

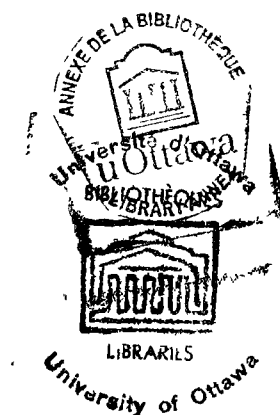
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1. INFORMATION TO THE USER AND ORIGINATOR OF
1927-1952

by Rev. Leo J. Steffy, M. A.

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty
of Theology of the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Theology.



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INTRODUCTION

All around us we hear the cry for "Church Unity." To Catholics this cry does not go unheeded. The establishment of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, the present Vatican Council, the erection of Diocesan Ecumenical Commissions, Catholic Observers (sometimes indirect participants) at non-Catholic ecumenical meetings, and the recent precedent-breaking encounter of Pope Paul with Patriarch Athenagoras indicate the Church's response. To Catholics this cry likewise presents problems of mutual recognition of Churches and of co-operation in such matters as theology, biblical research, etc., but moreover of communication in worship.

Whenever knowledge appears unsure, indifferentism is a danger. Many non-Catholics do not understand the Catholic position of exclusiveness in faith and worship, and Catholics in turn fail to appreciate the sincere position of non-Catholics in these matters. In view of the fact that the Faith and Order Movement (presently a Commission of the World Council of Churches) bears considerable influence in the ecumenical movement, it would be useful to Catholics to understand the position that Faith and Order has taken toward intercommunion in worship. Teachings concerned with the nature of the Church and Sacraments will be seen to be closely

related to this problem and will inevitably arise in this dissertation. The purpose of this treatise is to examine historically what Faith and Order has declared about intercommunion up to its Lund Conference and to explore theologically how Faith and Order arrived at its conclusions from the various Church "traditions" within its structure. A final chapter points out some new perspectives related to the problem of intercommunion from Roman Catholic sources that may perhaps make the dialogue more enriching.

The writer wishes to express gratitude and appreciation to his Bishop, Robert F. Joyce, of Burlington, to Trinity College of Burlington, Vermont, for the opportunity to pursue advanced studies in Sacred Theology, and to Reverend Emilien Lemirande, o.m.i., the director of this thesis, for his profitable instruction and kind direction. The writer also acknowledges his indebtedness to the Commercial Department of Trinity College, and to all those who through their encouragement and help have made this work possible.

SIGLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- Bell 1920-30 G.F.A. Bell, editor, Documents on Christian Unity 1920-30, A Selection from the First and Second Series, London, Oxford University Press, 1955.
- Bell 1930-48 G.F.A. Bell, editor, Documents on Christian Unity 1930-48, Third Series, London, Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Bell 1948-57 G.F.A. Bell, editor, Documents on Christian Unity, Fourth Series 1948-57, London, Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Edinburgh Leonard Hodgson, editor, World Conference on Faith and Order, Edinburgh, Aug. 3-15, 1937, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1938.
- Faith and Order Publication.
- Faith and Order Commission Publication.
- Intercommunion Donald Millie, John Marsh, editors, Intercommunion, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1952.
- Lausanne J.W. Tate, editor, Faith and Order, Proceedings of the World Conference Lausanne, August 3-21, 1927, New York, George A. Doran Co., 1927.
- Le Guillou J.M. Le Guillou, Mission et Unité, Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 2 Vols., 1960.
- London G.S. Jenkins, editor, The Third World Conference on Faith and Order, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1953.
- Rouse-Neill Ruth Rouse, Stephen Neill, editors, A History of the Ecumenical Movement (1517-1937), London, SCM Press, 1938.
- Wills Gustave Wills, Histoire doctrinale du mouvement œcuménique, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 2nd ed., 1963.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Article I

Theological Position of Problem

The Faith and Order Movement is now in its sixth decade of existence. In that time as a distinct organ or as a Commission of the World Council of Churches it has had four World Conferences: one at Lausanne, in 1927; another at Edinburgh, in 1937; a third one at Lund, in 1952; and more recently, one at Montreal, in the summer of 1963. It is probably too soon to evaluate the impact of Faith and Order on the ecumenical consciousness of the Church. There is no denying that the Roman Catholic Church was indirectly involved with the Faith and Order Movement from its beginning,¹ and that her theologians have continued to express interest in the Movement.² Little wonder, when almost all renowned Protestant theologians of the last fifty years have

1 FO No. 2, p. 6. Cf. infra, p. 32, for early contacts with Roman Catholic Church. See, also, Signs and Abbreviations after Introduction for meaning of FO. The list of FO papers will be found in bibliography.

2 The review Irenikon has followed the Faith and Order Movement from its first World Conference. More recently, Unitas and Istina have also been added to the scene. The Eastern Churches Quarterly, although devoted to the Eastern Churches, could hardly remain unresponsive, once the Orthodox Churches were seen in the Movement.

continually nurtured the development of this Movement.³ One omnipresent theologian, Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, recently wrote⁴ that if a Catholic wants "to taste the flavor of contemporary Protestantism" he should study the positions and concerns of the World Council of Churches. It would thus be wise to investigate the Faith and Order Movement, as it has discussed over the years almost every problem raised in Theology.

At the Third World Conference of Faith and Order at Lund in 1952, the Rev. O.S. Tomkins remarked that "perhaps the time [had] come when we could produce a more easily readable conspectus of all our past work."⁵ In that work is found the problem of intercommunion. As the word implies, the problem involves the theology of the Eucharist, and, as it later developed, the very nature of the Church. Questions concerned with the Lord's Supper are among the most difficult and painful of those which divide Christendom. Christ gives himself to us in the sacrament of unity, and we are divided as to the manner of his presence. Catholics and

3 Robert McAfee Brown, "Monoliths: Existent and Non-Existent," in The Commonweal, Vol. LXXVII, No. 23, March, 1963, p. 596-597.

4 Ibid.

5 O.S. Tomkins, "Implications of the Ecumenical Movement," in The Third World Conference on Faith and Order, edited by O.S. Tomkins, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1953, p. 166. To be cited from now on as Lund.

Protestants separate here: the Roman Catholic Church has promulgated the dogma of transubstantiation, to which the Reformed Churches cannot subscribe, as they do not see in it a clear revelation of Holy Scripture. Each member of the dialogue is convinced of being right, and both parties are mutually exclusive.⁶

Such is the distressing fact! Less someone think that the gulf is solely between Catholics and Protestants, an examination of the various World Conferences of Faith and Order will soon show significant differences of theological conviction within a given denomination.⁷

The account⁸ of the problem of intercommunion as it developed in the Faith and Order Movement, however, is a difficult task, as the problem grew out of the complexity of the ecumenical movement itself, with its countless organizations, societies and conferences. It is likewise not easy

6 Henry Chavannes, "La Présence réelle chez saint Thomas et chez Calvin," in Verbum Caro, Vol. 13, 1959, p. 151.

7 Robert McAfee Brown, "Monoliths: Existent and Non-Existent," in The Commonweal, Vol. LXXVII, No. 23, March, 1963, p. 596-597.

8 O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in the volume Intercommunion, edited by Donald Baillie and John Marsh, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1952, p. 105-137; to be cited from now on as Intercommunion. Also, see Gustave Thils, Histoire doctrinale du mouvement oecuménique, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 2nd ed., 1963, p. 206-209, for more recent history; to be cited from now on as Thils. Cf. The Ecumenical Review, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1957, p. 240, for a sympathetic criticism of this opus.

to know to what extent the leaders of the ecumenical movement represent the people, and the theologians the man in the street, as evidenced from the responses to the various World Conferences. Obviously, the thought of the leaders is more in advance of that of the mass of the ordinary people. Moreover, as Rev. Bernard Leeming points out:

it would be equally unrealistic to judge the movement merely by its theology or to underestimate the spirit which the movement fosters and which may slowly be permeating the mass.⁹

Nevertheless, it appears true to say in this case, that in the beginning the spirit for intercommunion was more pronounced than the theology on the subject.

With the close of the nineteenth century, because of a number of historical happenings, Christians found themselves more united and co-operative. Paradoxically, this same unity occasioned the rise of the problem of intercommunion. Christians had even found a way to pray together, but could they meet at the Lord's Table? The increase of World and National Conferences brought the problem even more sharply into focus, and was at times the cause of bitterness. Some felt their unity in Christ justified the practice of intercommunion while others felt their receiving communion together was tantamount to hypocrisy. However, it was only after several Faith and Order Conferences and many sectional

⁹ Bernard Leeming, S.J., The Churches and the Church, London, Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960, p. viii.

meetings that the theology of intercommunion became officially disputable.¹⁰

The problem of intercommunion appeared therefore inevitable, once the Churches decided to come closer together. Yet, the anxiety which disturbs and continues to perplex sincere non-Catholics over this problem cannot be truly appreciated, unless he has come in contact with it¹¹ at its earliest stages. It would be unfair to judge a certain Church position on intercommunion and the urgency which this problem engenders in the hearts of those who wrestle with it, without at least summarily investigating those factors which brought the Churches¹² together in the Faith and Order

10 A commission to study the problem of intercommunion was established at a meeting of Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh World Conference on Faith and Order in Clarens, Switzerland, August, 1939. Cf. FO No. 92, p. 16. A section at Lund Conference on Faith and Order in 1952 is devoted to the problem.

11 Y. Congar, O.P., Divided Christendom, London, Geoffrey Bles, The Centenary Press, 1939, p. xiii.

12 Throughout this thesis, two words, the "Church" and "communion", will be used. This thesis employs both words in the exact way in which our separated brethren do so. The word "Church" today has only remote doctrinal connotation (cf. "The Church, the Churches and the World Council of Churches," [Toronto Statement], in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. III, No. 1, 1950, p. 47-53, particularly number 5, p. 49; also, cf. W.A. Visser't Hooft, "Various Meanings of Unity [...]", in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1955, p. 18), and is frequently used in a sociological sense. The term "communion" refers to the ties which bind a group of people who are conscious of convictions of faith, hope and charity. In this sense, the term is eminently respectful of the beliefs of our Orthodox, Anglican and Protestant brothers (cf. J.M. Le Guillou, O.P., Mission et Unité, Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1960, Vol. I, p. 225; to be cited from now on as Le Guillou Vol. I or II).

Movement.¹³ It is most important then that we at least transiently know the historical ancestors of the Faith and Order Movement.

Article II

The Nineteenth Century Evangelical Awakening

A. Missionary Expansion

The Faith and Order Movement evolved from a century of restless Church activity. The first presage of this activity was the Evangelical Awakening of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Whatever its origins, the Evangelical Awakening had a driving passion to evangelize the world — at home and overseas.¹⁴ An outburst of missionary zeal appeared among Protestant Churches between 1790 and 1820. Important missionary societies developed in Europe and Great Britain, and in America. Nothing like it had ever been seen "unless it be the Jesuit mission of the 16th century."¹⁵

13 Thila, p. 12.

14 For the factors explaining the absence of mission mindedness in Protestant Churches up to the 19th century, cf. Le Guillou Vol. I, p. 23-26.

15 Ruth Rouse, "Voluntary Movements and the Changing Ecumenical Climate," in A History of the Ecumenical Movement (1517-1948), edited by Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, London, SPCK, 1954, p. 310. This volume to be cited from now on as Rouse-Neill.

What characterizes all of these missionary "children" of the Evangelical Awakening is the fact that they were voluntary associations of men and women of deep fervor,¹⁶ convinced of their personal experience of salvation and that all men everywhere have need of Christ. Without fear of death and, more important perhaps, not restricted by ecclesiastical boundaries, as redeemed, they felt they had a mission to proclaim redemption.¹⁷ The second characteristic, totally new, was at once the co-operation and unity among Christians of different Churches, both in the missions and at home (giving rise to new problems). Records exist of monthly meetings for prayer and conference of the secretaries of the missionary societies in London, which began in 1819 and continued for over a hundred years.¹⁸

Nevertheless,¹⁹ at this early date all these missionary societies had within them the seeds of dissolution.

