had some 60 to 80 Missionaries working in British East Africa:

“I have delayed replying to your letter regarding a United Church in East Africa, on account of its extreme importance. I did not wish to write hurriedly, without due consideration of the whole case.

“My idea is roughly this. The Church of the future in these regions should be the United Church of East Africa. At present the missionaries of the C.M.S. working in East Africa, and their adherents, are members of the Church of England: they form the Church of England in East Africa. Similarly, to take another concrete case, the Presbyterian missionaries are members of the Presbyterian Church in East Africa. This condition of things, in both the cases I have quoted, would, I should hope, cease at some future date. I am looking forward to the time when the Bishops in East Africa may unite themselves into a Province . . . with power also to consecrate other Bishops. It would hold as fundamentals, a belief in Holy Scripture as the Word of God: the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord: the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds: and the three-fold order of the Ministry.

“In accordance with a suggestion of a Committee of the Lambeth Conference, it would have the power, I imagine, to con-

* “I have charged the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda with heresy in their teaching of the meaning and value of Episcopacy; I would also add that, to my mind, they and their followers are as seriously wrong in remaining in our episcopal Ministry, which is to them merely an outward form, and to their Protestant neighbours a rock of offence” (Open Letter, p. 10).

secrate a Bishop or Bishops (say, for example, one of the Presbyterian Church) *per saltum*. (Appendix ix.) This would, of course, imply a whole-hearted recognition of the validity of Presbyterian Orders,* on the one side, and, on the other, the acceptance of episcopal government of the Church . . .

"I presume that such an acceptance of episcopal government on the one side, and the recognition of the Orders, say, of the Presbyterian Church, on the other, would be with the knowledge and consent of the authorities of both the Churches at Home. In which case I apprehend there would be no difficulty as to the missionaries in the field who joined under such conditions continuing their connexion with . . . the Churches which sent them forth."

45. Nearly a year *before* this, in November, 1908, Bishop Tucker had written to the then African Secretary of the C.M.S., the Rev. F. Baylis :

"I have been having a very interesting conversation with Mr. Hurlburt, of the African Inland Mission : . . . The subject of our conversation was the future of the Church in Central Africa. Speaking for the Africa Inland Mission, which, as I have already explained in my previous letter, is interdenominational, Mr. Hurlburt expressed the opinion that, within the areas of Uganda and British East Africa the Church of the future should be on Church of England lines ; and, further, he expressed a strong wish and earnest desire to work with this end in view. Of course he made it quite clear that he was moved to this by the fact that *our* work—that is, the work of the C.M.S. in Uganda and B.E. Africa—is on very definite and pronounced evangelical lines : . . . Mr. Hurlburt's idea is that at first they should content themselves with working as far as possible on our lines. That we should draw up a statement as to our requirements for (1) Baptism ; (2) Confirmation ; (3) Our Courses of Training for Teachers ; (4) For Ordination ; and so on. Then, that as far as possible, we should agree upon a simple Liturgy for use by Catechumens, and in Evangelistic Services, etc. . . . His expectation seemed to be not that *we* should get into line with them, but that they should do what they can to get into line with us ; we, on our part, striving to make it as easy as possible for them to sink their differences."

* The question whether such "whole-hearted recognition of the validity of 'Presbyterian Orders'" is, or is not, implicit in the 75th Resolution to which reference is made, is immaterial to the argument. What we are concerned to show is that the whole question of Episcopacy was carefully considered throughout the negotiations.

These two somewhat lengthy extracts from letters written as far back as 1908-09 are a sufficient evidence that, throughout the long negotiations, the question of Episcopacy has been kept to the front.

46. Certainly no one who has worked in Uganda, and seen the far-reaching influence of a strong Church organized under an episcopal government, who has realized how entirely such a government accords with the genius of an African people, is ever likely to seek deliberately to change it.* Even were such a change desired, which it certainly is not, the Fundamental Provisions, which are unalterable, of the Constitution of the Church in Uganda, make it impossible.†

47. In the Memorandum of the Kikuyu Conference the Episcopate is not, indeed, specifically mentioned; but it is not therefore excluded. Every Society joining the Federation shall be *autonomous* within its own sphere (The Kikuyu Conference, p. 19). The C.M.S. represents an episcopal Church; the government within a C.M.S. district will be as fully and completely episcopal as it would have been had there been no thought of Federation. In these districts, at least, Episcopacy has not been set aside.

Again, "nothing in this constitution of the Federated Missions shall be so understood as to prejudice *the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishops* over all members of their own Communion."

("The Kikuyu Conference," p. 24.)

Such a provision at least presupposes the existence and continuance of Episcopacy within the Federation; it would be difficult to account for its insertion if it were true of the Federation that "it does not contain Episcopacy" ("Ecclesia Anglicana," p. 17, (d)). Not only is the position of Bishops recognized, but an express provision is inserted in their favour, granting to them—as not specifically to the heads of other Missions—full liberty to minister to members of their own Communion wherever found.

48. That the future African Church in British East Africa will certainly be an episcopal Church it would be impossible at this

* See article, "A United Church," by the Bishop of Uganda, in the East and the West, April 1914, p. 199.

† These begin as follows:

Constitution of "The Church of Uganda." A. Fundamental Provisions. "The Church of Uganda doth hold and maintain the doctrine and sacraments of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded in His Holy Word, and as the Church of England hath received and explained the same in the Book of Common Prayer, in the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: and in the Thirty-nine Articles of religion: and further it disclaims for itself the right of altering any of the aforesaid standards of faith and doctrine . . . The foregoing Provisions shall be deemed fundamental, and it shall not be within the power of the Provincial Synod, or of any Diocesan Synod to alter, revoke, add to, or diminish any of the same."

stage to assert. We can only say that there is very remarkable evidence of a desire on the part of many non-episcopal missionaries in the Protectorate to see the establishment of a United Church under definite episcopal government (Appendix x); that we as Anglican Bishops have made it clear that, while quite prepared to *federate* with non-episcopal Missions, we could not *join* any United Church which did not accept the Historic Episcopate (Appendix xi); and that we considered ourselves bound, in regard to any project of Reunion, by the express terms of the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

49. Meanwhile, failing the acceptance, which for purposes of *Federation* is not necessary, of the fourth principle, certain provisions have been drawn up, the general effect of which will unquestionably be a "levelling up" among the different Missions, and a greater care exercised in the selection, training, and testing of candidates for the native ministry.

(See "The Kikuyu Conference," p. 14, sec. 32, and pp. 21, 22, II. III. and IV.)

50. To recapitulate: The Church of England earnestly desires Reunion: universal, if it may be; partial, if it must be, provided that the ultimate ideal be not forgotten or impeded. She recognizes the necessity of making reasonable concessions, provided only that no sacrifice of essential principles be involved. In the Lambeth Quadrilateral she has laid down *four great principles* as conditions on the basis of which an approach may be made towards corporate Reunion. Tested by these four conditions the Kikuyu proposals claim to have fulfilled three; the fourth has not, indeed, been fully accepted; but Episcopacy is not rejected, nor its power curtailed; and lines have been laid down along which there will be, when the proper time comes, the best prospect of travelling towards the goal which we believe to be the ideal of the future Church.

VI. THE HOLY COMMUNION.

51. While we believe that the summoning of a Conference and the attempt to formulate a working agreement with non-Episcopal Missions can fairly claim the direct sanction of the Lambeth Conference, the questions concerning the Holy Communion rest on other grounds.

Two groups of questions of far-reaching importance arise in connexion with the Holy Communion. They concern:

- i. The Communion Service at Kikuyu, June, 1913.
- ii. The Proposals in the Scheme of Federation as to Inter-Communion.

I. The Kikuyu Communion

52. The facts are not in dispute, and are generally known (see Appendix xii). With regard to that Service we would emphasize the following considerations :

(a) It was an exceptional occasion, though not unique.

(b) Nothing could have been further from the thought of any who partook than that it was a mere demonstration in favour of Christian Unity.

(c) The Communion Service was not pre-arranged ; no notice of it stood on the Agenda of the Conference ; it was the natural outcome of the spirit prevailing throughout the Conference.

(d) The celebration was Anglican throughout ; Bishop Peel was the celebrant, assisted by the Rev. J. E. Hamshere, of the C.M.S. The Prayer Book order was followed. The Elements used were Bread and Wine.

(e) No church, other than the Presbyterian, exists in the neighbourhood of the Scottish Mission, where the Conference was held.

(f.) All who attended the Celebration were missionaries, men and women who had proved their devotion to our Lord by a life of voluntary exile in His name.*

(g.) They had further declared their acceptance of the Two Creeds, and of the Scriptures on which they are based.

II. The Kikuyu Proposals

53. With regard to the question of *Inter-Communion* between the Federated Societies ; the only Provisions in the Memorandum which explicitly deal with the subject are Nos. VI. and VII., under the head of "Sacraments."

vi. "That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall not be administered to anyone who is not a full member of the Church to which he belongs."

vii. "That a Register of Communicants shall be kept in each Church, and attendances at Communion shall be regularly recorded. Members residing temporarily in other districts shall be supplied with cards, on the back of which the minister of the Church visited shall record attendances at Communion."

("The Kikuyu Conference," p. 23.)

* "The Communicants were all without exception pledged to acceptance of the Nicene Creed, as expressing their basal faith, and all without exception brought the sacred *tessera* of a life devoted to missionary service."—Letter from the Bishop of Durham, *The Times*, December 18, 1913.