16 Le Guillou Vol. I, p. 30.

17 Ibid.

18 Rouse-Neill, p. 312.

19 An interesting aside are the friendly relations cultivated at this time between the Catholic Church and Protestant missionary societies. Protestant missions sought to learn from the age old experience of the Catholic missionaries. The early years of the nineteenth century were days of rapprochement between the Churches to a degree that is little realized today. "Even between Protestants and Roman Catholics the rapprochement was closer than it has been since that time," wrote Ruth Rouse (Rouse-Neill, p. 313) in 1954.

A lack of self-conscious direction and cohesion, the divisive element or tendency in any dynamic spiritual awakening (think of the scattered forces of the ecumenical movement in the Catholic Church before the creation of Secretariate for Promotion of Christian Unity) sought to destroy whatever unity the Evangelical Awakening had produced. A short period of intensified denominational strife occurred. Fortunately, the tide was too strong, and even while the spirit of unity appeared suspended, numerous books on the subject of Christian unity were written in the 1830s and 1840s both in America and in Britain.²⁰

In 1846, the Evangelical Awakening, seeking some semblance of corporate expression, evolved into the Evangelical Alliance. Although the Alliance was still an organization of individual Christians and not of Churches, it

holds a unique place in the history of 19th century ecumenism, for with the exception of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom,²¹ no other society of Christians belonging to different Churches was founded for the express purpose of working towards Christian unity, until the idea of the World Conference of Faith and Order was first mooted in 1910.²²

20 Rouse-Neill, p. 316-318.

21 Cf. Bernard Leeming, S.J., The Churches and the Church, p. 49-54. The A.P.U.C. was founded by Philippe de Lisle in 1838 as a prayer movement for the corporate reunion of England and Rome.

22 Rouse-Neill, p. 323.

Looking back, then, on the last half of the nineteenth century, we find that the missionary zeal had a boom-erang effect. Unity in the mission fields was starting to penetrate the mother Churches, in an official way.²³ The growth of the ecumenical idea was slow, often interrupted, one-sided in its range of interest and manifested irregularly in various countries. Yet,

with all these qualifications the period was one of ecumenical education in which preparation for the modern ecumenical movement can be traced.²⁴

B. Revivalism

An interesting phenomenon, associated with the Evangelical Awakening, which accounts for much of this preparation of the ecumenical movement, is revivalism. These were times of great revivals both in America and in Britain. As today, clergy and laity from all the Churches and from most parties within the Churches joined hands in these revival efforts. This had the "ecumenical effect of strengthening the confidence of Church leaders in united work [...]."²⁵ Even at this early date these revivals took on an international flavor,²⁶ and thus the Churches were becoming more

23 Le Guillou Vol. I, p. 46-47.

24 Rouse-Neill, p. 333.

25 Ibid., p. 330.

26 The conversion of John Lott, who is soon to have great influence on the missionary and ecumenical movements, is attributed to such a revival; cf. Rouse-Neill, p. 330-331, for interesting history.

conscious of their need of each other. However, the great contribution of revivalism was the effective way in which it brought many younger people to decision for the Christian life.

Article III

Christian Student Movement

A. Birth of World Student Christian Federation

In 1895 the Student Christian Movements of many lands grouped together in the world's Student Christian Federation, under the able leadership of John Mott. As soon as he had graduated from Cornell University in 1880 he became actively involved in missionary endeavours of the various movements, and he remained equally in contact with the many youth movements. To both Mott gave his many talents. It was not unexpected that he was chosen chairman of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference 1910, and chairman of the International Missionary Council. He chaired the Westfield Conference in 1937, which "did so much to determine the developments of the W.C.C., of which he became, in 1948, the Honorary President [...]."²⁷ Ruth House says: "the man who, if any deserves the title, may be called the pioneer of the modern ecumenical movement."²⁸

²⁷ Rouse-Beall, p. 342.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 331.

To appreciate what a contribution the Student Christian Movement made to the ecumenical movement, an understanding of the theological atmosphere of the last half of the nineteenth century is extremely important.

B. Theological Atmosphere of Last Half of Nineteenth Century

Throughout this period the ecumenical movement felt the influence of the theological differences among those who sincerely desired Christian unity. Different conceptions both of the unity they looked for and the path toward it were associated with different schools of theological thought. The most divisive force was the spirit of Enlightenment. The whole Protestant Church was affected.²⁹ Influenced by the rationalistic tendency of the Enlightenment, Protestantism was almost emptied of the ideas of the supernatural, of grace and redemption. Christian preaching and thought had little substance sustaining it. Paradoxically, this same élan produced strong reaction in the Protestant world. A gradual tightening of confessional consciousness, and an insistence on rigid orthodoxy, were the call to arms. In Prussia, a number of conservative Lutherans left for America, and formed the German Evangelical Synod of Missouri. A large number left the Dutch Reformed Church to form the Reformed Churches, based on a strict Calvinistic

29 Rouse-Neill, p. 325.

understanding of the Scriptures. In England conflicts between the Anglo-Catholic wing and Evangelicals in the Church of England developed in the matter of ideals of Christian unity.³⁰ The Anglo-Catholics insisted on unity in truth in all matters, while the Evangelicals placed emphasis on the great Christian fundamentals. The Evangelicals found it possible to work with those with whom they were not in complete doctrinal agreement. They did not think they were disloyal or compromising. The results of all these disagreements were a certain tension in the mission fields and a slowing down of the ecumenical pace.³¹ Even today, the after-effects of these divisions are still felt in the ecumenical world.³²

C. Contribution of Christian Student Movement
to Ecumenical Movement: Interdenominationalism

Onto this scene comes the vigour and strength of the Christian student unions. Their purpose was missionary and evangelistic. It was their hope to gain for Christ students from all Churches, a desire "which forced them to take the divisions of Christendom seriously and to initiate ecumenical

³⁰ Morse-Neill, p. 325.

³¹ Ibid., p. 325-326.

³² Douglas Webster, "Evangelicalism and the Ecumenical Movement," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1954, p. 385.

action."³³ They believed that they the members of these organizations shared a common life in Christ, and thus personally did not find it difficult in associating in a movement with those of other Churches. Thus a new ecumenical idea was conceived, often unconsciously, a "new basis in which Christians belonging to different Churches might unite to win the world for Christ on an 'interdenominational' rather than an 'undenominational' basis."³⁴

These student unions saw ripen within them the missionary and ecumenical intentions which dawned at the beginning of the century. They constituted the first truly ecumenical experience in the modern sense of the word.³⁵ They searched out the principal themes both on the dogmatic and liturgical levels, a prefiguration of the future relations between the different Churches in the ecumenical movement.³⁶ Experiences only dreamed of, were now a tested fact. Particularly, at student movement conferences, students lived in close fellowship with members of many Churches other than their own. Fr. Le Guillou calls them "a true laboratory of the ecumenical movement."³⁷ Leaders of Churches, visiting

33 Rouse-Neill, p. 343.

34 Ibid., p. 342.

35 Le Guillou Vol. I, p. 33.

36 Ibid., p. 34.

37 Ibid., p. 33. Translation mine. "[...] véritable 'laboratoire' du mouvement oecuménique."

these Conferences, found themselves witnessing ecumenical fellowship in actual operation; they learned types of worship unaccustomed in their own Churches; they learned traditions other than their own from those "who came from nations and communions which they had never met, and never would meet in any denominational conference [...]."³⁸

Hence a new ecumenical idea is attributed to a source from which perhaps only criticism could have been expected. The youth movement will continue to be listened to and nurtured in its development of ecumenical leaders and ideas. Their naïveté and unhesitancy to speak out and move forward in certain areas of the ecumenical movement often need to be checked, but at the same time the good effects the youth movement produced cannot be denied.³⁹

Article IV

The Close of the Nineteenth Century

The last ten years of the nineteenth century saw no clear indication of the modern ecumenical movement. Much evidence of preparation can be found. The shame of a divided Christendom has started to be felt. The missionary endeavours and youth movements supplied a sense of urgency.

³⁸ Rouse-Neill, p. 344.

³⁹ Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1960, p. 46-47.

The realization that union of some Churches in the mission fields was necessary became more conscious. A sense of "togetherness" was produced by the voluntary movements of students, nurses, etc. Nevertheless, there was no indication that the various Churches would join in a united ecumenical movement. The strictly orthodox and conservative still opposed the more pietistic and evangelical group, mutually harboring thoughts of suspicion and distrust.⁴⁰

Again, there comes onto the scene another new idea which, like the "interdenominational" concept of the Student Christian Movement, was to contribute to the growth of the ecumenical movement. In the early 1890s an enterprising and talented man by the name of Henry Lunn became very conscious of a mission to take action about reunion. He had "a passion for bringing hostile elements [...] face to face with each other in friendly discussion."⁴¹ He resolved to find ways in which the Churches as such would face their differences together. His resolution gave rise to the Review of the Churches and the Grindelwald Conferences.⁴² It is true

⁴⁰ Rouse-Neill, p. 338.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., p. 339. There were six meetings altogether, one at Lucerne and the five others at Grindelwald, Switzerland. Churchmen "such as had never met since the Reformation" gathered together. "Free Churchmen confessed themselves astonished to meet Anglicans who were both deeply spiritual and reasonable in debate" (Rouse-Neill).

that he could not bring about uniative action in the Churches themselves, but he did foster the first steps: men of various Churches and denominations, points of view, and schools of thought, were brought together in conferences or the printed page. The results were immediate and worthwhile. New interest in reunion was stimulated all over the world and in many Churches; countless papers, both secular and religious, gave it attention; prejudice and ignorance were revealed and dissipated; prayer for reunion was emphasized as "the essential preliminary to any true union [...]." ⁴³ However, even though these men were representative Churchmen, it was now recognized that no further progress was likely to be made, until the Churches as such should decide to meet to discuss reunion through their officially appointed delegates. Not until after Edinburgh 1910 was this to be factual in the birth of the Faith and Order Movement. ⁴⁴

⁴³ Rouse-Neill, p. 340.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 338-340.

Article V

The Edinburgh⁴⁵ World Missionary Conference 1910

The missionary expansion of the nineteenth century sent into the mission fields all the divisions of Christianity. Coming at the end of a strong missionary reconcentration, the Edinburgh Missionary Conference, prepared by John Mott and J.H. Oldham, pointed a finger at the scandal of these divisions, the major obstacle to the evangelization of the world.⁴⁶ Without question, this Edinburgh Conference is the "crucial event in the history of the ecumenical movement, [...] the dividing line between one ecumenical era and another."⁴⁷

The Edinburgh Conference was on many points unique and unlike any conference before it. It was specifically a missionary conference.⁴⁸ More than 1200 men and women gathered together from the 15th to the 23rd of June.⁴⁹ A mere

⁴⁵ This Missionary Conference had nine commissions, each producing a report. All were published in separate volumes. The Report of Commission VIII, Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity, Vol. VIII, discusses such problems as comity, conferences in mission lands, joint action, Federation and Union, etc.

⁴⁶ Le Guillou Vol. I, p. 44.

⁴⁷ Rouse-Neill, p. 309.

⁴⁸ Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 22.

⁴⁹ Cf. World Missionary Conference 1910, Edinburgh and London, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, [no date], The Report of Commission IX, The History and Records of the Conference, Vol. IX.

eighteen were from the younger Churches, but their influence was way out of proportion to their numbers. The famous address of Fr. Azariah of India, later the first native Anglican Bishop, still burns in the hearts of many who ever read it. "You have given your goods to feed the poor. You have given your bodies to be burned. We also ask for love. Give us FRIENDS."⁵⁰ Secondly, Edinburgh saw in its midst those Churches which like to regard themselves as "Catholic."⁵¹ Thirdly, the formation of the first permanent ecumenical organization, the International Missionary Council, was a direct result of Edinburgh 1910.⁵² Fourthly, even the Roman Catholic Church received considerable attention at this Conference. Bishop Charles Brent,⁵³ the great visionary of Edinburgh, saw the Church as "aloof" and "pathetic" in its manner of relations with other Churches, but still movable. He reminded the Conference that the Roman Catholic Church must be taken into their thinking in any scheme for unity.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ World Missionary Conference 1910, Vol. IX, p. 315.