54. The first half of Provision VII. concerns residents, the second concerns visiting members from other districts.

It has been generally assumed that this second clause is intended as a direct authorization of general inter-communion between the Federated Churches, though there is nothing in the wording to necessitate this interpretation. The provision concerns four quite distinct cases.

a. The case of Anglicans visiting another Anglican district.*

b. The case of a member of a non-episcopal Church visiting another non-episcopal district.

Obviously neither of these two cases will present, from the Anglican standpoint, any difficulty.

c. The case of a member of a non-episcopal Church visiting an Anglican district.

d. The case of an Anglican visiting a non-episcopal district.

The last two cases raise questions of far-reaching importance. These are in the main two :

First, how far, and in what circumstances, are we justified in admitting to our Communion Services those who, though not confirmed, are recognized communicants in their own Churches?

Second, how far, and under what conditions, are our own communicants at liberty to partake of the Holy Communion in a non-episcopal Church?

A. Admission to our Communion

55. With regard to members of non-episcopal Churches who may be temporarily resident in an episcopal district, three possible courses would seem to be open, which may be summarized as Exclusion, Toleration, and Invitation.

a. Exclusion

56. "And there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed."

This Rubric, standing at the end of the Confirmation Service (Appendix xiii), has been held to foreclose discussion; and to those who feel themselves thus bound by the plain letter of an injunction this is no doubt convincing. But it carries with it certain inevitable consequences.

That while thus urging the strictly literal fulfilment of this Rubric, there are few who would consistently carry out their own

* Under the proposed scheme of Federation there are ten Missionary districts, worked by C.M.S. missionaries, in different parts of the East Africa Protectorate.

reasoning to its logical conclusions, who would, under no circumstances whatever, allow one not confirmed to approach the Holy Table: who would take effective steps to secure that no such person was unwittingly admitted: and who would follow out with an equal literalism the letter of every injunction within the cover of the Book of Common Prayer.

The fact that the same degree of strictness is not consistently adopted throughout is no evidence that it is not justified in this particular case: but its absence necessarily deprives the argument in this instance of much of its weight.

57. If the policy of exclusion is to be rigidly maintained, the division of territory by agreement becomes exceedingly difficult. We cannot expect other Missions to agree to leave us in undisputed possession of a large area, when they know that their communicants will be systematically excluded from Communion so long as they may have to reside in an Anglican district. For the sake of their own people they are morally bound to enter our districts, and provide for them that which we have refused to give.

58. In the Mission field a too literal interpretation of the Rubric must have disastrous consequences; a letter from the Rev. W. Chadwick to the *Times* of Jan. 3, 1914, well describes the actual results of a rigid policy of exclusion. We cannot do better than quote the terms of that letter:

“As a missionary of twelve years’ experience in the Diocese of Uganda, may I venture to draw attention back to the practical side of the problems which came before us at Kikuyu.

“I suppose that of all our recommendations to the Home authorities the most debatable is that communicants of one Mission should be admitted as visitors to Holy Communion in another. Now the vast native Reserves of British East Africa were divided some years ago into “Spheres of Influence.” This has been done in many parts of the world without any outcry. Yet the natural outcome of this division is that practically national or provincial Churches are growing up. Are the members of these Churches to be treated as schismatic? To take a concrete instance—for it is with such that a missionary has to deal—I am in a town district, and a new cotton factory is being put up. A builder comes to work on it for a few months who has learnt his trade at an industrial Mission. He has been taught to believe in the Holy Catholic Church and wishes to come to Holy Communion, but he has never heard of Confirmation. Is that his fault? He has loyally obeyed the directions of the only Church in his neighbourhood. What am I to do? I naturally remember Bishop Creighton’s directions when

I was ordained for work in London. He directed us to receive Presbyterians to Holy Communion as visitors, speaking of it as a Christian courtesy. My case is more than a parallel, for the Presbyterian in London can easily find a church of his own. If I refuse this native, how am I to explain it to our own people? They and he have seen men suspended for a period from Holy Communion, but it has been for theft or immorality. To admit is not only to give him the spiritual help and privilege, it is also to introduce him to the hearty hospitality of the best of our people. To refuse him would be to raise in his childish African heart all the rancour of sectarian jealousy; probably he would be thrown into the company of his fellow labourers almost entirely, and they are mostly Swahili Mohammedans; he would be exposed to all the temptations of a friendless stranger earning large wages in a foreign town.

“Ecclesiastical differences sink into insignificance when I look into the face of this unsophisticated Christian. Am I to be the first to tell him that there is any schism other than that of Rome? I am first of all a priest in the Church of God, and I give this truly Catholic child of God the food which he craves.

“But I am also a strong believer in our episcopal form of government. How are we to further its cause in British East Africa? If we hold ourselves aloof from other Churches, we shall be left in a hopeless minority; we not only lose power for the whole cause of Christ in the face of Mohammedanism, but we shall be ignored when in the future a native Church of East Africa is formed. On the other hand, the history of this very Conference shows what influence and weight we may have by throwing ourselves heartily into the common council. The policy of Christian charity is the only statesmanlike policy.

“In the Protectorate of Uganda there is only one Church beside the Roman, and to this is very largely due under God our wonderful success. I have lately been moved to that corner of the diocese which lies outside the Protectorate, and I see the disadvantages of want of cohesion at every turn. We have not been hasty, but the times are urgent. We recognize that much of Christ's work is being done by Nonconformists. If we examine their converts we see that they are in the faith, and that Christ is in them. That was St. Paul's proof to the Corinthians that he was an Apostle. If these have neither Orders, nor Sacraments, then we must measure the outward fruits of our Orders and Sacraments, either by the difference between our best converts and their best, or by the difference between our average and theirs. The honour of the Anglican Church would be far better sustained by an adequate occupation of the districts for which we are responsible, than by criticism of men

who have each perhaps about 400,000 to evangelize, and who feel themselves drawn very close to their fellow-soldiers in the strife."

W. CHADWICK.

The Palace, Londonderry,
New Year's Day, 1914.

In such circumstances nothing but the strongest sense of an unavoidable duty could justify any Christian man in deliberately excluding one who is otherwise qualified, morally and spiritually, for admission.

59. Nor does this literal and uncompromising interpretation appear to be necessitated, or even justified by the facts.

a. The word "admitted" (Appendix xiv) may be used in a technical sense, of admission to the rights of full membership. It would not, if this be the case, touch the question of occasional hospitality.

b. It may be urged that this Rubric—in common with all the other Rubrics of our Liturgy—was drawn up for the government of our own Church. (Appendix xv.) "In these our doings we condemn no other Nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only."

"Of Ceremonies" Preface to Book of Common Prayer.

c. Those responsible for the Rubric in its present form showed how little they regarded it as an inexorable law, binding on all men everywhere, when they not only allowed but compelled Nonconformists to attend Anglican Celebrations. The rigid interpretation is, in the words of Professor Gwatkin, "liturgically and historically untenable."*

d. Even were it otherwise, the law of practical *necessity*, as in the case of David and the Shewbread, and the law of *charity*, as when our Lord healed on the Sabbath day, over-rule, in special circumstances, the letter even of an inspired law.†

60. It is not easy to understand the principle that underlies the intense desire to insist on this particular Rubric with an emphasis certainly *not* placed on some other equally binding injunctions.

It may be simple *regard for order*, and fear lest, the barrier being

* The Confirmation Rubric, by the Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, D.D., p. 8.

† "Concerning those who for a time wish to use the Church services without any present intention of joining her . . . the decision will depend on the place we make in ecclesiastical organization for Christian courtesy. How ought we to recognize this undoubted virtue? Is it not the point from which we ought to start working for union?"—Bishop Creighton, Letter to Dr. Wilkinson, January 23, 1897. Quoted in "Life of Bishop Creighton," vol. II., p. 275.

removed to allow of the admission of individuals in special circumstances, it will ultimately be thrown down altogether, and the crowd will rush in. Such a result would be deplorable, not at Home only, but in the Mission field. To the native Christian, surrounded by the forces of heathenism, Confirmation means perhaps more than it can ever mean to the confirmer in a Christian land. We, in the Mission field, have no wish to dispense with the normal rule, nor to relax a much needed discipline; but the fear of a possible or remote consequence need not deter us from doing what, in special circumstances, is practically necessary and morally right.

61. Or it may be regard for the *honour of the Sacrament*: a conviction that those who have separated themselves from the established Church must not be allowed her privileges. But whatever may be held as to the degree of responsibility attaching to the first seceders, it is hard to transfer that same measure of responsibility to honoured missionaries of a later generation who in no spirit of opposition, but in loyal devotion to a great cause, have given their lives to missionary service. And it is still harder to penalize the native converts, who are the direct fruits of their labours and to whom the term "Nonconformist" is strictly inapplicable—and for no fault of *theirs* to exclude them from what is, after all, not our Table but the Lord's.

b. Toleration

62. The logical consequences of a literal interpretation and universal application of the Confirmation Rubric are too tremendous to be generally accepted.* Some of the strongest Churchmen, whose loyalty has never been questioned, while recognizing the force and value of the precaution, have shrunk from a policy of strict exclusion. The greater law of Charity has been allowed to overrule the Rubric.

(a) Persons presenting themselves, even in English Churches, without notice given, have not been challenged as to whether they have or have not been confirmed.† The responsibility is left to the individual communicant (Appendix xvi).

* "Few of us would be disposed to refuse the Communion to a member of one of these bodies, whether layman or minister, who presented himself unostentatiously to receive it, especially if it happened to be in a heathen country, or far from his own place of worship."—Letter from the Rev. Canon A. J. Mason, D.D., to the *Times*, December 15, 1913.