⁵¹ Stephen Neill, "The Missionary Movement and the Ecumenical Movement," in History's Lessons For Tomorrow's Mission, Geneva, W.S.C.F., 1960, p. 243.

⁵² Ibid., p. 243-244.

⁵³ For excellent biography of Bishop Brent, see A.C. Zabriskie, Bishop Brent, Crusader for Christian Unity, Phil., Westminster Press, 1948.

⁵⁴ World Missionary Conference 1910, Vol. VIII, p. 198-199.

An even more direct inclusion of the Roman Catholic Church at the Edinburgh Conference was the letter from the Bishop of Cremona, read by Mr. Silas Mc Bee, Vice-Chairman of the Commission on Cooperation and Unity. Mr. Mc Bee had carried on correspondence and had visited the Bishop, just prior to the Conference, and had requested his Excellency to write a letter to the Conference. Bishop Bonomelli described the Conference as a

triumphant proof of another consoling fact; the most desirable and precious of human liberties, religious liberty, may now be said to be a grand conquest of contemporary humanity.⁵⁵

As to the legitimacy of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference the Bishop remarked:

It is, therefore, legitimate to aspire to a unity of faith and of religious practice, and to work for its realisation by the consecration of all energies of mind and heart. This is a work in which we in our day may well cooperate. In this field, as in others, it is well to keep in mind that from the clash of opinions discussed in a free and calm spirit sparks of truth cannot fail to be elicited.⁵⁶

Finally, describing common grounds upon which Christians could meet, he closed by saying:

On this common ground, having your minds liberated from all passions or sectarian intolerance, animated, on the contrary, by Christian Charity, bring together into one focus the results of your studies, the teachings of experience, whether individual or

55 World Missionary Conference 1910, Vol. VIII, p. 221.

56 Ibid.

collective, calmly carry on research and promote discussion.⁵⁷

Looking back on this letter today, it appears avant-garde for a Roman Catholic Bishop. Some might perhaps attribute this to the Bishop's autumn years, but the Second Vatican Council is presently considering many of the same subjects: religious liberty; legitimacy of the Ecumenical Movement; validity of Roman Catholic cooperation with other Churches; etc. Bishop Brent commented on the letter as

the little cloud not larger than a man's hand today, destined tomorrow to cover the Roman heavens. [...] The issue is certain. Already the true greatness of the Roman Catholic Church is busy at her heart [...]. The Bishop of Cremona did not speak of himself or for himself, but consciously or unconsciously, voiced the mind of a growing minority who are the soul of his communion. It may not be tomorrow, or a century hence [...], but ultimate victory is as sure as Christ is real.⁵⁸

Finally, it was at Edinburgh 1910 that the same "Canadian-born American Bishop Brent saw the vision of what ultimately grew into the Movement called Faith and Order,"⁵⁹ which is another episode in this history.

Concluding this article it is an understatement to say with Bishop Neill that Edinburgh 1910 was a "landmark in

⁵⁷ World Missionary Conference 1910, Vol. VIII, p. 223.

⁵⁸ Quoted from G.H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1915, p. 505.

⁵⁹ Stephen Neill, "The Missionary Movement and the Ecumenical Movement," in History's Lessons For Tomorrow's Mission, p. 244.

Church history"⁶⁰ or with Ruth Rouse "when the call came at length in 1910 to spend and to be spent in the ecumenical movement, such men and women were a prepared group."⁶¹

Article VI

The Genesis of the Faith and Order Movement⁶²

Up to now no missionary conference had attempted to perpetuate itself.⁶³ It is difficult to imagine Edinburgh 1910 following this precedence, once one has read the material of this Conference. Truly, the Spirit of God was profoundly inspirational. Edinburgh 1910 took the first step to form a Continuation Committee to carry forward the work of the Conference.⁶⁴ Its purpose was to be "a purely consultative and advisory Association, exercising no authority but such as would accrue to it through the intrinsic value

⁶⁰ Stephen Neill, "The Missionary Movement and the Ecumenical Movement," in History's Lessons For Tomorrow's Mission, p. 243.

⁶¹ Rouse-Neill, p. 324.

⁶² There exist today many excellent works surveying the development of the ecumenical movement. The bibliography of most works in ecumenism seems limitless. As a starter, Fr. Gustave Weigels' A Catholic Primer on Ecumenism (Westminster, Maryland, 1958) is most valuable from a theological viewpoint; but Ruth Rouse and Stephen Neill's A History of the Ecumenical Movement is still the best standard work for the scholar on the history of the movement.

⁶³ Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 23.

⁶⁴ World Missionary Conference 1910, Vol. II, p. 95-97.

of the services that it may be able to render,"⁶⁵ a future indication of the authority of the World Council of Churches and its Commissions.⁶⁶ The Committee met immediately after the end of the Conference, and elected John Mott as its Chairman.

More important yet is found outside the official documents of Edinburgh, that is, the new vision of a united Church which quickly captured the mind and soul of Bishop Brent. His experience as a missionary Bishop in the Philippines had taught him the meaning of aloofness⁶⁷ and the scandal of the division of Christianity. Another lesson he must have learned well, was to seize the moment when it was ripe. It is reported that before he left Edinburgh he told friends that he had resolved to call his own Church to take the lead in preparing a World Conference to consider those questions of faith and order deliberately excluded from the Edinburgh Conference.⁶⁸ In 1910 this is a risky and avant-garde idea, or perhaps better a post-mortem one. Scholars recalled the discussions at the Reformation between Luther on one side, his opponents on the other, be they Catholic,

⁶⁵ World Missionary Conference 1910, Vol. IX, p. 95-97.

⁶⁶ Cf. infra, p. 54.

⁶⁷ FO No. 1, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Rouse-Neill, p. 407.

such as Cajetan and Eck, or Protestant, such as Zwingli or Oecampadius;⁶⁹ or between Calvin, Farel and Viret;⁷⁰ Henry VIII, and the Lutherans;⁷¹ John Knox and the Church of England;⁷² and more vividly in their memory, the tension between the Anglo-Catholic party and the Evangelicals within the Church of England.⁷³ To many leaders at that time, a World Conference on Faith and Order was considered impossible and undesirable.⁷⁴ This would be the first conference of such a type to be held in modern times, and there was no guarantee that the Churches would respond.

Undaunted, Bishop Brent returned to the United States to attend the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which met in October that year in Cincinnati.⁷⁵ The day preceding the Convention, he addressed a large gathering

69 E. de Moreau, S.J., "Doctrine et controverse au sein du Luthéranisme (1521-1580)," in Histoire de l'Eglise, edited by Fliche et Martin, Paris, Bloud & Gay, 1950, Vol. 16 (Crise religieuse du XVIIe siècle), p. 110-115.

70 Pierre Jourda, "L'Institution Chrétienne," ibid., p. 184-192.

71 Pierre Janelle, "Le Schisme Anglican," ibid., p. 354-364.

72 Cf. John Kennedy, Presbyterian Authority and Discipline, Edinburgh, The Saint Andrew Press, 1960, p. 39-59. One of the more recent works which attempts to explain the controversial problem of authority in the Presbyterian Church.

73 Rouse-Neill, p. 326-338.

74 Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 42.

75 Rouse-Neill, p. 407.

of delegates, relating the events of the Edinburgh Conference, the need for unity and his own personal conviction that the time to examine frankly the differences between Churches in a World Conference was now at hand. In the group was a layman, Robert Gardiner, soon to play an important role in the infancy of Faith and Order, who suggested steps should be taken by the Convention to secure definite action. A resolution was passed at the Conference:

That a Joint Commission be appointed to bring about a Conference for the consideration of questions touching Faith and Order, and that all Christian Communion throughout the world which confess Our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour be asked to unite with us in arranging for and conducting such a Conference.⁷⁶

A Commission was appointed, and it elected Bishop Anderson of Chicago as President and Robert Gardiner as Secretary. While "it was Brent who had conceived the idea of a world conference on faith and order, it was upon Gardiner that most of the work fell."⁷⁷ Nevertheless Bishop Brent continued to exercise a profound influence on the new movement throughout the remainder of his life.⁷⁸ He was elected President of the first Faith and Order Conference, and died March 27, 1929, in the very city in which it was held.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Rouse-Neill, p. 407.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Cf. infra, p. 33-34.

⁷⁹ Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 50.

Robert Gardiner was a lawyer of considerable influence, but above all it was his capacity as a writer which soon came to play. It was to him that the clergy and laity looked for direction; "and not men of his own Church only."⁸⁰ He turned into a prolific pamphleteer and letter-writer with correspondence all over the world. Quickly a series of Faith and Order Pamphlets appeared. Up until the Preliminary Meeting at Geneva,⁸¹ in August, 1920, their authority was solely that of the Commission of the Episcopal Church.⁸² With the formation of the World Council of Churches a new series started, but already 103 numbers had developed from Robert Gardiner's original impetus.⁸³ Robert Gardiner never saw the Conference he worked so diligently to prepare, but he left a spirit for work that the Conference did not overlook.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ House-Neill, p. 407.

⁸¹ Cf. infra, p. 28.

⁸² The question of authority will be considered infra, p. 54.

⁸³ Some of the pamphlets were allowed to run out to the very last copy, and no complete collection exists. Fortunately, Prof. A.T. De Groot, Honorary Archivist of the Faith and Order Movement, has had both series microfilmed, which are obtainable from Texas Christian University. The list of papers used in this thesis will be found in bibliography.

⁸⁴ Faith and Order. Proceedings of the World Conference Lausanne, August 3-21, 1927, edited by H.N. Bate, N.Y., George H. Doran Co., 1927, p. 12. To be cited from now on as Lausanne.

Faith and Order was long in coming into being and has suffered many strokes in its survival. The great men connected with its foundation slowly slip into the background and countless others will take their places. But their spirit continues to influence even those today who attempt, with the Spirit of God, to fulfill their dream.

Concluding, then, we have seen the birth of a Movement which asks all Churches to come together to discuss mutual beliefs of faith and order. This "coming together" will produce problems which Churches in isolation rarely had to face. The problem of intercommunion is just such an issue, arising from the fact of Churches' decision to come closer together.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Cf. supra, p. 4-5.

CHAPTER TWO
EARLY STAGE
LAUSANNE CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER, 1927

Article I

Immediate Preparation for Lausanne

As we look back from an age of instantaneous communication and rapid transportation, the task that faced the original Protestant Episcopal Church Commission¹ was formidable. Robert Gardiner, the Commission's secretary, became the workhorse of the new Movement of Faith and Order.² His instructions were to invite other Churches to join with the Protestant Episcopal Church Commission in calling and arranging for a World Conference on Faith and Order.³ By 1913, thirty different Churches had established commissions for this expressed purpose.⁴ Countless miles had been travelled to talk up the World Conference, the arduous task of the American clergy.⁵ Money problems soon had to be faced and

1 FO No. 1.

2 Cf. supra, p. 25.

3 Cf. supra, p. 24.

4 FO No. 2, p. 3, and FO No. 3, p. 7-17 for early commissions; also FO No. 21, first issued in 1913, went through thirteen revised editions up to 1926. They give the various commissions on a world basis. See also bibliography for titles of FO papers consulted.

5 FO No. 32, FO No. 27.

they remained inadequately solved for many years, as easily seen from the list of contributions in the Treasurer's first report.⁶ The war of 1914-18 presented other problems of communication and temporarily halted the early endeavors of Faith and Order.⁷ Immediately after the cessation of the war, the delineation of the Faith and Order Movement became more precise. The direction of the Movement had remained in the hands of the Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church until a Preliminary Meeting to Lausanne held in Geneva, in August, 1920. At this meeting, in which delegates represented forty nations and seventy autonomous Churches, a Continuation Committee, made up of delegates of different Churches, became responsible for the work of the Faith and Order Movement up to Lausanne Conference.⁸

One major dilemma was the guest list. The Anglican position had been resolved at Edinburgh 1910. Protestants had been familiar with the intransigence of the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, the Preparatory Commission of the Episcopal Church, recalling

⁶ FO No. 30; cf. also Lausanne, p. 406. For financial crisis, see "Lausanne to Edinburgh," in World Conference on Faith and Order, Edinburgh, Aug. 3-18, 1937, edited by Leonard Hodgson, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1938, p. 7-10.

⁷ The relations between the Germans and some delegates of Faith and Order were quite hostile for a while. Cf. Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 66.

⁸ FO No. 33, p. 73-74.

the words of Bishop Brent at Edinburgh 1910⁹ and the resolution at Cincinnati,¹⁰ took steps to include both Churches in the Faith and Order Movement, at its early inception.

The Orthodox had not been represented at Edinburgh 1910, and certainly for good reasons as their experience with other Churches in Orthodox lands had not been amicable.¹¹ Irrespective, prior to 1910, some negotiations had been carried on by the Orthodox with the Anglican Church. No new discoveries were made at these meetings, except a clarification of doctrine which appeared to make agreement less possible. Some Orthodox theologians believed so firmly in the Cyprianic view of the Church that outside Orthodoxy "grace" did not exist.¹² Others held that, under special conditions, non-Orthodox were related to the Church and

9 Cf. supra, p. 18.

10 Cf. supra, p. 24.

11 Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 77-78.

12 George Florevsky, "The Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement Prior to 1910," in Rouse-Neill, p. 214.

their sacraments not necessarily repeated on their becoming Orthodox.¹³

Unquestionably the inclusion of the Orthodox at Lausanne is attributed to personalities more than ideas, for no one honestly thought they would participate.¹⁴ It was in 1920 that the first official Orthodox overtures were heard.¹⁵

13 George Florovsky, "The Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement Prior to 1910," in Rouse-Neill, p. 214. The famous question of the validity of Anglican Orders has been discussed for years. Different solutions appear depending upon whether Orthodox adhere to a theological or canonical position. In any case, no unanimous decision has been given. Cf. The Lambeth Conference 1958, London, SPCK, 1958, Part 2, p. 49-52, for present relations between Anglicans and Orthodox; also G.K.A. Bell, Documents on Christian Unity 1920-30. A Selection from the First and Second Series, London, Oxford University Press, 1955, p. 30-39, for validity of Anglican Orders. To be cited from now on as Bell 1920-30. For excellent appraisal of Bishop Bell's ecumenical contribution, cf. W.A. Visser't Hooft, "Bishop Bell's Life Work in the Ecumenical Movement," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1959, p. 133.

14 Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 66.

15 A Russian Orthodox, the Very Rev. Alexander A. Hetovitzky, was a guest of the Protestant Episcopal Church at an informal and unofficial gathering of the Executive Committee of the Church's Commission on Faith and Order held at Hotel Astor, New York, on May 8, 1913 (FO No. 24, p. 4). In 1914, the Commission of Episcopal Church had written to most of Orthodox Churches in Near East (FO No. 30, p. 9-10). In 1919, these same Churches were visited by the Commission's delegation, which received some assurance that the Orthodox Churches would be present at a World Conference on Faith and Order (FO No. 32, p. 34).

In a famous document,¹⁶ the metropolitan Archbishop of Selucia, Germanos Strenopoulos, made it clear that "closer intercourse" was desired with other "Christian Churches."¹⁷ From herein, his voice¹⁸ and the voice¹⁹ of other great figures in the Orthodox world will be listened to, sometimes unwanted, at almost all the great ecumenical gatherings. In 1922, Archbishop Germanos was appointed Metropolitan of Thyateira, Exarch of the West, personal representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople in the countries of Western Europe, with residence in London.²⁰

16 Encyclical Letter from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, "Unto All the Churches of Christ Wheresoever They Be," in Bell 1920-30, p. 17-21. Not fully clear who is the author as the See was vacant at the time. Cf. Archbishop Germanos, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. I, No. 1, 1948, p. 84, for brief account of history of Orthodox participation in Life and Work and Faith and Order Movements, as well for the explanation of the drafting of the Encyclical Letter.

17 Bell 1920-30, p. 17-21. Cf. also interesting response of Russian Orthodox Church in Rouse-Neill, p. 214.

18 For excellent appraisal of Archbishop Germanos' ecumenical work, cf. "Work of Germanos [...]," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XI, No. 3, 1958, p. 291, by Vasil T. Istavridis.

19 The majority of theologians in the Orthodox Churches are laymen.

20 Thils, in Histoire doctrinale du Mouvement oecuménique, is criticized by Roger Mehl ("The Ecclesiological Significance [...]," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1957, p. 242) for his tendency to place the Orthodox on periphery of W.C.C. For early part of Orthodoxy in Faith and Order, cf. FO No. 24, FO No. 30, FO No. 33, and for response at Lausanne, cf. Bell 1920-30, p. 182-187.

As was expected, when the time came to consider the Roman Catholic Church, the "hand had to be extended"²¹ by the Faith and Order delegation. Almost immediately after formation of the Preparatory Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, two delegates met with Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore. He expressed "friendly interest."²² The next move was to official Rome. The first time in 1914, during the pontificate of Benedict XIV.²³ At the request of the Protestant Episcopal Church Commission, which had expected to meet with the Holy Father personally on a European and Near Eastern tour, a letter was sent to Cardinal Gasparri inquiring about the possibility of Roman Catholic Church's participation in the preparation for a World Conference on Faith and Order. The Cardinal replied in the negative, speaking for the Holy Father.²⁴ Then in 1919, on the long delayed tour, the Commission's delegation met personally with Benedict XIV. The delegation was cordially received, but reluctantly accepted the same negative response.²⁵

21 Cf. supra, p. 18.

22 FO No. 2, p. 6. This meeting occurred in 1911.

23 Rouse-Neill, p. 416; Thils, p. 41; Stephen Neill, Man of Unity, p. 45.

24 FO No. 30, p. 12-13. Interestingly, Cardinal Mercier also received a letter.

25 In 1922, the Holy Father, Pius XI, aware of the ecumenical rumbles, issued the Encyclical Letter Ubi Arcano Dei. Cf. Bell 1920-30, p. 14-16, for extract.

A more definite answer, as regards those Catholics who were thinking about attending Lausanne on their own, came from the Holy Office on the eighth of July, 1927:

In the Negative, and further that the decree issued by this same Sacred Congregation on July 4, 1919, entitled De participatione catholicorum societati, is altogether binding in matters pertaining to the promotion of Christian unity.²⁶

Thus, the inclusion of Roman Catholics at Lausanne was finally settled.²⁷

With the publicity and leg-work accomplished, a series of Preparatory Conferences by the Continuation Committee established at Geneva were held in various cities of Europe up to the eve of the Conference itself.²⁸ Bishop Brent,²⁹ by this time Bishop of Western New York diocese, is constantly on the scene.

²⁶ Resp. Supremae Sacrae Congregationis S. Officii, "Negative, atque standum omnino decreto ab hac ipsa Suprema Sacra Congregatione die 4 Julii 1919 edito De participatione Catholicorum societati ad procurandam Christianitatis unitatem." Datum Romae, 8 Julii 1927: AAS, Vol. XIX, 1927, p. 278. For the full English translation, cf. Bell 1920-30, p. 187-188.

²⁷ A more important "response", the Encyclical Letter Mortalium Animos, was issued by Pius XI, within a few months after the closing of the Lausanne Conference. For the full English text, cf. Bell 1920-30, p. 188-200.

²⁸ FO No. 23; FO No. 27; FO No. 30; FO No. 33; Stockholm, 1925 [no number]; FO No. 45.

²⁹ For Lausanne's acknowledgment of Brent's work in Faith and Order, cf. Lausanne, p. 407.

Article II

The Lausanne Conference, August 3-21, 1927

The first World Conference on Faith and Order opened with a solemn service in the beautiful Gothic cathedral of Lausanne.³⁰ Hymns were sung, the Apostles' Creed recited in the respective languages of the delegates, and an inspirational sermon delivered by Bishop Brent:

We are here at the urgent behest of Jesus Christ. We have come with willing feet. All the prayers and desires and labours of seventeen years meet in this hour [...].³¹

Representatives from a hundred and sixteen Churches, including ten of the Orthodox Churches and four of the Separated Churches of the East, assembled for a unique experience.

Bishop Neill says: "It was a wonderful ecclesiastical menagerie."³² The names of famous men who shared in this ecumenical meeting still echo today at like meetings: Bishop Brent, its president; Gore, protecting a "stiff" Anglo-Catholic position; Temple, the "rising star" in the ecumenical world; Headlam, "immensely learned, abrupt, impatient at blurred or muddled thinking"; Palmer, an Anglican Bishop from Bombay,

30 Michael Cleary, O.P., "The Failure of the World Conference on Faith and Order," in The Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Vol. 31, Jan., 1928, p. 2. The Cathedral was built about 1275, and was the place of many discussions at the time of the Reformation.

31 Lausanne, p. 3.

32 Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 46.

"wagging his beard [...] using his slight stutter to lend explosive force to his utterances";³³ William Adams Brown, Professor at Union Theological Seminary, N.Y., "ecumenical pioneer for over nearly half a century"; Wilfred Monod, with "the face of a mystic and a saint";³⁴ Bulgakov, Professor at Orthodox Theological Institute of Paris;³⁵ A. Deissman, Professor at University of Berlin. And men whose fame is closer to us: Brilioth and Nygren, of the Church of Sweden; Germanos and Alivisatos, from the Orthodox world; and so the list could go on.³⁶ But what harmony could one expect as regards the principal dogmatic differences from such a motley group of delegates? Will they dare approach the problem of intercommunion?

A. The Ministry of the Church³⁷ — Section V

The Conference considered many topics — the Gospel, the nature of the Church, Confession of faith, the ministry, the Sacraments, and Christian Unity.³⁸ There was general

33 Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 46.

34 Ibid.

35 Lausanne, p. 258.

36 FO No. 49.

37 Lausanne, p. 467-470.

38 Bell 1920-30, p. 158-187.

disagreement on almost all matters discussed, except on the opening Call to Unity and the Gospel.³⁹ Yet the Conference did pass six reports, and a seventh was submitted to the Lausanne Continuation Committee⁴⁰ for further consideration.⁴¹ Many of these questions will arise in future conferences, for at this early date the significance of these problems could not have been expected to be appreciated, nor were adequate solutions worked out. Nevertheless, they did discuss or at least brought up every important subject now being considered in the ecumenical world, both Catholic and non-Catholic. Significantly, much time was spent debating the nature of the ministry and the Sacraments, two questions intimately connected with intercommunion although the topic itself was not formerly discussed. Thus it is somewhat worthwhile concerning ourselves fleetingly with these two

39 Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 47; Thils, p. 43. Not only the interpretation of language (few Orthodox knew any Western language), but the significance of words presented problems.

40 With the duties of the Geneva Continuation Committee (cf. supra, p. 28) ceasing, the Lausanne Conference appointed another Continuation Committee, which included some of the members of the Geneva Committee, to carry on the work of the Lausanne Conference (cf. Lausanne, p. 407-408, for the scope of its duties).

41 Stephen Neill, op. cit., p. 49. The Orthodox signed only one, The Message of the Church. Cf. Bell 1920-30, p. 182-187, for Orthodox statement on Lausanne. An evaluation of Orthodox participation in ecumenical movement is given in future chapter.

questions, at least to witness their initial contribution to the problem of intercommunion, and particularly to find evidence of Faith and Order's first sentiments on intercommunion, as much of what is said here will influence the future⁴² discussion.⁴³

The question of the ministry cried out radically divergent views. "Even when the words used were the same, it became clear that long years and centuries of division had woven about the familiar words differences of connotation and of understanding."⁴⁴ Each step in the discussion was marked by different theological positions.⁴⁵ Copious notes were added to the first drafts and the final draft submitted to the Churches still carries a fairly lengthy note.⁴⁶ The

42 Thils, p. 209.

43 A few words about the Conference procedure is now warranted. When the time for consideration arrived, the topic was commented upon by several speakers to a plenary session of the Conference. It was then discussed by a subsection, a report drawn up and adopted unanimously or by a large majority vote of the same section. The report was twice presented for further discussion to a plenary session of the Conference (Lausanne, p. 460), and finally voted upon. Some members abstained from voting in order that it might be possible to adopt certain documents nemo contra (Lausanne, p. 453), v.g. Quakers. The reports were then referred to the Churches represented at the Conference for their findings, and requested to report back to the Continuation Committee (Lausanne, p. 459, note 1).