† It is remarkable that in this matter greater care than is generally the case in England is exercised among the native congregations in Uganda. Where Christians are not known in the church in which they wish to communicate they must present their Confirmation cards, certifying that they have been confirmed and are communicants in good standing.

(b) Express permission to communicate has been given by many Anglican Bishops to members of non-episcopal Churches whose duties may call them to reside in a place where no church of their own denomination exists.

(c) Chaplains, on the Continent, or at sea, or abroad, have been officially authorized to admit as visitors persons confessedly unconfirmed, who are for the time cut off from the ministrations of their own Churches.

(d) Such reasonable liberty, necessary and justifiable in the case of the European traveller, is doubly so in the case of the native convert. (Appendix xvii.)

Under a Comity of Missions, a great area is divided among different Christian Churches. In each district a certain type of ecclesiastical organization obtains. A native within that district grows up under the shadow of that organization, and ignorant of any other; he is essentially a conformist, conforming wholeheartedly to the only form he knows. In course of time, in search of work, he moves to another, an Anglican district; he presents himself, as he has ever done, at the Communion, only to find himself excluded, through no conceivable fault of his—left standing outside with the "open and notorious evil liver," who, for a widely different reason, suffers the same penalty. What will be his thoughts of the Church that so repels him, and of that Church in which he has grown up which deliberately entered upon a plan of Comity which involved this?

Few indeed, face to face, as the missionary must be, with the actual problem in the flesh, would refuse Toleration.

c. Invitation

63. But, it may be urged, it is one thing to *allow*, it is another to *invite*. In the one case the responsibility rests with the individual communicant; in the other it is assumed by the minister. The one attitude is, at most, negative and neutral: the other is positive and active.

This distinction seems to be rather one of policy than of any real principle. If the unconfirmed member of a non-episcopal Church is really not qualified to receive the Sacrament, we ought to *prevent* his approach to the Holy Table. If, in our judgment, he may be *rightly* admitted under certain conditions, we ought not to shrink from the responsibility of so admitting him. If the matter is so doubtful that the clergyman is at a loss to know how to act in a given case, recourse should be had to the Bishop of the diocese. But in any case the burden of responsibility should not be allowed

to rest on the shoulders of the immature native convert. For ourselves we would unhesitatingly say that where a church of his own denomination exists, the proper thing for him to do would be to attend its ministrations; but that, where no such church exists, he should not merely be tolerated at, but welcomed to our Celebration—provided he is a communicant in good standing in his own Church. This, and nothing less, we conceive to be necessitated by any proposals for territorial division in the Mission field.

B. Attendance at Communion in Non-Episcopal Churches

64. The second, and very much the more difficult, question is this: How far, and under what conditions, are our own communicants at liberty to partake of the Holy Communion as administered in non-episcopal Churches?

Let it be at once observed that the same assumptions hold good is in the case already discussed. It is assumed, in the case of one of our communicants visiting a non-episcopal district, that no church of his own communion exists: it is assumed also that, if he attends, he does so in the capacity of a visitor; and it is assumed that, should the opportunity of communicating be afforded him, he is under no moral obligation to avail himself of it.

Should he or should he not present himself? If he is honestly in doubt about the matter, and seeks advice, what advice should we offer him? In this case also three alternatives suggest themselves: we may forbid him; we may leave the decision with himself; or we may advise him to communicate. Our advice may be negative, neutral, or positive.

a. It may be Negative

65. A meeting of the English Church Union, at the Church House, on February 19, 1914, passed a Resolution reaffirming "that no man can be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, or be suffered to exercise any of the functions of a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, as is set out in the Ordinal and Article xxxvi., except he hath had episcopal consecration or ordination."

To the same effect a large body of Clergy of the London Diocese recently presented, through the Bishop of London, a memorial to the Upper House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, as follows:—

"In accordance with the teaching of the Church in all ages, the Church of England has always taught, and must continue to teach, the necessity of episcopal ordination as a condition of exercising the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments."
(Appendix xviii.)

If it be the fact (1) that the rule, admittedly binding on our own Church ("no man shall be accounted or taken to be a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, *in the Church of England*, or suffered etc.", Preface to Ordinal) is equally binding on all other Churches : (2) that God, having instituted a regular ministry, can thenceforth work in no other way : (3) and that consequently all non-episcopal ministries and therefore sacraments are invalid—then it follows that we cannot but warn our people against their ministrations.

66. Happily we are not compelled to take up this position. The wise words of Dr. Sanday might well guide us in this matter :

"It seems to me to be a very delicate matter, and, indeed, scarcely admissible, for one Christian body to take upon itself to pronounce upon the validity, or otherwise, of the ministrations of another."

("The Primitive Church and Reunion," p. 105.)

"On the broad general question of the validity of a particular ministry, it seems to me that no human tribunal is really competent to judge."

(*Ibid*, p. 106.)

"Hence, to say that a particular form of ministry has a 'defect,' or in wider terms that it is 'defective,' may well be a conclusion that cannot be avoided. But this is not to go nearly so far as to call it 'invalid.' We may be sure that every ministry under the sun, at least in its individual members, has its defects, and is defective. But it is not therefore invalid. God alone knows what accumulation of defects constitutes invalidity."

(*Ibid*, p. 107.)

Equally cautious was the last Lambeth Conference, in the words of its Committee on *Reunion and Inter-Communion* :

"Anglican Churchmen must contend for a valid ministry as they understand it. . . . But it is no part of their duty and therefore not their desire, to go further and pronounce negatively upon the value in God's sight of the ministry in other Communion."

(The Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 115.)

67. It would be difficult to assert, in the face of history and experience, that God cannot work outside the channels of a regular ministry* ; to believe, in view of the Prophetic Ministry,

* "God has not only one way of working. He does work through regular defined channels, but He also works outside them. And His greatest working of all has been often of this irregular kind. This fact, as a fact, we ought to have very present to our minds" "Conception of the Priesthood," by Dr. Sanday, p. 66.

"It is impossible to condemn those whom God has visibly not condemned."—*Ibid.*, p. 67.

which God has raised up in all ages, that no ministry of the *Word* can be valid apart from episcopal ordination: to maintain that no ministry of the Sacraments can, under any circumstances, be valid, when we admit the validity of lay Baptism (Appendix xix). If valid means "*effective*," as to many minds it undoubtedly does, such a position would be so utterly contrary to the clearest evidence of facts as to be strictly untenable.

68. But if "invalid" mean not necessarily ineffective, but "*insecure*" it will be scarcely less difficult seriously to maintain the position. It is essentially the position taken up by the Jews with regard to the ministry of John the Baptist, "*we cannot tell*": the visible evidence of a great work done is before their eyes; (Appendix xx) to the people generally, who have no theory to maintain, and judge things as they see them, there can be no question of the source of its inspiration: to the religious leaders it is invalid, insecure, lacking the signs of a Divine commission. It is essentially the attitude that the same men adopted towards our Lord Himself, "*we know that God spake by Moses; but as for this man we know not whence He is.*"

69. In the Mission field definitely to *forbid* our converts to communicate in non-episcopal Churches is to pronounce positively against the validity of non-episcopal ministries. It could not be understood otherwise by the native convert. It is to pronounce such a ministry, if not ineffective, at least insecure—and in either case invalid. And such a position the Lambeth Conference has not yet taken.

70. Whatever may be said as to the wisdom or otherwise of communicating in other churches, we cannot forbid it on the ground of invalidity of other ministries: we dare not pronounce dogmatically where we know so little (Appendix xxi) and where the facts, so far as we can see them, point so plainly in the opposite direction: we cannot regard as forbidden ground a path which has been trodden by so many of the best and greatest leaders of our own Church.

71. In any case to *forbid* such attendance is to condemn our own convert to the same practical isolation which we feel to be an intolerable injustice in the case of a convert from another district visiting one of our stations: it is to expose him to that same danger of moral lapse, to avoid which we would extend the right hand of fellowship to the Christian of another communion: and this is a responsibility not lightly to be incurred.

b. It may be Neutral

72. While we shrink from forbidding, and yet perhaps would hesitate to sanction such a communion, we might content ourselves with leaving to the individual communicant the task of deciding—neither condemning nor approving the resulting action. Such a course, if it is unsatisfactory, is at least safe. If, on the one hand, the native convert in his loneliness and exile feels his deep need of spiritual sustenance, and in the Communion Service of a non-episcopal church finds that which his soul desires, let us not forbid him. If, on the other hand, the unfamiliar words and a certain vague uneasiness rob the Service for him of all true significance, he is certainly under no obligation to go. Let the liberty be his, whether he elect to use it or not. So long as we are unable or unwilling to cover the whole ground, we cannot reasonably complain if our convert—to whom from force of circumstances we are no longer able to minister—seeks from others that ministration which we have failed to supply.

c. It may be Positive

73. Many would go further. Not presuming to forbid, not deigning to leave to an inexperienced convert the responsibility of deciding in so difficult a matter, they would boldly *sanction* such a communion. It is, they would urge, a choice between this and total deprivation. The Churches in which the ministration is sought hold fast, with us, to the Scriptures and the Creeds. Whatever, in individual cases, may be the degree of irregularity, God is not tied to His ordinances,* and in every communion and in every place "he that seeketh findeth"; and the danger of lapse, great at all times, and greater in time of enforced isolation, justifies a course which in normal circumstances might be unnecessary, if not unjustifiable.