44 Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 47.

45 Thils, p. 45.

46 Bell 1920-30, p. 169-170.

majority of the delegates came from Protestant Churches, and some "feared that statements might be issued that 'Catholic'⁴⁷ Christians would not be able to accept."⁴⁸ In any case, some took the fearless step and spoke their minds on the nature of the ministry, the meaning of ordination, the nature of ministerial authority and Apostolic succession, government in the Church, and finally the delicate problem of ministry and validity of orders in a united Church.

1. Speeches at Plenary Sessions

a. Nature of Ministry in the Church

Some valuable insights of the direction the Conference was heading on the nature of the ministry are found in the speeches at the plenary sessions, although they are not officially a part of the report submitted to the Churches. The Protestant principle of searching the Scriptures and faithfulness to the Reformers remains the guiding light. It was inevitable that clashes with the Orthodox and certain representatives of Western Christendom would occur.⁴⁹ The Rev. David Fyffe, Moderator, Presbyterian Church of England,

⁴⁷ Probably refers to the Orthodox but cf. supra, p. 18.

⁴⁸ Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 48.

⁴⁹ Cf. Notes at end of Report of Section V (Bell 1920-30, p. 169).

set a tone for the discussion before it had even started.

He remarked:

So far as the New Testament records give information, the gifts [of the Holy Spirit for this or that] come first and the ordination afterwards; there seems to be no evidence of particular gifts being bestowed upon brethren at ordination.⁵⁰

Likewise, the words of the Rev. Scherer, Secretary, United Lutheran Church in America, remind the Conference of the implication of new ideas on the ministry, and forecast the role the laity is going to play in the ecumenical movement.⁵¹

if this sacerdotal theory [*italics mine*] be accepted [for a united Church] [...] Christ is no longer the sole Mediator between God and man, the universal priesthood of believers is degraded to an inferior position, and the doctrine of justification alone by faith in Christ [...] is thereby endangered, if not surrendered.⁵²

Further on Rev. Scherer asks three questions, two of which the Conference suggested for further study in its Report,⁵³ and the third quite obviously rejected:

⁵⁰ Lausanne, p. 278.

⁵¹ H.H. Walz, "Lay, Theology of the Laity, Laymen's Work," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1954, p. 469-475; also the six articles devoted to this problem in the same review, Vol. X, No. 3, 1958.

⁵² Lausanne, p. 253.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 469; also Bell 1920-30, p. 168.

Will subscription to the necessity of episcopal ordination be requisite? Must the theory of Apostolic succession be received? Will not the step lead logically to the acknowledgment of the primacy of the Pope?⁵⁴

As for the matter of government in a united Church, the Rev. Joseph Soucek, of the Bohemian Brethren, added that

there are no strict and clear instructions of Christ or of the Apostles [...] and that therefore the form of Church organization is not of fundamental importance [...]. But such a solution [Episcopacy] [...] purely a question of Church government and not a question of faith and doctrine,⁵⁵

which agrees substantially with Rev. Scherer's views.⁵⁶ In the discussion after the report of Section V, draft one, the Rev. Pastor Appia, of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of France, said he thought the Report opened or shed new light on the idea of episcopacy and then went on to say: "it would show that for the Orthodox and Anglican Churches this was not a question of expediency but of principle,"⁵⁷ an understanding vastly required in the World Council of Churches.

⁵⁴ Lausanne, p. 257; cf. also interesting Reply of Church of South India to the Six Questions mentioned in the Report of the Lambeth Conference 1948, particularly statements on position of Bishop and Ministers, in G.K.A. Bell, Documents on Christian Unity, Fourth Series 1948-57, London, Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 183-191. To be cited from now on as Bell 1948-57.

⁵⁵ Lausanne, p. 272-273.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 256.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 381.

But before the submission of this draft, Bishop Headlam, the Convener, made an important declaration:

At the beginning of the Conference some people thought they were defining terms for the reunion of Christendom;⁵⁸ others, that they were engaged upon making a statement of the Christian faith as they accepted it. Neither of these purposes, as we understood it, were before us. Our purpose was to explore lines of unity and to submit suggestions for the consideration of the Churches, so that this Report does not give exactly what each person thinks, but gives what we all think ought to be put before the Churches as lines of investigation.⁵⁹

b. Intercommunion

The subject of intercommunion was indirectly considered in this Section. Undoubtedly it was in the minds of the members but various reasons explain its absence of discussion.⁶⁰ In any case, the Rev. W.E. Barton, Congregational, from U.S.A., in the discussion after the report of Section V, draft one, mentioned that in the United States, except for Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, communicants

went freely into each other's pulpits, received members from them and sent members to them, and there existed among them a certain bond of fellowship which they wished their brothers of the Episcopal Church might more fully share.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Stephen Neill, Men of Unity, p. 49.

⁵⁹ Lausanne, p. 376.

⁶⁰ Cf. infra, p. 47, for some of them.

⁶¹ Lausanne, p. 380.

One questions the accuracy of this statement when the position of the Lutheran Church in the United States is known.

2. Conclusions

It was inevitable that this Section would produce a variety of recorded differences. This is a crucial point in the ecumenical movement and the delegates were conscious of this fact.⁶² They adhered to all hues of theological faith, and this should be born in mind when reading the five propositions to which they agreed in "substantial accord."⁶³ Nevertheless, this Section on the ministry of the Church emphasized the urgency "of a ministry acknowledged in every part of the Church as possessing the sanction of the whole Church."⁶⁴ It likewise suggested certain practical ideas about the way in which such a unified ministry might be realized,⁶⁵ adding:

if the foregoing suggestion be accepted and acted upon, it is essential that the acceptance of any special form of ordination as the regular and orderly method of introduction into the ministry of

62 Thils, p. 45.

63 Lausanne, p. 467-468; Bell 1920-30, p. 166. Cf. also supra, p. 36, note 41, for Orthodox position.

64 Lausanne, p. 469 (official Report); Bell 1920-30, p. 167; cf. also Fr. Bellucci's article "The Unity of the Church and the World Council of Churches," in Unitas [English], Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1962, p. 239-251.

65 Lausanne, p. 469; Bell 1920-30, p. 168.

the Church for the future should not be interpreted to imply the acceptance of any one particular theory of the origin, character or function of any office in the Church, or to involve the acceptance of any adverse judgement on the validity of ordination in those branches of the Church universal that believe themselves to have retained valid and apostolic Orders under other forms of ordination; or as disowning or discrediting a past or present ministry of the Word and Sacrament which has been used and blessed by the Spirit of God.⁶⁶

Finally, the Continuation Committee constituted a special commission to study the problems more patiently and in greater detail.⁶⁷

B. The Sacraments of the Church⁶⁸ — Section VI

The question of the Sacraments is closely linked with that of the ministry, and it encountered the same difficulties.⁶⁹ They did arrive at some agreements on essential points,⁷⁰ although even here there is a difference "in conception and interpretation."⁷¹ The majority "regard only Baptism and the Lord's Supper as Sacraments."⁷²

⁶⁶ Lausanne, p. 469; Bell 1920-30, p. 168.

⁶⁷ The special commission issued a Report in 1937, entitled Ministry and the Sacraments, edited by R. Dunkerley, London, 1937.

⁶⁸ Lausanne, p. 472-473 (official Report).

⁶⁹ Thils, p. 46.

⁷⁰ Lausanne, p. 472-473 (official Report).

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

1. Speeches at Plenary Sessions

On Saturday morning, August 13th, the Conference met in full session to consider the Sacraments. The chair was taken by Sir Henry Lunn. A long list of speakers addressed the Conference. After reading these speeches, discussions, and surmising what occurred in "closed" sessions, it is remarkable that the Section could produce a Report. It is likewise creditable that Faith and Order has relentlessly pursued a solution to so many problems. After presentation of the first draft of the Report to the Conference, Professor Wilfred Monod was permitted to present the following:

either we must face the acute metaphysical difficulties which for ages have divided the Churches, or, if we refuse to do so, we incur the risks spoken of by our Orthodox brethren, of contenting ourselves with merely verbal agreement.⁷³

The Lausanne Volume, in reference to Bishop Gore, records:

he said that he had observed with regret on several occasions a tendency on the part of the Conference to refuse to say what was true because they thought it dangerous.⁷⁴

Both of these men were scholars and not representative of all the delegates, and perhaps a bit naive to expect that all the delegates would come prepared to discuss "on such terms."

⁷³ Lausanne, p. 391; cf. also Thils, p. 46, for the French version which is somewhat different.

⁷⁴ Lausanne, p. 430.

a. Nature of the Eucharist

It is the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper that caused much discord among the delegates.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, considerable frankness and acuteness of opinion were expressed concerning the Eucharist. One can imagine the itchy ears when Archbishop Germanos addresses the plenary session with the words: "God the Holy Spirit descends on the bread and wine [...] and transubstantiates them into Christ's body and blood."⁷⁶ All the ghosts of the Reformation are resurrected! Consider what thoughts the "Catholic" delegates might have been thinking when the Baptist minister, the Rev. Robert Ashworth, plainly said

that "the grace of God is offered to man through the Sacrament," would be allowed by Baptists only in a sense which would apply as fully to any [italics mine] exercise of faith apart from the use of physical symbols [...],⁷⁷

or the words of Prälat Dr. Schoell:

The Sacrament [...] is the Word preached through a visible sign [...]. In this conception the question of the transubstantiation of the sacramental elements becomes of secondary importance.⁷⁸

75 Lausanne, p. 472-473 (official Report).

76 Ibid., p. 287.

77 Ibid., p. 315.

78 Ibid., p. 310.

Quite unexpectedly a new chorus is sounded in the conclave. Dr. Vernon Bartlet, a Congregationalist, Mansfield College, Oxford, England, plays the first note, which has continued to re-echo since that day:

Holy Communion in which inner unity ought to find its most typically Christian expression [...] has in fact become the great dividing line and barrier to fuller fellowship.⁷⁹

It was left to Rev. H. Maldwyn Hughes, a Methodist, the Principal of Wesley College, Cambridge, to play the full chord, even though at this early date it might have sounded a little off pitch:

I would suggest that whatever our doctrinal explanations, fundamentally and experimentally the Sacrament of the Holy Communion means much the same to all of us. We all believe in the Real Presence of our Living Lord, if not in the elements, yet in the whole sacramental service [...]. Cannot we be content with that great reality of experience and agree to differ as to doctrinal interpretation? Cannot we be content to go together to meet our Lord at the appointed trysting-place, willing to leave it an open question as to exactly how He meets with us? [...] have we any right to refuse fellowship with any whom we have every reason to believe He would not repel? [...] we shall surely be ready to make any and every sacrifice which does no violence to conscience [...].⁸⁰

The standard of one school of thought is raised and will be carried high to this day. The other position is in check, but will soon utter its cry.

⁷⁹ Lausanne, p. 291.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 318-319.

b. S. Adams Brown's Proposals on Intercommunion

After presentation of first draft of the report, Dr. William Adams Brown asked permission to submit, for the consideration of the drafting committee, the addition of three clauses:

1. The possibility [...] of some provision at future Conferences for united or simultaneous celebration of the Sacrament, in a form consistent with the present law of the several Churches, which could express to the world the spiritual unity to which we have already attained. 2. The possibility, without prejudice to the doctrinal position of each Church, of providing in communities where no other possibility of partaking of the Sacrament exists for the admission to communion, under proper safeguard, of members of other Christian bodies resident in or visiting those communities. 3. The possibility, under similar safeguards, of making early provision for some form of intercommunion or, if that be not immediately possible, joint or simultaneous celebration in the new Churches in non-Christian lands.⁸¹

The Conference, under Bishop Gore, thought these clauses raised controversial questions which went beyond anything that the Conference could adequately consider. The Rev. I.M. Rose, a Northern Baptist, hoped that they would not be withdrawn, as they represented an ideal, and would not be out of place in a report which took account of disagreements and difficulties. Bishop Cannon pointed out that the Committee had not shirked any work which it had thought it should properly undertake, but it had recognized limitations of time and diverging views and had not discussed

⁸¹ Lausanne, p. 393-394.

questions upon which it had not thought any helpful conclusion would be arrived at. Dr. Garvie, the Deputy-Chairman, said the Conference had no inclination to raise, at this late stage in their discussions, a subject which was evidently open to so much difference of opinion.⁸²

2. Conclusions

Although the question of intercommunion was not officially on the agenda of the Lausanne Conference, the topic was brought to the floor and no world conference from Lausanne 1927 has dared to omit it from their official program. The questions raised by Dr. Brown and Rev. Hughes commence the difficult task of finding solutions in harmony with the faith of millions of believers. Unexpected and unexplored territory is normally frothy with dilemmas. The intercommunion problem is no exception. Nevertheless, the closing statement of this sectional report is a prayer "that the differences which prevent full communion at the present time may be removed."⁸³ The Conference closed on Sunday, August 21, with a service held in the Cathedral in the afternoon. There were three sermons, and the Rev. Elie Counelle, of the Reformed Church of France, the last person to address the

⁸² Lausanne, p. 394.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 473; Bell 1920-30, p. 172.

delegates, looked "towards the day when believers of every confession will be able in full liberty of conscience [...] meet at the table of the Lord."⁸⁴

Article III

Some Evaluations of the Conference

The Rev. James Good, talking particularly about the Conference's ideas on the Church, in a recent book⁸⁵ says:

one reading the report now, [...] it seems like an effort to give full expression to every possible point of view rather than a compromise intended to cover them all under one vague formula.

This appears to be universally true for the whole report. Looking back on the Conference, the first of its kind, with its manifold problems, the method of the report was wiser than perhaps many delegates realized at the time. One could imagine no report, which certainly would have been an abortive blow to the Faith and Order Movement. In any case, the Conference did agree on a certain number of points. They also were convinced:

⁸⁴ Lausanne, p. 453; cf. also Intercommunion, p. 118-120, for intercommunion service at Stockholm Life and Work Conference in 1925; see also Bernard Leeming's remarks about the service in The Churches and the Church. Cf. infra, p. 50-51, for intercommunion at Lausanne.

⁸⁵ Rev. James Good, D.D., The Church of England and the Ecumenical Movement, London, Burns & Oates, 1961, p. 144.

that it is the will of God that the one life of the one body should be manifested to the world. [...] We urge most earnestly that all Christians, in fulfilment of our Saviour's prayer that His disciples may be one, reconsecrate themselves to God, that by the help of His Spirit the body of Christ may be built up, its members united in faith and love, and existing obstacles to the manifestation of their unity may be removed; that the world may believe that the Father has sent Him.⁸⁶

As Gustave Thils has said, "the Lausanne Conference has scouted some of the fundamental principles of the ecumenical movement."⁸⁷

A. Worship and Intercommunion at Lausanne

The official volume makes no mention whatever to any arrangements for Communion Services. This was held to be strictly a private matter of the delegates, and like any conference of that magnitude and where people were in unfamiliar circumstances, the organs of the Conference were used solely for notification. Nevertheless, on the middle Sunday, a "Service of Penitence and Intercession" was led by Bishop Brent, Pastor Merle d'Aubigné and Pastor Sandegren.⁸⁸ However, the Eglise Vaudoise arranged a Holy Communion service in the Cathedral for the second Sunday. All members of the

⁸⁶ Lausanne, p. 460; Bell 1920-30, p. 164.

⁸⁷ Thils, p. 48. Translation mine. "Lausanne a mis en vedette quelques principes fondamentaux de l'oeuvre oecuménique."

⁸⁸ Intercommunion, p. 122.

Conference were invited, the invitation conveyed by Bishop Brent, the President of the Conference. Over a thousand persons received communion, distributed by a Danish Lutheran, a German Reformed, a French Reformed, an American Presbyterian, and two assistants of the Cathedral. This service was not considered an official act of the Conference, as it was not sponsored by the Conference proper.⁸⁹ We shall see that the procedure at such conferences and at the meetings of the Commissions will change, although still unsatisfactory for many.

B. External Criticisms of the Conference

As was expected, the Conference was followed and reported upon by many newspapers and journals. Unfortunately, many misjudged the spirit of the delegates. Reading those reviews today, one questions if they had read even the Preamble to the Report:

We [...] are assembled to consider the things wherein we agree and the things wherein we differ. [...] [The Conference] is emphatically not attempting to define the conditions of future reunion. Its object is to register the apparent level of fundamental agreements within the Conference and the grave points of disagreements remaining; also to suggest certain lines of thought which may in the future tend to a fuller measure of agreement. We call upon the Christian world [...] to reach the

⁸⁹ The Lund Conference in 1952 will have its say about "off-Conference" Communion services.

truth as it is in God's mind, which should be the foundation of the Church's unity.⁹⁰

The Catholic press was highly critical.⁹¹ Irénikon, still youthfull, was an exception to this rule.⁹² The Rev. Michael Cleary, O.P., in The Irish Ecclesiastical Review, had some scathing remarks to make, and looking back on his article one is surprised that Faith and Order is around today. He did not understand the purpose of the Faith and Order Movement any more than some of its own members did in the fifth Section, as when Fr. Cleary says: "the Conference was unable to define the conditions upon which future reunion is to be made."⁹³ The Conference should not be criticized for what it wasn't supposed to do, as if reunion were immediately to occur after Lausanne.

A French reviewer, David Lathoud, had some unflattering comments to make:

confusion reigned from one end to the other. Chaos replaced light. Each speaker's thesis destroyed the previous one put forward. [...] We do not question their intentions, but we are obliged

90 Lausanne, p. 459-460.

91 Cf. supra, p. 32-33, for an official Roman reaction.

92 Cf. the article by A. de Lilienfeld, "Lausanne, A propos de la Conférence...", in Irénikon, 1927, p. 267.

93 Michael Cleary, O.P., "The Failure of the World Conference on Faith and Order," in The Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Vol. 31, Jan., 1928, p. 8.

to say that the God-Man [...] does not deserve this new derision.⁹⁴

Another barb was hurled at the Orthodox:

Poor Church, previously so proud! she went to receive, like the others, a licence of acceptability. No less than the Salvation Army, or some such excentric sect that was founded yesterday! What a fall! What malediction weighs her down that God would allow such a debasement! The only attitude worthy of a Church claiming divine institution was abstention. He who sits in the assembly of heretics passes for one of them.⁹⁵

And finally, as regards Faith and Order's relation to Life and Work,⁹⁶ he says:

94 David Lathoud, "A la recherche de l'Eglise," in L'Union des Eglises, No. 33, 1928, p. 524. Translation mine. "[...] la confusion y régna d'un bout à l'autre. Le chaos tint lieu de lumière. Les orateurs déroulèrent chacun sa thèse qui démolissait la thèse de l'orateur précédent. [...] Nous nous interdisions de suspecter les intentions, mais nous sommes bien obligés de dire que le Dieu-Homme [...] ne mérite pas cette nouvelle dérision." This review was under the direction of the Augustinians of the Assumption, and was discontinued in December, 1937.

95 Ibid., p. 525. Translation mine. "Pauvre Eglise, autrefois plus fière! elle est allée recevoir, comme les autres, un brevet d'acceptabilité. Rien de plus que l'Armée du Salut ou telle secte excentrique née d'hier. Quelle déchéance! Quelle malédiction pèse sur elle pour que Dieu ait permis pareil abaissement! La seule attitude digne d'une Eglise d'institution divine était l'abstention. Celui qui siège dans l'assemblée des hérétiques passe pour l'un d'entre eux."

96 It was impossible to recognize justly the contributions of Life and Work to the historical development of the Faith and Order Movement. Its lengthy history is a thesis in itself. For history of Life and Work, cf. Rouse-Neill, chapters XI and XII; particularly p. 698-701, for close relations between Life and Work and Faith and Order. For achievements of Life and Work, cf. Rouse-Neill, p. 593-596; also cf. The Social Thought of the World Council of Churches, by Edward Duff, S.J., London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1956, particularly the first three chapters.

if they break with them [the tenets of Stockholm], as logic demands, [...] they have some chance to see their movement become stronger and slowly approach Catholicism.⁹⁷

One does not deny that there was truth in the criticism launched against Lausanne. No one was more aware of this fact than the leaders of the Faith and Order Movement, which we will discover in examining Edinburgh, Lund, and the many commission meetings between these world conferences. It was the acidity of the criticism!

C. The Authority of a Faith and Order Conference

Much ink has dried over this question, for it involves the very meaning of authority in the Orthodox and Protestant Churches,⁹⁸ and even if the question of authority were settled in the different Churches, the problem of the authority of a Faith and Order Commission or Conference would remain to be solved.

⁹⁷ David Lathoud, "A la recherche de l'Eglise," in L'Union des Eglises, No. 33, 1928, p. 527. Translation mine. "S'ils s'obstinent à collaborer avec les tenants de Stockholm, les éléments chrétiens positifs qu'ils retiennent se dilueront peu à peu et ils se rallieront au libéralisme des autres. Si, au contraire, ils rompent avec eux, comme le leur commandent la logique, la tradition et l'expérience, ils ont quelque chance de voir leur mouvement se fortifier et se rapprocher insensiblement du catholicisme."

⁹⁸ We will have to return to this subject of authority in the second part of this thesis.

For present purposes, the power of an "agreed statement" is that it is made by the participating representatives of the Churches, men elected to go to Lausanne by their own individual Churches.⁹⁹ In that respect, these statements are perhaps more accurately representative of a consensus of belief than a report of a particular commission of Faith and Order.¹⁰⁰ At Lund, Rev. O.S. Tomkins reiterated the teaching of the statement that the Central Committee of World Council of Churches issued at their Toronto meeting in 1950, that no resolution of the Assembly of the World Council of Churches was binding upon any of the Churches. He then went on to explore five implications of the Church's staying together in the World Council. Just previously, he offered the opinion that he was not about to say anything new "for I believe it was all implicit, and in some cases explicit, in our earlier conferences at Lausanne and Edinburgh."¹⁰¹ Ultimately, then, no Church was bound by such an agreed statement, nor was a Church obliged to sign the reports.¹⁰² In any case, we are dealing with moral power.

⁹⁹ Bernard Leeming, S.J., The Churches and the Church, p. 8; cf. also supra, p. 21-22.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. W.A. Visser't Hooft, "Various Meanings of Unity [...]," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1955, p. 18, for value of reports issued from W.C.C.

¹⁰¹ O.S. Tomkins, "Implications of the Ecumenical Movement," in Lund, p. 165.

¹⁰² Cf. supra, p. 37, note 43.

In practice, what truly mattered was the implementation of Lausanne, the carrying out of its ideas, and this was clearly in the hands of the Churches: "The problem is largely to get the ordinary members of the Churches to see the vision and to be carried along with us."¹⁰³ Not only the ordinary members, but a greater percentage of active pastors "in personnel, in committee, and on platform, for it is the man closest to individual Christians in local Churches who is often the most ecumenical."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ A quote by Fr. Leeming in "The Future of the Faith and Order Commission," in Unitas [English], Vol. XII, No. 3, 1960, p. 175; also, see concluding statement of Report, in Bell 1920-30, p. 181.

¹⁰⁴ Hillyer H. Straton, "The Ecumenical Movement and the Parish Minister," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1956, p. 26. The whole article should be read.