74. The advice that might be given would depend very largely on the individual and the circumstances. There is nothing in our Formularies to forbid attendance at a non-episcopal Communion. There is ample precedent in the history of the English Church to justify it. But it is not therefore necessarily the best course.

What is important is, to secure that, so long as the division of territory is a practical necessity, each federated Church shall be prepared to extend spiritual hospitality to the communicant of another federated Church who may visit that district provided

* "But while maintaining that they only are commissioned to administer the sacraments who have received that commission from those appointed in succession to bestow it, we have never denied that God may make His own sacraments efficacious even when irregularly administered. We would trust it might be so."—Pusey.

always that no moral obligation whatever shall rest upon such communicant to avail himself of such hospitality, should he be otherwise minded. This we believe to be the necessary condition of Mission Comity as expressed in territorial division.

VII. THE ALTERNATIVES.

75. It remains to consider the possible alternatives to the Kikuyu Proposals. Two only have, so far as we are aware, been advocated.

A. Isolation of the Anglican Communion

The almost complete absence of any attempt at a constructive policy has been a conspicuous note of most of the actual criticism of the Conference. The problem to be faced is admitted, but no solution is offered; and this, not from any want of thought, but from a conviction that none is possible or even desirable. This conviction is voiced in the Open Letter of the Bishop of Oxford in the significant words :

“For my own part, I am sure we ought to go as far as we can, consistently with the uncompromising maintenance of the three principles (Appendix xxii) which I have enumerated above. But these three principles do seem to me to mean that the Anglican Communion *can never recognize Federation* with other Protestant bodies (Appendix xxiii) on equal terms, nor celebrate ‘open communions,’ nor send its members to the communions of other bodies. And if this is so, we must be *left standing apart from any general Protestant Federation*. For I think we cannot reasonably ask those great Protestant bodies to go far with us, unless we are prepared to reciprocate on equal terms.”

(“The Basis of Anglican Fellowship,” p. 38.)

76. “Left standing apart” must indeed express the result of such an attitude. To one who feels himself constrained, whatever may be his personal longings for unity, to adopt this position, the *details* of a given scheme are immaterial; *any* proposal of Federation with non-episcopal bodies stands condemned as such.

How little any form of Federation is welcomed is evidenced by the instant warning with which the first sign of its approach is greeted :

“The whole *coherence of the Church of England* depends on the maintenance of those severe but Catholic principles.”

(“The Basis of Anglican Fellowship,” p. 34.)

"Such federation, if it violates the Catholic principles which I have sketched, or if it is of such a nature as inevitably to lead on to their violation, involves the consequence of *disruption amongst ourselves.*"

("The Basis of Anglican Fellowship," p. 38.)

"And I would earnestly ask my Evangelical friends, before they commit themselves freely to Protestant federation . . . to consider what will be *its effect on the cohesion of our communion.*"

("The Basis of Anglican Fellowship," p. 39.)

To federate is to pass, apparently for the first time, "into the welter of Christian bodies" ("The Basis of Anglican Fellowship," p. 40), to lose our distinctive individuality, and our position as the potential mediators in a divided Christendom.

77. This extreme reluctance to be in any sense identified with non-episcopal Churches is found, in perhaps its most uncompromising form, in the following passage:

"There can be no true organic living unity between Sacramental and unsacramental religion; that is, between *the Catholic Church* with the Eucharist and *the Christian Churches* without it. It is vital to the whole question of reunion with the *Churches outside the Catholic Church*. It is a gulf which nothing can span while these Churches remain without Apostolic orders, and therefore can have neither priesthood nor Eucharist. No amount of friendly intercourse, speaking on the same platform, or agreement on so many Articles of the Creed, can bridge over this gulf. The centre of unity, the centre of faith, and the centre of worship in the Catholic Church, is the Blessed Sacrament."

("Catholic Truth and Unity," by Rev. G. Sampson, p. 75.)

It is very evident that, from the standpoint of one who thus views the non-episcopal Churches of Christendom, any idea of federation must be repellent.

78. Happily for the ultimate prospects of Reunion this attitude has not been adopted by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion. They have refused to "*pronounce negatively* upon the value in God's sight of the ministry in other communions." In the Lambeth Quadrilateral they have deliberately sought to find a way towards "unity with Christian bodies other than the Eastern and Roman Churches." They have declared of the Presbyterian Churches that "wherever they have held closely to their traditions and professed standards of faith and government, as formulated at Westminster,

they satisfy the first three of the four conditions of an approach to Reunion laid down by the Lambeth Conference of 1888."

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 183.)

B. A Central Missionary Council

79. The publication of "Proposals for a Central Missionary Council of Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches in East Africa," by the Bishop of Zanzibar, offers a definite and alternative scheme. The simple *non possumus* attitude, which acknowledges the difficulty, and neither offers nor accepts any solution, leads unswervingly to one goal—confusion, the deliberate introduction into a new country of all that we deplore at Home, and need never have abroad. The Bishop of Zanzibar's proposals are a welcome evidence of a sincere desire to grapple with a problem of which, as a Missionary Bishop, he cannot but be conscious. If we are constrained to disagree with some of the suggestions, it is from no lack of appreciation of the motive and the spirit that inspired the proposals.

80. With very much of the Scheme we are in entire agreement. The clear desire to co-operate, to the utmost of his power, with "non-episcopal Churches," frankly acknowledged as such; the desire to meet in the representative Council on equal terms with an equal number of episcopal and non-episcopal representatives * both in the Council and in its Executive; the desire to join in prayer † with those from whom, on certain matters, he profoundly differs, all show how far is the Bishop of Zanzibar from forgetting a problem which, to an onlooker at Home, may seem trivial, but to the worker on the spot is urgent. And the suggested form of Prayer ‡ for the Council's meeting shows the true spirit of the man.

81. On the other hand there are features in the Proposals which cannot be regarded as equally satisfactory.

It is, in the first place, the product of a single mind rather than the result of mutual deliberation. The value of the Kikuyu proposals lies in the fact that they have been *accepted* by both sides after a long series of conferences. The preliminary condition on which the Bishop of Zanzibar would enter the Council which he himself proposes is "that the Federation proposed at the Kikuyu Conference be entirely dropped by the episcopal Churches and Societies concerned." § It would be difficult to obtain general agreement to this.

* Proposals for a "Central Missionary Council," p. 8, secs. 5 and 11, note 3.

† *Ibid.*, p. 10, sec. 14 and p. 13, note 8.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 14, 15.

§ *Ibid.* Preface.

82. On the negative side the scheme lays itself open to criticism, its doctrinal basis, excellent as far as it goes, falling very far short of that proposed at Kikuyu. "The Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ, His supreme authority as the final Revelation of God to man, and His Mediatorial presentation of man to God." * Not only the Athanasian Creed (whose absence in the Kikuyu proposals is so deplored) is here omitted, but even the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds fail to find a place.† There is an insistence on *one* of the two Sacraments. "Baptism, by immersion in or affusion with water, with the form of words that the custom of the Universal Church requires."‡ No reference is made to Infant Baptism in this as in the Kikuyu proposals.

83. The crux of the situation is to be found in paragraph 7 :

"The Council shall take no share in any policy by which Communicants of any one represented Church shall receive Holy Communion in another Church." §

The possibility of the acceptance of the Proposals would very largely depend on the force and the interpretation of these words. If they mean nothing more than that the Council would undertake no official responsibility for any arrangement as to offering spiritual hospitality, leaving to each Church the responsibility of deciding in any individual case, we are left virtually in our present position : if they are to be understood to mean that the various Churches represented on the Council undertake *not* to offer such hospitality to communicants isolated from their own Churches, then the proposal would certainly never be accepted in British East Africa.

VIII. RESULTS OF FEDERATION.

84. Much has been said of the possible results of a scheme of Federation with non-Episcopal churches in the Mission field.

(a) *It would lead to the disruption of the Anglican Communion.* "I doubt if the cohesion of the Church of England was ever more seriously threatened than it is now."

(Bishop of Oxford. Letter to *Times*, Dec. 29, 1913.)

85. It would be a sad sequel to any scheme of Federation, abroad, if the result at Home were the loss of unity within our own

* p. 7, sec. 2.

† The purpose is to admit as many as possible. And also to avoid all reference to "loyal acceptance of Scripture" or "Creeds as general expressions of belief," phrases that are "too vague to use as grounds of common agreement."

‡ Preface, p. 7, sec. 2.

§ Preface, p. 8, sec. 7.

Communion. But it is at least a question whether we have any right, in view of the New Testament teaching on unity, to let this consideration weigh. Either some positive principle forbids such co-operation, in which case there is an end of the question, or it is a *duty*, a matter of moral obligation, in which case to refrain from it, even with a view to the ultimate advantage of our own Communion, would be to do evil that good may come. We must do our immediate duty and leave the future to God.

86. But for ourselves we are unable to understand why Federation of the kind proposed should for a moment threaten the cohesion of the Church of England. So far as we are aware there is nothing in the proposed Federation which, rightly understood, is inconsistent with the accepted principles of the Church of England.

And the proposals contemplate a measure of co-operation which falls far short of that relationship with the foreign Reformed Church which has characterized our own past. If the cohesion of the Church of England was not considered then to be threatened by the greater concession, why is it now more seriously threatened by the less?

(b) A local Federation with non-episcopal Churches will retard the ultimate Reunion of Christendom.

87. "Any corporate Reunion with bodies who administer the Sacraments without episcopal ordination would tend to widen the breach of separation between ourselves and other ancient Churches, and such an effect would be deplorable."