CHAPTER THREE
DEVELOPING STAGE
EDINBURGH CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER, 1937

Article I
Preparation for Edinburgh¹

A. Introduction

The Lausanne Continuation Committee,² composed of about a hundred members,³ taking advantage of their assemblage and the freshness of their Lausanne mental encounters, met before leaving the City of Lausanne.⁴ The Committee had the authority "to take whatever steps" necessary to bring about the reunion of Churches.⁵

The Continuation Committee convened seven times after this initial meeting.⁶ Several Theological Commissions

1 For general preparation to Edinburgh Conference, cf. the historical summary in the chapter entitled "Lausanne to Edinburgh," in World Conference on Faith and Order, Edinburgh, Aug. 3-18, 1937, edited by Leonard Hodgson, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1938, p. 1-14. This volume to be cited from now on as Edinburgh.

2 Cf. supra, p. 36, note 40.

3 FO No. 53, p. 8-11.

4 Ibid., p. 5. Twenty-four members were present.

5 For scope of Committee's work, cf. Lausanne, p. 407-408.

6 These meetings were held yearly except for the years 1932 and 1933, when a financial crisis interrupted the sessions.

were established to consider more profoundly the subjects upon which disagreements prevented unity. "The Doctrine of Grace," "The Church of Christ and the Word of God," and "The Church's Unity in Life and Worship" were the main preoccupation of the Theological Commissions. However, the labor of the Theological Commissions reveals important information and enlightening insights into their thinking as regards intercommunion at this particular time in the history of Faith and Order.

B. Examination of Intercommunion
as Found in Commission Work

1. "Some Prolegomena to the 1937 World Conference"

Karl Barth,⁷ at an Ecumenical Seminar, in Geneva, in July, 1935, reminded the Churches poignantly of the meaning of their disunion. He insisted that the union of the Churches is

a thing which cannot be manufactured but must be found and confessed, in subordination to that already accomplished oneness of the Church which is in Jesus Christ,⁸

7 It is interesting to read Barth's reflections on the Roman Catholic Church's refusal to participate in ecumenical movement: "I am not distressed by the well known and widely regretted attitude of the Roman See towards union movements of the past and present. It was and is needful that someone somewhere should make a stand against the excessive claims of all Church movements" (FO No. 76, p. 31).

8 FO No. 76, p. 31-32.

and

in this sense I would say that in those circles which are rightly preoccupied with the thought of union it is impossible to be too cautious about "open" Communion services and the like. Much that is beautiful in itself is a very long way from being true, far therefore from being enjoined upon us or even permissible.⁹

This lecture was incorporated into Faith and Order publications and diffused widely in "Some Prolegomena to the 1937 World Conference."¹⁰

2. Clarens Meeting 1936

a. Meaning of Intercommunion

At Clarens,¹¹ in 1936, at the Continuation Committee meeting, Dr. A. Dun, discussing the meaning of organic unity among Churches, remarked:

Anglicans generally would conceive of "organic unity" as realized whenever intercommunion is made possible by the existence of a ministry acknowledged as possessing the authority of the whole body.¹²

Bishop Woods, the Anglican Bishop of Croydon, England, is reported having said:

9 FO No. 76, p. 32.

10 Cf. FO No. 76.

11 The Theological Commissions gave their progress reports to Continuation Committee, then subsequently they discussed them.

12 FO No. 79, p. 30.

he hoped the Commission would make it clear that organic unity does not mean any rigid kind of uniformity. The watchword should be "unity with variety."¹³

The minutes of meeting report that Bishop Woods also declared: "he would regard the essence of organic union as being the right of intercommunion."¹⁴

Dr. William Adams Brown, presenting an interim report on the topic "Next Steps to Unity," is recorded having said:

the question of intercommunion must be approached from the point of view of existing unity. The whole discussion on the topic is too often vitiated by the omission of a relevant third term. Men speak of intercommunion as a means to unity and as a mark of unity achieved; they omit to think of it as the recognition of existing unity. There is a sense in which even now, even in our divided condition, the service of Holy Communion is an expression of our unity in Jesus Christ and there ought to be more use made of ways of expressing this, e.g. by attendance without communicating at the service of other communions. The Roman Catholics have their High Mass with non-communicating attendance. Are we going to be less spiritual in our conception and contend that without actual physical participation we can do nothing?¹⁵

13 FO No. 72, p. 31.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., p. 32.

b. Intercommunion at Ecumenical Meetings

In report number five "Next Steps on the Road to a United Church"¹⁶ the problem of intercommunion at ecumenical meetings was raised. The report states "that for many Christians such a common celebration need not imply complete doctrinal agreement." The report supports this statement by declaring:

[it] is made clear by a significant declaration of a group of Christians of all schools of thought in the Church of England, drafted in 1930 by the Archbishop of York, which, after stating the measure of agreement and difference in the interpretation of Christ's person in the Eucharist, concludes with the following statement:

"We appeal to our fellow-Churchmen to recognize the wide measure of agreement here expressed, and also to recognize that it quite definitely includes agreement to differ in the interpretation of the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist."¹⁷

The inference is obvious.

c. Place of Intercommunion in Ecumenical Movement

The above report, however, also stresses the importance:

not to exaggerate its [intercommunion] significance in the total movement for unity. Observation of the experience of Churches which make much of the sacrament would seem to show that its common observance furnishes no guarantee of unity in other aspects of the Christian life.¹⁸

¹⁶ FO No. 85. The Report was drafted for Commission by William Adams Brown.

¹⁷ FO No. 85, p. 18-19.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

The report clearly affirms the unity of the Church "in a very real, though undetermined extent" not only as a "spiritual society" but "to a considerable extent also [...] in its external and visible life as that life finds expression in witness, in worship [...]. Our first task, therefore, must be to find some way in which, pending the fuller union which is our aim, the existing unity may find adequate recognition and expression."¹⁹ On an earnest note, the question of intercommunion somewhat vanishes from the report: "If there be really inward communion, some form of outward expression will in due time be found."²⁰

C. Intercommunion on Eve of Edinburgh

At this period no commitment²¹ to intercommunion appears to be pronounced in the Faith and Order Movement.²² Certain ideas and tendencies are notable, but even at this stage there is no evidence of a working terminology, the

¹⁹ FO No. 85, p. 15.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 20.

²¹ It remains true that the documents do not always reveal the subliminal message.

²² Cf. Intercommunion, p. 118-121, for brief account of practice of intercommunion in Life and Work Movement. Also, for reflections of Orthodox on intercommunion at the Oxford Life and Work Conference, cf. L. Zander, "Mouvement œcuménique," in Irenikon, Vol. XIV, No. 6, 1937, p. 518-519.

necessary tool for discussion. The Edinburgh Conference will make this obvious. Secondly, the theology of the Eucharist in the Faith and Order Movement is so categorically disparate, it appears difficult to imagine anything other than neutrality at this period.²³

Article II

The Edinburgh²⁴ World Conference, August 3-18, 1937

A. Introduction

The Conference opened at 10 A.M. with a service, similar to Lausanne, at the High Kirk of St. Giles.

23 Nicholas Arseniew, the Orthodox participant at a meeting of Theological Commission at Gloucester, England, in Aug., 1931, summarizes trenchantly the atmosphere of the time: "En effet, quand il y a une attitude commune de piété eucharistique, on peut discuter sur la doctrine elle-même. Si cette attitude fondamentale de vénération fait défaut, l'aspect même de la piété est différent et toute discussion est rendue impossible. [...] il faut dire que le défaut de 'sens sacramental' et de piété eucharistique continue à être, hélas, un des traits fondamentaux qui séparent encore [*italics mine*] la mentalité rigoureusement protestante, de la mentalité catholique, comprise ici dans son sens le plus large" ("Notes sur l'Eucharistie dans le mouvement oecuménique," in *Irénikon*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1937, p. 248-250). True, the Lausanne Conference in its report on the Sacraments (Bell 1920-30, p. 170-171) testified "to the fact that the Christian world gives evidence of an increasing sense of the significance and value of Sacraments," but it had not appeared to arrive at the stage Prof. Arseniew would have desired.

24 Cf. Edinburgh; also, cf. G.K.A. Bell, Documents on Christian Unity 1930-48, Third Series, London, Oxford University Press, 1948, p. 247-286, for official report of Conference. To be cited from now on as Bell 1930-48.

Archbishop Germanos and Dean Brillioth read the lessons. The delegates prayed together, and sang Psalm 122. William Temple preached the sermon.

Unquestionably, the atmosphere at Edinburgh was more conducive to serious work than at Lausanne. Some of the delegates had worked together on the various Commissions while others were coming to meet friends and acquaintances they had encountered at Lausanne. Even the Archbishop (Roman Catholic) of Edinburgh sent a message, which was cordially acknowledged by the Conference.²⁵ Moreover, the delegates²⁶ were theologically better prepared, due to the preparatory reports²⁷ of the Commissions.

²⁵ The Archbishop permitted four priests and one layman to go as unofficial observers (G.K.A. Bell, The Kingship of Christ, Middlesex, Penguin Books Ltd., 1954, p. 69). One of these observers, Fr. Bévenot, S.J., published several articles in the London Tablet (D.C. Lialine, O.S.B., "Chronique religieuse," in Irénikon, Vol. XIV, Nos. 4-5, 1937, p. 417). Even with this overture of Roman Catholic Church, Prof. L. Zander says: "l'absence de l'Eglise de Rome prive l'oeuvre du principe d'universalité. Le fait a été mentionné maintes fois, mais les conclusions n'en ont pas été tirées, car l'oeuvre se considère quand même comme universelle, alors qu'elle ne l'est pas" ("Les impressions d'un Orthodoxe," in Les grandes Conférences oecuméniques d'Oxford et d'Edimbourg, Ganges, Edition du Christianisme Social, 1938, p. 180). For Archbishop's letter, cf. Edinburgh, p. 40.

²⁶ FO No. 75.

²⁷ The reports were used as agenda papers. "But the Conference must not only be free, but also feel free, to make its own line and come to its own conclusions" (Edinburgh, p. 13). To assure this the Chairman and vice-Chairman of sections had no previous official connection with conduct of affairs of the Movement or its Commissions (ibid., p. 13-14).

The Conference elected William Temple as President, and Leonard Hodgson as General Secretary. They adopted a procedure similar to Lausanne,²⁸ and divided the Conference into five sections. The delegates dwelled on five²⁹ principal subjects: The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ; The Church of Christ and the Word of God; The Communion of Saints; The Church of Christ: Ministry and Sacraments; and, The Church's Unity in Life and Worship. No section was organized to study specifically the problem of intercommunion itself; however, the question was officially a part of the discussion and also formed a considerable part of the official Report to the Churches. Significantly, the problem is again related to the ministry³⁰ and Eucharist, and to a new section "The Church's Unity in Life and Worship."³¹ It is true that considerable discussion was devoted to intercommunion, and this discussion reveals the spirit which animated the delegates while disputing the subject, nevertheless "only the version in Part II [i.e. official Report] may be

28 Edinburgh, p. 59-61.

29 A Committee to explore the formation of World Council of Churches was appointed at Edinburgh. Cf. infra, p. 83-84, and chapter four, for further development.

30 Cf. supra, p. 42.

31 Edinburgh, p. 265-266.

referred to or quoted as expressing the mind of the Conference."³²

B. Relevance of Doctrine of Sacraments to Intercommunion

Before seeing the expressed mind of the Conference on the subject of intercommunion, we should examine some of its ideas on the nature of the Sacraments in general, and of Eucharist and Ministry in particular. These notions, as they develop in the Faith and Order Movement, are the catalysts which spark the pros and cons on the subject of intercommunion. Intercommunion, as we are discovering, is not an isolated theological problem, but rather one that has arisen because of the position held by each Church on a variety of theological "mysteries,"³³ the Sacraments being one of them. A specially written brochure for the delegates at the 1939 Amsterdam Youth Conference to explain the reason of Four Communion Services at the Conference, candidly states that this fact of four services is

³² Edinburgh, Preface. The preliminary drafts were included in the Edinburgh volume, as well as the general discussions, "simply as information to illustrate the course of discussion" (ibid.).