(Committee of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union Resolution, December 1913.)

88. We entirely agree "that such an effect would be deplorable." But it is fair to point out that no such "corporate Reunion" has been proposed. Federation, it need hardly be said, falls far short of organic union.

89. Reunion with the Churches of Rome and of the East is still a remote possibility. Before such Reunion can become possible vast changes will have passed over those ancient Communion. But the possibility of a closer co-operation with the reformed Churches is not remote, and the problem of the Mission Field is immediate and pressing. Are we justified in sacrificing a present, certain, legitimate advantage, for the sake of that which is confessedly distant and uncertain?

90. Nor is it clear that such a closer co-operation would act prejudicially in the future. It is important to remember that there is no question of our giving up Episcopacy, either in whole or in part.

We do not compromise our own position by a frank recognition of the working of God among and through those from whom, in matters of Church government, we widely differ. For the sake of possible Reunion with Rome we are not bound to recognize only those whom Rome recognizes. We do not consider that our recognition of Greek orders will act prejudicially on any future negotiations with the Roman Church.

91. So far from setting back the cause of Re-union the effect of Home Reunion would, we believe, be to remove one of the main stumbling-blocks which earnest Roman Catholics find in the numerous divisions of Protestantism. In this connexion it is interesting to note the Bishop of Zanzibar's proposal, with regard to co-operation in East Africa, that the various Missions representing the Free Churches should *first combine amongst themselves*,* and that the Anglican Church should then enter into negotiations with representatives of the combined Churches, rather than of each denomination acting independently. In the same way an understanding between the reformed Churches, so far from retarding would rather, we believe, help to facilitate reunion.

(c) *Federation would lead to the formation in East Africa of a new Sect.*

92. "The ultimate ideal of a United native Church, constituted according to the Mind of Christ, is the end we must all have in view; but the proposed scheme of Federation . . . can only suggest the gravest doubts . . . whether instead of laying the foundation for a native Church, built on the rock of the Catholic Faith, it does not encourage the development of a sect founded on undenominational principles, and as such a body incapable of fulfilling our Lord's Commission to His Apostles, "Go ye and preach to all nations: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

(Lord Halifax, E.C.U. Meeting, Church House, Feb. 7, 1914.)

"In that Conference two Bishops and several priests of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* committed themselves to a temporary Federation of Missionary Societies, with a view to the establishment of a new united protestant Church for East Africa and Uganda."

(Bishop of Zanzibar's Open Letter, p. 16.)

93. No Church which faithfully preserves the four principles of the Lambeth Quadrilateral can rightly be charged with being "a sect founded on undenominational principles."

* Proposals for a Central Missionary Council--Bishop of Zanzibar, p 11, note 2.

94. If that be "a new Church" which is not in every detail modelled on that with which we are familiar, which is characteristically African or Indian or Chinese, rather than European, then there are few missionary leaders who would not wish for it. But a Church is not necessarily "new" because it has adapted itself to the soil in which it has taken root, and is capable of drawing to itself the nutriment that comes to it from many sources. The essential matter is that, in the process of transplantation it loses nothing that is vital to its existence. It is the deepest conviction of those responsible for this Federation that nothing that is vital to the Church's life has been or is in danger of being lost.

95. The effect of withdrawal on our part from the Federation would unquestionably be the formation either of one non-episcopal Church or of many Churches which would be "new" in the sense that they would be independent of "Catholic" Christianity. It is precisely to avert this danger that the proposed scheme of Federation has been drawn up.

(d). Results of Isolation.

96. It is well to consider, on the other hand, what will be the results of a policy by which the Church of England stands outside any such general scheme of Federation as is proposed.

So long as she does so, the ideal of unity in the Mission field must be regarded as impracticable.

That ideal will never be reached through a policy of isolation. Unity will never be realized if we wait passively until all other Churches are prepared to seek for Communion on our own terms. The only conceivable path to a Unity which we all desire will be by way of Federation (see Appendix 1 c), on terms which are honourable to all concerned, and which do not sacrifice the principles of any of the Federating Churches.

97. Even by way of Federation it is possible that the goal of Unity may never be reached. But, even though it fail of its ultimate object, such a Federation will yet have proved of incalculable service in the missionary cause, which is wider and greater than the interests of any one Church.

98. There is no doubt that there is at the present time a growing tendency in the great Mission fields of the world to unite into national Churches (see Appendix 1, a). This tendency is naturally most conspicuous in the more intelligent leaders of the native Churches (Appendix 1, b), but its influence is slowly permeating the rank and file of native Christians.

99. The strong tendency to federate is evident in all parts of the world.

"Some seven years ago the Presbyterian Church of Australia addressed a letter—an historic letter—to the Anglican Union of Australia and to the other Churches there, asking that an effort might be made by means of conference in order to secure closer union. That letter is memorable from the fact that, so far as I know, it is the very first instance of an approach to the Church of England from any of the bodies outside of it. It was read sympathetically. In due course, these two Churches, by their representatives, met. In the years 1906 and 1907 sessions of the Conference were held . . . upon the first three points, the Holy Scriptures, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and the two Sacraments, there was absolute unanimity in the whole of that Conference, and when the difficult question of Episcopacy came up, I am at least at liberty to say that it was dealt with in a manner which, to my mind, shadowed forth, not only a possible way of securing organized unity between these two Churches, but the only possible way that can be conceived. I am at liberty to say this also that when these conclusions were placed before the Lambeth Conference two years ago, that Conference did not go quite so far as our very warm-hearted Conference did, but, nevertheless, it received what was reported very sympathetically. We are cautioned to make haste slowly, with great emphasis on the slowly, but my impression is that if the Church of England in Australia were able to act independently—she has not, and does not want to do so—our organic union might be secured in a very short period, and I might add, without any sacrifice of any kind of principle on either side."

(The Bishop of Gippsland, at the Edinburgh Conference, quoted by Dr. Sanday, in "The Primitive Church and Reunion" pp. 27, 28.)

"The Christian Federation movement occupies a chief place in the hearts of our leading Christian men in China, and they welcome every effort that is made towards that end." . . . "Speaking plainly, we hope to see in the near future a united Christian Church without any denominational distinctions. . . . From the Chinese standpoint there is nothing impossible about such a union."

(Mr. Cheng Ching Yi, L.M.S., Edinburgh Conference Report, Vol. VIII., p. 195, f.)

"They have frankly stated their ideal to be a united Chinese Christian Church, and it is idle for us to ignore, and it would be foolish for us to oppose that national sentiment within the Christian Church."

"We do not want to see rising in China . . . a Far Eastern Church separated in sympathy and in aim from the Catholic Church of the Christian world. The danger which I have spoken of is not one which is in the air or is remote ; it is near, and it is pressing for immediate attention."

(Edinburgh Conference Report, Vol. II., p. 351.)

100. The significance of this tendency for the Anglican Communion is evident ; almost everywhere we are in a minority among the non-Roman Churches in the Mission field, outnumbered by the members of the non-episcopal Churches, in the world at large by seven to one.

Yet everywhere representatives of the English Churches are treated with peculiar respect, and their co-operation, where given, is warmly welcomed.

To co-operate in such a movement is to influence it, and to secure for it a stability which it might otherwise lack ; to stand apart from it is not to thwart it, but to doom ourselves to isolation.

There may not be an immediate danger of losing our present converts ; but there will be a very real danger of losing their children. Such a Federation can support Colleges and Schools with which we are quite unable to compete. The undoubted tendency will be for the best of our scholars to go where the highest education is given. And as the movement towards a United Church gathers strength in any country, the tendency will be for the small minority to fall into line with the general movement.

Such would seem to be the inevitable issue of the policy of isolation.

IX. CONCLUSION.

101. The Kikuyu proposals represent an honest attempt to interpret what we believe to be the spirit and intention of the Lambeth Conference in regard to closer co-operation in the Mission field with the only Churches with which such co-operation is at present possible. They represent, in a deeper sense, not merely a politic arrangement by which Christian Missions may become more effective, but an attempt to interpret into terms of experience what we believe to be the mind of Him who is "the Spirit of Unity and Truth." May we not hope that along the lines already laid down by the Lambeth Conference, without compromise of principle, but without the exaction of terms which the Church of England has

never yet exacted, a way may be found to solve the urgent problem in the Mission field, and to realize the spirit of our own prayer :

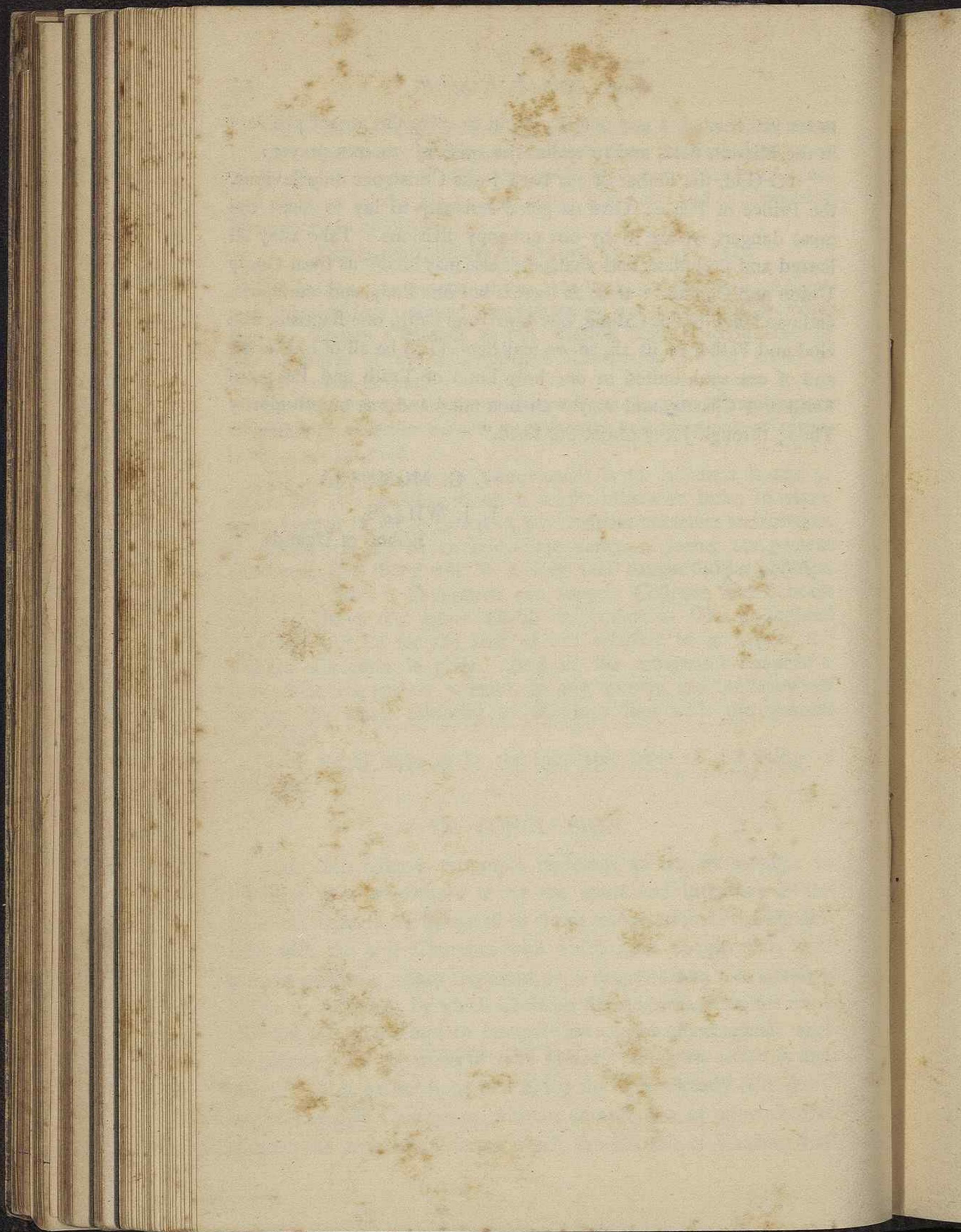
“ O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace : Give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from Godly Union and Concord : that, as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify Thee ; through Jesus Christ our Lord.” Amen.

W. G. MOMBASA

J. J. WILLIS,

Bishop of Uganda

July 9, 1914



APPENDIX

I. *Reunion through Federation* (Par. 5)

(a) In almost every part of the world there is evidence of a movement towards the unification of the Christian forces within a given area. The recent Conferences held in connection with the Edinburgh Continuation Committee bear striking testimony to this.

“There is among Indian Christian leaders a widespread desire for the development of one united Indian Church.”

Jubbulpore Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 90.)

“We recognize the fact that the Chinese Church, both as regards her leaders and the majority of her membership, is strongly in favour of one Church, open to all Christians, and is making a more or less conscious effort to realize that aim.”

Canton Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 192.)

“This Conference earnestly desires the unity of the whole Church of Christ in China.”

Hankow Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 300.)

“This Conference prays with one accord for that unity of all Christians for which our Lord himself prayed, . . . and earnestly desires the unity of the whole Church of Christ in China.”

China National Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 327.)

“It is the sincere hope and earnest prayer of this Conference that all the Churches representing Christianity in Japan, may be brought together in fuller unity in Christ.”

Japan National Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 461.)

"It is the sincere hope and earnest prayer of every Christian man and woman that all the Churches representing Christianity in Japan may come together and be made one in Christ."

Tokyo Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 438.)

"We rejoice in the spirit of Christian fellowship and brotherly love which animates the Church in Korea . . . and believe that all look forward to a closer degree of formal organization, whatever be the means through which the Spirit of God may lead."

Seoul Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 392.)

(b) This tendency is naturally the strongest among the leaders of the Churches, who from their position are likely to see furthest into the future.

"The Conference notes with satisfaction the desire *on the part of the leaders of the Indian Church* to draw closer together than they are at the present time."

Allahabad Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 75.)

"This Conference is of the opinion that there is undoubtedly a strong desire *on the part of many of the leaders* of the Indian Christian community for a comprehensive Church organization adapted to the country."

India National Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conference in Asia, p. 125.)

(c) How the result may best be brought about formed the topic of much discussion during the Conferences in the Far East. The general feeling seems to have been that the road to organic unity will lead by way of federation.

"This Conference earnestly hopes that all Missionary bodies and Indian Christians will thoughtfully consider how the desire of many for one national Indian Church may be eventually fulfilled."

Bombay Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 46.)

"There is at this time in the Chinese Christian Church a strong tendency towards unity, and *federation is regarded as the first step in that direction.*"

Peking Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 275.)

"We recognize, too, that at the present time there are longing desires for the immediate realization of the unity of the Chinese

Church, and we suggest that difficulties may be best avoided by the *federation* at once of existing Churches for mutual counsel and co-operation in work, and when this is accomplished for organic unity."

Shanghai Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 223.)

"The Conference finds itself in almost unanimous agreement that the tendency of the Chinese Church is towards the development of a nation-wide Church coming *by way of federation* of existing Churches."

Tsinanfu Conference.

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 251.)

II. *The Anglican Church and Reunion* (Par. 6)

"FROM various synods of the Colonial Church, similar, and even stronger, expressions of a desire to make some movement on the part of the Anglican communion in this direction have been brought before the Committee. The General Synod of the Church in *Australia* and *Tasmania*, in 1886, "desired to place on record its solemn sense of the evils of the unhappy divisions among the professing Christians, and, through His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, respectfully prayed the Conference of Bishops to be assembled at Lambeth in 1888 to consider in what manner steps should be taken to promote greater visible unity among those who hold the same creed." A Resolution was passed in almost the same words by the Diocesan Synod of *Montreal*: and similar Resolutions by the Provincial Synod of *Rupertsland*, and the General Synod of *New Zealand*. At the Sessions of the Provincial Synod of *Canada* in 1886, a joint committee was appointed to confer with any similar committees, which might be appointed by other religious bodies, on the terms upon which some honourable union might be arrived at.

But the most important and practical step has been taken by our brethren of the *American Church* in the General Convention of 1886, in accordance with the prayer of a petition signed by more than a thousand clergy, including thirty-two Bishops. At that Convention a Committee of the House of Bishops presented a remarkable Report, which, after stating emphatically that the Church did "not seek to absorb other communions, but to cooperate with them on the basis of a common faith and order, to discountenance schism, and to heal the wounds of the Body of Christ"; and that she was prepared to make all reasonable concessions on "all things of human ordering and human choice," dwelt upon the duty of the Church to preserve "as inherent parts of the sacred

deposit of Christian faith and order committed by Christ and His Apostles to the Church, and as therefore essential to the restoration of unity," the following :

(1) "The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, 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 unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and 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."

The Report concluded with the following words :

"Furthermore, deeply grieved by the sad divisions which afflict the Christian Church in our own land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, as soon as there shall be any authorized response to this Declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies seeking the restoration of organic Unity of the Church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass." This Report was adopted by the House of Bishops, and communicated to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies ; and, at the instance of the latter House, it was resolved :

"That a Commission, consisting of five Bishops, five Clerical and five Lay Deputies be appointed, who shall, at their discretion, communicate, to the organized Christian Bodies of our country, the Declaration set forth by the Bishops on the Twentieth day of October ; and shall hold themselves ready to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian Bodies seeking the restoration of the organic Unity of the Church."

After consideration of these significant documents, and of memorials from certain Associations, which have already done good service in this cause, it was decided by the Committee that they were more than justified in recommending to the Conference that some steps should be taken by it in the direction specified in the Resolution constituting the Committee."

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1888, pp. 83-85.)

III. *The Test of Principles* (Par. 16)

THERE is, however, an obvious danger of magnifying into an essential principle any theory which may appeal to the imagination.

But as Christianity must be judged by its practical fruits, so must each alleged principle be tested by its effects.

The practical effects of any given principle are perhaps more clearly seen in the Mission field than can be the case at Home. The Church in the Mission field stands nearer to primitive conditions. The men who in their daily life see the Christian Church standing out in vivid light against the dark background of heathenism will probably discern her true outlines more clearly than is possible for those who have no such contrast before their eyes. If in the Mission field a rigid adherence to an alleged principle involves a grave loss to the cause of Christianity, this fact creates a presumption against the soundness of the principle, and a special responsibility rests on its supporters to bring clear proof of its soundness.

IV. *The Term "Quadrilateral"* (Par. 19)

THE term itself is, as the Bishop of Chester points out in his Charge to the Chester Diocesan Conference, February 1914, "not a very auspicious title, for the famous Austrian Quadrilateral was established not for defence, but for domination over North Italy, and the four fortresses had eventually to be surrendered."

V. *Resolution of C.M.S. General Committee, November 1910* (Par. 28)

(b) 1. "The Committee are prepared to approve, subject to the concurrence of the Bishops, the participation of the Society's Missions, so far as their governing bodies think wise, in the proposed 'Federation' of the several missions with a view to co-operation and mutual consideration, it being understood that each Mission retains for the time being its independent management, and its liberty to withdraw from the 'Federation' at any time should occasion arise."

2. "The Committee are of opinion that for various reasons the time has hardly yet come to ask the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. or the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of England to express any opinion about the future constitution of a united Church. The principles involved will be very far reaching, and the circumstances to which they will need to be applied have at present developed to only a very small extent in British East Africa."

3. "The Committee are further of opinion that when occasion arises for the authorities of the Church of England to be consulted it should be by the Bishops in East Africa rather than by the Com-

mittee of the C.M.S.; or if by that Committee, then only at the request of the Bishops concerned."

VI. *Failure of Conference of 1911* (Par. 29)

THE Conference of 1911 failed to reach an agreement on the question of "common membership," or, as it might be more clearly described, "mutual recognition of membership." It was found impossible to agree as to the terms on which converts should be formally admitted to the Christian Church. Some Missions held that in view of the observed fact that, in the case of a very large number of Africans, moderation was unknown, total abstinence from intoxicants should be made a necessary condition of baptism, other Missions refusing to lay down a positive condition not Divinely sanctioned.

VII. *Authoritative Interpretation of Creeds*, (Par. 34 (a))

"THE important thing, surely, is that all Churches alike should accept these creeds. Then they have what is essential. It may be that some will not interpret them always in quite the best way. We are certain, for example, that during the Middle Ages there was much inadequate interpretation. We must recognize that if we once begin to demand not merely the Catholic Creeds, but an official interpretation of them, or any addition to them in any direction, we are really limiting the Creed, and thus violating the principle of Catholicity."

REV. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D.

(In the *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1914, p. 417.)

VIII. *Infant Baptism* (Par. 38)

"THE Bishop of Zanzibar objects that the new arrangement does not contain a rule of Infant Baptism. Is there any rule of the Universal Church compelling Infant Baptism? When we consider that St. Augustine, son of a Christian mother, was not baptized until he was of full years, may we not accept the principle of freedom as regards Infant Baptism, especially in Missionary districts? There are many who are doubtful even of the advisability of indiscriminate Infant Baptism in some districts in England. Although we do not

agree with them, it must be recognized that there is no Catholic rule compelling Infant Baptism."

Rev. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D.

("Notes on Reunion," in the *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1914, p. 418.)

IX. *Consecrations "per saltum"* (Par. 44)

"THE Conference . . . is of opinion that, in the welcome event of any project of Reunion between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or other non-episcopal Church, which, while preserving the Faith in its integrity and purity has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry, reaching the stage of responsible official negotiation, it might be possible to make an approach to Reunion on the basis of consecrations to the Episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610. Further, in the opinion of the Conference, it might be possible to authorize the arrangements (for the period of transition towards full union on the basis of episcopal ordination) which would respect the convictions of those who had not received episcopal orders, without involving any surrender on our part of the principle of Church order laid down in the Preface to the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer."

(Lambeth Conference Report, 1908, p. 65, Resolution 75.)

X. *Native Churches and Episcopacy* (Par. 48)

(Extract from "Africa in Transformation," Rev. Norman Maclean)

"It will be thus seen that the Church of Uganda is on the one hand truly democratic, with courts corresponding to the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Presbyterianism, while, on the other hand, it is possessed of that initiative, visible unity and discipline, which the Episcopate gives. This is part of the secret of the power of the Church of Uganda. Bishop Tucker has blended Episcopacy and Presbyterianism into perfect organization. In so doing he has laid down the lines on which the Christian Church should be organized in Africa. A Church which has the democratic power which Presbyterianism can give, and which has also the initiative and unity which the historic Episcopate gives, is the ideal Church for the African. It is, in my opinion, hopeless to think of organizing the African Church of the future permanently on any basis except this—that of Uganda" (p. 228).

XI. *Unity through Episcopacy* (Par. 48)

At the Nairobi Conference, 1909, in the course of a paper on "Native Church Government," the Rev. K. St. A. Rogers, C.M.S., pointed out clearly that "as regards the Anglican Communion, we are committed to some form of Church government consistent with the historic Episcopate."

The practical value of the Episcopate as a unifying factor in Christendom is strikingly emphasized in the concluding passage of a remarkable leading article in the *Times* of December 4, 1913. "Amid the fitful glimpses that we have of its origin, it is possible to discern the fact that the Episcopate arose as a means towards unity. Ought it ever to have developed into a pretext for perpetual dissidence abroad and at Home?"

XII. *The Kikuyu Communion* (Par. 52)

"THE celebration of the Holy Communion at the close of the Conference stands apart from any general scheme of Federation. That it was celebrated in a church belonging to the Established Church of Scotland was due in a sense to the accident of place, no Church of England building being available. The service itself followed throughout the order in the Book of Common Prayer; the generosity was on the part of the Scotch Mission in lending their church for an English service. The admission of Nonconformists was certainly not without ample precedent. It was an exceptional occasion—an occasion which no one present is ever likely to forget. To repeat such a moment from a common participation might be justified by rule, and dictated by a stern sense of duty; but it would have been in a sense to nullify the whole spirit of the Conference. We cannot but feel that, in the circumstances, the Master Himself would have justified the action, as His Presence beyond all question hallowed the scene."

("The Kikuyu Conference," by J. J. Willis, p. 17.)

XIII. *The position of the Confirmation Rubric* (Par. 56)

"ARE we right in supposing that the law of the Church of England shuts out from the Holy Table the most saintly of our Nonconformist brethren because they have never been confirmed? Do the words apply to them which are often regarded as a bar to their Holy Communion? Where do we find them in our Book of Common Prayer? Not in the warning paragraph which stands in the forefront

of the Order for Holy Communion. There it is only the evil life and the impenitent heart that are precluded from the Lord's Table. The lack of Confirmation is not mentioned."

(Archbishop Maclagan : Charge to Diocesan Conference, 1904.)

See the two articles on "Open Communion in the Church of England," by an Ecclesiastical Lawyer, in the *Spectator*, June 13 and 20, 1914. The articles bear the initials "A. C."

XIV. "*Admission*" to the Holy Communion (Par. 59 (a))

PROFESSOR GWATKIN draws attention to this possible interpretation in a pamphlet entitled "The Confirmation Rubric," p. 1.

"Perhaps the rubric is not quite so clear as it looks. It may be that *admitted* is a technical term denoting reception to *permanent* membership, and has nothing to do with spiritual hospitality."

XV. "*A domestic rule*" (Par. 59 (b))

THIS view is sustained in the reply of Archbishop Tait to memorialists on the subject of the admission of Nonconformist Revisers to the Holy Communion in Westminster Abbey :

"But some of the memorialists are indignant at the admission of any Dissenters, however orthodox, to the Holy Communion in our Church. I confess that I have no sympathy with such objections. I consider that the interpretation which these memorialists put upon the Rubric to which they appeal at the end of the Confirmation Service is quite untenable.

"As at present advised, I believe this Rubric to apply solely to our own people, and not to those members of foreign or dissenting bodies who occasionally conform."

("Life of A. C. Tait," by R. T. Davidson and W. Benham
ii. 70.)

With regard to this qualification in the Preface to the Prayer Book "of Ceremonies," the present Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, writes :

"Thrown to the front as it is, this declaration governs everything contained in the Book, and shows that the Rubric is meant for 'our own people only.' It is, therefore, no more than a domestic rule of our own, and implies no general doctrine that Confirmation is indispensable to Communion."

("The Confirmation Rubric," by the Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, D.D.;
p. 2.)

But, if this be the fact, the apparent anomaly follows that, while for our own members a certain fixed standard, intellectual as well

as spiritual, is demanded as the condition of admission to the Holy Communion, for visiting members of other Churches no such standard is required.

In answer it must be remembered that each Church is responsible for the discipline of its own members: the fact that a visiting member of another Church has not passed the test which we impose on our own members, does not imply that he has not, in his own Church, passed a corresponding test as to character and learning before admission to the Lord's Supper. It is to be observed that it is only proposed that communicants in good standing in their own Churches should be admitted.

A letter to the *Times* of January 5, 1914, calls attention to the solemn service in the Scottish Church which precedes admission to First Communion:

"The second point is more serious and fundamental. One of the chief issues in the present controversy is the admission to Holy Communion 'at Anglican altars' of unconfirmed persons. As to the ultimate decision of this issue I have no right to offer an opinion, however earnestly I may indulge a hope. But it is legitimate that I should protest against the description of members of the Church of Scotland as being in any real sense 'unconfirmed' persons. No doubt the word 'confirmation' is not in common use amongst us (though 'seal,' the earlier denomination, is), and no doubt the solemn service which, in well-ordered Scottish practice, commonly precedes admission to First Communion, is not accompanied by the laying-on of episcopal hands. But neither is the tactual imposition of the hands of a Bishop required in other great branches of the Church Catholic. In the Church of Rome, I understand, tactual imposition is not practised. In the great Eastern Church it is not practised—even the presence of a Bishop is not required; the parish priest confirms. The English Church stands practically alone in Christendom in her manner of administering the rite. But that is not to say either that her manner of administering it is invalid, or that the manner of other Churches in ministering it otherwise is invalid, so long as the spiritual essence of it is there. As regards that spiritual essence, I think the teaching of my Church is parallel to that of the English Confirmation service. That essence is there described as twofold: (1) the renewal, or confirmation, on the part of the candidate of his baptismal vows; (2) the renewal, or confirmation, on the part of the Supreme Being, in answer to the prayers of ministrant and candidate, of the grace conferred in baptism. These two essentials are precisely those brought into prominence in the order which is commonly used in Scotland at the service

preceding admission to First Communion. And they are also, I take it, the spiritual essentials of confirmation as understood, not only in the Church of England, but at Rome, at Moscow, and in the greater of the Reformed Churches. I speak, however, only with direct reference to members of the Church of Scotland who may have communicated at Kikuyu. I would submit that their description as "unconfirmed" is misleading, unless the explanatory words be added 'according to the forms of the Church of England.'

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

"ARCHIBALD FLEMING.

"St. Columba's Church of Scotland,

"Pont Street, S.W."

"It seems historically clear that the Rubric was never seriously understood as excluding Nonconformists till long after the rise of Tractarianism. It was then a new interpretation, and it was rejected by great Churchmen of all schools. Archbishops Tait and Maclagan considered that its Rubric was not meant for Nonconformists. Bishop Creighton had reached the same position in 1897, and added that Archbishop Benson agreed with him. So, too, the other great historian on the Bench, Bishop Stubbs of Oxford; and Wordsworth of Lincoln, the typical High Churchman of his time, not only rejected the new interpretation, but is said to have added the solemn reminder: 'It is the Lord's Table, not ours.'"

("The Confirmation Rubric," by the Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, D.D., pp. 6, 7.)

XVI. *Individual responsibility* (Par. 62 (a))

THIS is the view taken by Archbishop Tait in his reply to Canon Carter's Memorial protesting against the admission of Nonconformists to the Revisers' Communion in Westminster Abbey:

"Nothing could be more proper in itself than a celebration of the Holy Communion on such an occasion, and, deprecating as I most solemnly do any lowering of our Church's standard, I consider there was no course open but to leave to each individual the decision of the question whether he could conscientiously present himself or no. . . .

"In all that I have thus written, it will be seen that I have thrown the responsibility as to the attendance on the individual conscience of those who join in the Holy Communion, agreeing as I do in this with the Ritual Commissioners, who in their recent Report have appended to the directions respecting the administration of the

Lord's Supper the following note: 'The foregoing directions are not to be held to authorize the refusal of the Holy Communion to those who humbly and devoutly desire to partake thereof.'

("Life of A. C. Tait," by R. T. Davidson and W. Benham
ii. 70.)

XVII. "*Spiritual Hospitality*" (Par. 62 (d))

THAT this necessity is widely recognized has been very remarkably shown by the series of Resolutions passed by representatives of all the great Missions met in Conference in India, China and Japan, under the chairmanship of Dr. Mott, of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee. These Conferences were attended not only by representatives of the Church Missionary Society and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but also by the various diocesan Bishops of the Anglican Church in the Far East.

Besides similar Resolutions passed by Provincial Conferences, met at Allahabad, Canton, Shanghai, and elsewhere, the great National Conferences of India, China and Japan passed the following Resolutions on the subject of "spiritual hospitality."

INDIA.

"That spiritual hospitality be offered to persons of whatever denomination who may find themselves in an area in which the ministrations of their own Communion are not procurable."

(Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, p. 141.)

CHINA.

"We recommend that, so far as is consistent with conscientious convictions, spiritual hospitality be offered to persons bringing proper certificates from the Churches of which they are members."

(*Ibid.*, p. 347.)

JAPAN.

Without passing a formal Resolution the Japan National Conference recommended, among the *requisites* for the building up of the Christian congregations in Japan:

"Arrangements by which resident members of other denominations, who prefer to retain their own Church connexions, shall be admitted as guest members."

(*Ibid.*, p. 449.)

XVIII. *The necessity of Episcopacy* (Par. 65)

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the significant words "in the Church of England" are here omitted. They, however, find their proper place in the official reply of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury (April 29, 1914) which expresses the "determination to maintain, *as applicable to the whole Anglican Communion*, the principle laid down in the Preface to the Ordinal, namely, that "no man shall be accounted, &c." Their omission might be taken to imply a sweeping condemnation of all non-episcopal ministries.

Historically the Church of England has never taken this position. Dr. Sanday draws attention to this fact in the following words :

"It should be distinctly borne in mind that the more sweeping refusal to recognize the non-episcopal Reformed Churches is not and can never be made a doctrine of the Church of England. Too many of her most representative men have not shared in it. Hooker did not hold it : Andrewes expressly disclaimed it : Cosin freely communicated with the French Reformed Church during his exile. Indeed, it is not until the last half of the present (nineteenth) century that more than a relatively small minority of English Churchmen have been committed to it.

"The more responsible writers avoid as far as possible the use of language which involves any sort of judgment upon these bodies. For instance, when Dr. Moberly asserts that a certain form of Church organization is 'essential' or 'indispensable,' he is careful to add that he means 'essential' or 'indispensable' *for us.*"

(*"The Conception of the Priesthood,"* pp. 95, 96.)

HOOKE, "Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted into spiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God Himself doth of Himself raise up any . . . Another . . . when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep."

(*Eccl. Pol. VII. xiv. 11, Vol. iii. p. 231, ed. Keble.*)

ANDREWES, of Winchester, "Though our government be by divine right, it follows not . . . that a Church cannot stand without it. He must needs be stone blind who cannot see Churches standing without it."

COSIN, "Though we may safely say and maintain it, their ministers are not so duly and rightly ordained as they should be by those prelates and bishops of the Church who since the Apostles' time have only had the ordinary power and authority to make and constitute a priest, yet that by reason of this defect there is a total nullity in their ordination, or that they be therefore no priests or ministers of the Church at all . . . for my part, I would be loth to affirm or determine it against them."

"Though I may truly say that *fieri non oportuit* . . . yet I cannot so peremptorily say that *factum non valet*, and pronounce the ordination to be utterly void." "I dare not take upon me to condemn or determine a nullity of their own ordinations against them."

The question is summed up in a recent article. "Neither the formularies of the Church of England nor, so far as I am aware, those of any other Church, lay down any theory of ministry, and to impose therefore any such theory on the Church is to depart from Catholic tradition."

(Dr. Headlam in *The Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1914, p. 411.)

XIX. *Lay Baptism* (Par. 67)

"IN case of necessity any person may baptize, and ought to do so. It is not even necessary that the person so doing be within the communion of the Church. A heretic, or a schismatic, or even an unbaptized person, can validly administer the Sacrament provided the right matter and form are used."

("Outlines of Christian Dogma," Dr. Darwell Stone, p. 157.)

It is not easy to understand the principle on which it is possible to assert dogmatically that the one of the two Sacraments, by whomsoever administered, is invariably valid, and that the other Sacrament, apart from the episcopal ordination, is as certainly invalid.

As to the validity of lay Baptism *see* the proposals of the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury with regard to the Private Baptism of Infants—fifth rubric.

(Report 20 Feb., 1914. No. 481, p. 25.)

XX. *A True Ministry* (Par. 68)

"WE must recognize that upon the basis of rebellion (from the Historic Episcopate) there have arisen Christian Churches with a noble and continuous record of spiritual excellence—exhibiting, both in individuals and corporately, manifest fruits of the Spirit—

alike in learning, in virtue, and in evangelical zeal. To deny God's presence with them, and His co-operation in their work and ministry, would seem to approach to blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. We cannot express in words too strong our assurance that God has been with them, and that we are meant to learn from their saints and teachers, and are to sit at their feet as before those who possess God's Spirit."

(Gore : "Orders and Unity," p. 184.)

XXI. *Validity of other Ministries* (Par. 70)

"It would be of great advantage if we were to speak of non-episcopal orders and sacraments as 'irregular,' which we know they are, not as 'invalid,' about which we know nothing."

(Dr. Headlam in *The Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1914, p. 412.)

XXII. *Anglican Principles* (Par. 75)

THE three principles, as enunciated by the Bishop of Oxford, are :

(1) "The requirement of episcopal ordination for the regular ministry.

(2) "The requirement of an episcopally ordained priest to celebrate the eucharist.

(3) "The requirement of episcopal confirmation by laying on of hands—or, at least, of the readiness to receive it where it can be had—for admission to communion."

("The Basis of Anglican Fellowship," by the Bishop of Oxford, p. 35.)

XXIII. *Apostolic, Catholic, Reformed and Protestant* (Par. 75)

"I RECIPROCATE with my whole soul your most earnest desire that intercourse between our Churches should be constant and complete; that as we look each other more often in the face, we will know each other the better, and live equally in that true faith and fear of God which I saw characterized by a motto at Dublin, the faith taught by that Church which is at once 'Apostolic, Catholic, Reformed, and Protestant.' There was not one of these words that could be spared, and, my lord, if ever it was necessary—if ever we began to doubt whether it was necessary—to lay as much emphasis upon

that last word, I think that events which have been occurring in the last few weeks,* and the tone which has been adopted towards this primæval Church of Ireland and England, are things which warn us that that word is not to be forgotten. No, it is not a word to be forgotten, but it is a word to be understood, a word which must not be used as a mere earthly, secular war-cry. Those are words which have a deep meaning for our children, which we should try to penetrate even better than now, and which we should hand down to them to be cherished for ever."

From the address given by Archbishop Benson in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, October 9, 1896.

("Archbishop Benson in Ireland," ed. by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Bernard, pp. 110-111.)

* The newspapers of September 19 had published the findings of the Papal Bull on English orders.

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