³³ The second part of thesis accounts for the relation between these positions and the problem of intercommunion, i.e. why a Church takes a particular stand on intercommunion. Cf. Introduction to thesis.

an outcome of the serious differences in sacramental doctrine represented by our Churches and of the different attitudes to intercommunion adopted by our Churches in accordance with the character of their eucharistic doctrines.³⁴

C. The Church of Christ: Sacraments³⁵

1. The Sacraments in General - Report

The Edinburgh Conference brought together delegates³⁶ from the "Catholic" position of the Orthodox Churches and from the contradictory position of the Society of Friends (Quakers), and others in between who tended more or less to one of these extremes. It was inevitable that profound discords³⁷ would exist among the members, yet a certain number of ideas on the Sacraments emerge as important for the basic understanding of the theology of Faith and Order on the subject of intercommunion.

34 Intercommunion, p. 127.

35 Edinburgh, p. 239-245; Bell 1930-48, p. 261-267.

36 Cf. FO No. 75, "Delegates Appointed to Represent Their Churches [...]."

37 Each Church seemed to require a note or paragraph annexed to the particular report, v.g. a note was added to number 5 on the authority of Sacraments: "All Church tradition regarding the Sacraments ought to be controlled and tested by Scripture" (Edinburgh, p. 240). Cf. infra, p. 70, for the discussion on Sacraments.

a. Nature

On the nature of Sacraments, certain fundamental elements are held:

1. The Sacraments are given by Christ to the Church as outward and visible signs of His invisible grace. They are not bare symbols, but pledges and seals of grace, and means whereby it is received. 2. Grace is bestowed [...] by the personal action of Christ upon the believer. Faith is therefore a necessary condition for the effectual reception of grace. 3. God's gracious action is not limited by His Sacraments. 4. It is our Lord Jesus Christ who through the Holy Spirit accomplishes every sacrament, and the action of the minister of the Church is only instrumental. 5. The sacraments are celebrated by the minister, not in virtue of any personal right of his own, but as a minister of the Church. 6. Regarding the obligation of the Sacraments and the questions whether and in what way they are to be deemed necessary to salvation there is divergence of doctrine among us. We think that some further mutual understanding and agreement on these points is required as a condition of full union.³⁸

b. Number and Validity

On the number of Sacraments the Conference declared that it "largely depends upon the definition of the term 'sacraments' as given by various Churches" and that "the question of the number of the sacraments should not be regarded as an insurmountable dividing line when we strive to attain to a united Church."³⁹ Greater difficulty appeared

³⁸ Edinburgh, p. 240; Bell 1930-48, p. 262.

³⁹ Edinburgh, p. 240-241; Bell 1930-48, p. 263.

in the Report on the "Validity" of Sacraments. The Report states:

1. We agree that the sacraments practised by any Christian Church which believes itself to be observing what Christ appointed for His Church are means of grace to those who partake of them with faith.
2. Confusion has sometimes been introduced by the use of the term "valid" in the two following senses: (a) It is sometimes used synonymously with "efficacious," so that the term "invalid" would imply that a sacrament has no spiritual value and is not a means of grace. (b) It is sometimes used to imply that the sacrament has been correctly performed.

Many of us are of opinion and desire to record our belief, that [...] no judgement should be pronounced by any Church denying the "validity" of the sacraments performed by any Christian Church which believes itself to be observing what Christ appointed for His Church.

A special difficulty in regard to union arises from a great difference in doctrine which must not be underestimated. [...] [For some] the validity of Holy Order is one of the indispensable conditions of the validity of other sacraments. On the other hand, some other Christians do not hold ordination to be a sacrament of Christ's institution, yet hold that an ordained minister is the proper minister of the Eucharist. Other Christians again hold that ordination is a sacrament, but do not hold it to be an essential condition of the validity of other sacraments, that they should be ministered by a validly ordained presbyter or bishop.

3. We believe that every sacrament should be so ordered that all recognize in it an act performed on behalf of the universal Church.

4. To this end there is need of an ordained ministry recognized by all to act on behalf of the universal Church in the administration of the Sacraments.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Edinburgh, p. 241-243; Bell 1930-48, p. 264-265. The Orthodox delegates submitted a statement in a note (ibid.).

2. The Eucharist - Report

There is accord on a certain form of the real presence of Christ:

1. We all believe that Christ is truly present in the Eucharist, though as to how that presence is manifested and realised we may differ. Every precise definition of the presence is bound to be a limiting thing, and the attempt to formulate such definitions and to impose them on the Church has itself been the cause of disunity in the past. The important thing is that we should celebrate the Eucharist with the unfailing use of [the Last Supper ritual] [...] and with agreement as to its essential and spiritual meaning.⁴¹

In regards to the Eucharist as sacrifice, the Conference declared that

such a sacrifice [of Calvary] can never be repeated, but is proclaimed and set forth in the eucharistic action of the whole Church when we come to God in Christ at the Eucharist or Lord's Supper. [...] We believe also that the Eucharist is a supreme moment of prayer, because the Lord is the celebrant or minister for us at every celebration. [...] The Lord's Supper is both a verbum visibile of the divine grace, and the supreme thanksgiving of the people of God. We are throughout in the realm of Spirit. [...] The presence, which we do not try to define, is a spiritual presence.⁴²

3. The Discussion Periods

Some hints of how this report was drafted are found in the discussion periods. In the one before the first

⁴¹ Edinburgh, p. 244; Bell 1930-48, p. 266.

⁴² Edinburgh, p. 245; Bell 1930-48, p. 267.

drafting Committee had made corrections, Prof. G. Florovsky made it clear that there were "many differences and divergences in the presuppositions, both theological and historical"⁴³ in this section. Moreover, the problem of terminology⁴⁴ arose:

We had to deal with some technical terms which were imperfectly defined; for example, we were asked to vote about validity, and we do not know quite well what validity means,⁴⁵

observed Prof. Florovsky. However, an awareness of a new factor enters the history of the Faith and Order Movement. Prof. D.M. Baillie expressed it clearly:

over and over again we discovered that we could not solve our problems in these regions until we had thought more deeply upon what we mean by the Church itself. [...] I believe many of us independently were led to the conclusion that this is the fundamental question underlying our discussion.⁴⁶

Three days later, on August 16th, after the report had been revised for a second time, more discussion followed. One Presbyterian Reformed delegate declared that in this report "much less agreement was reached than in the Reports of the other sections."⁴⁷ His reason appears accurate: "Our

⁴³ Edinburgh, p. 142.

⁴⁴ Cf. supra, p. 62-63.

⁴⁵ Edinburgh, p. 142.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 136.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 165.

doctrinal conceptions are too divergent."⁴⁸ Nevertheless he concludes hopefully that "we must accept this Report as a very important step on the way to a greater unity, not as a final statement."⁴⁹

D. The Church of Christ: The Ministry⁵⁰ - Report

1. Difficulties

This section on the ministry of the Church was a particularly thorny⁵¹ one. At the end of the session on third revision, the problem of wording the Report had still not been settled, so it went back again for revision. The problem centered around the validity of orders in episcopal and non-episcopal ministries. Considerable discussion issued,⁵² with disagreements even among the Orthodox.⁵³

⁴⁸ Edinburgh, p. 165.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 166.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 245-247; Bell 1930-48, p. 267-271.

⁵¹ A part of explanation is found in the fact that the Commission's Report was issued only a short while before the Conference convened. Many apparently began their discussion without great examination of the Report (cf. Edinburgh, p. 138).

⁵² Edinburgh, p. 186-191.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 188.

2. Nature of Ministry in the Church

Nevertheless, as regards the Ministry, the members of the Conference agreed

1. The ministry was instituted by Jesus Christ [...] in the service of the Lord and Sacrament.
2. This ministry does not exclude but presupposes the "royal priesthood" to which all Christians are called as the redeemed of Jesus Christ.
3. Ordination to the ministry, according to New Testament teaching and the historic practice of the Church, is by prayer and the laying-on of hands [no hands of particular person or persons mentioned].
4. It is essential to a united Church that it should have a ministry universally recognized.⁵⁴

The Conference Report added immediately that

it must be acknowledged, however, that even in connection with these statements, different interpretations are to be reckoned with.⁵⁵

3. Apostolic Succession

Where the Report touches the question of apostolic succession, it was necessary to give the different theological positions, varying from the Orthodox position to those who retained no belief. Interestingly, the latter would accept apostolic succession if it meant

essentially, or even exclusively, the maintenance of the Apostles' witness through the true preaching of the Gospel, the right administration of the Sacraments, and the perpetuation of the Christian life in the Christian Community.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Edinburgh, p. 245; Bell 1930-48, p. 267.

⁵⁵ Edinburgh, p. 245.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 248; Bell 1930-48, p. 271.

The section concludes by affirming: "In every case Churches treasure the Apostolic Succession in which they believe."⁵⁷

E. The Church's Unity in Life and Worship - Report

The subject of intercommunion was only indirectly considered in the previous Reports. In this section of the Conference, the subject is directly brought into the Report. It is found in three divisions under the chapter titled "The Church's Unity in Life and Worship." This chapter has five subdivisions, of which three contain important material on the problem of intercommunion.

1. The Several Conceptions of Church Unity: Intercommunion

a. Introduction to Problem

The Conference has arrived at a point where the Report expresses ideas on the final objective of their ecumenical encounters. In the introduction to this section the Report states:

In trying to envisage the goal of our endeavors, we are not seeking to create something new; rather we are attempting to discover under the guidance of the Holy Spirit the full nature of the Church created by God in Christ.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Edinburgh, p. 248.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 250; Bell 1930-48, p. 271.

The Church of Christ is "one" but there exist different conceptions of that unity.⁵⁹ Some understand this unity to mean and exist in a kind of cooperative action,⁶⁰ while others understand it to mean and exist in intercommunion.

b. Difficulties

It must be recognized that at this particular moment in the history of Faith and Order little theological speculation has concentrated on the problem of intercommunion. It is not even clear what the term means, nor certain that the term is used unequivocally by all. Moreover, the theological implications of the term are still in the developing stage. Nevertheless, this Conference manifestly makes a contribution of considerable importance to the ecumenical movement in its present section.

c. The Report

The first important idea the Report expresses is that intercommunion is an "aspect" of Church unity. The Report continues:

This [intercommunion] is the fullest expression of a mutual recognition between two or more Churches. Such recognition is also manifested in the exchange

59 FO No. 85, p. 15.

60 Edinburgh, p. 251; Bell 1930-48, p. 271.

of membership and ministrations. We regard sacramental intercommunion as a necessary part of any satisfactory Church unity. Such intercommunion [...] implies that all concerned are true Churches, or true branches of the one Church.⁶¹

The Report then considers several connotations of the term and with purpose declares:

When this term "Intercommunion" is used in discussion of Church unity, its meaning should be clearly defined.⁶²

The Conference Report concludes this subdivision by noting that there is a difference between intercommunion as understood above, and the invitation to "receive the Holy Communion" on the "occasions on which a gathering of Christian people [are] united in a common enterprise."⁶³

2. Forms of Likeness Basic for Church Unity: Intercommunion

The Conference then went on to concern itself with basic forms of likeness required for Church unity. Here the Report touches on the problem of intercommunion in three locations.

a. In Faith or Confession - Report

A second important idea is revealed: "we find that essential [italics mine] unity in faith or confession is a

61 Edinburgh, p. 251.

62 Ibid., p. 252.

63 Ibid.

necessary basis for full intercommunion."⁶⁴ The Report continues by suggesting what it considers essential for "many of the Churches represented in this Conference."⁶⁵ Then follows a rather lengthy statement on the acceptance of Scripture, Apostles' and Nicene Creed and some sort of "tradition," as the expression of this essential unity.⁶⁶

b. Likeness in Sacramental Faith and Practice - Report

As regards intercommunion, the Conference approved the following statement:

(1) Some of us hold that Churches which within their own order practise the two Gospel sacraments can freely allow intercommunion between their respective members. (2) Others hold that no such intercommunion can take place until their Churches have agreed as to the validity of each other's ministrations of these, to them, essential sacraments.⁶⁷

c. Likeness of Orders - Report

Here the Conference ran into considerable controversial material. No amount of goodwill could evaporate these problems and the Conference recognized this by stating:

⁶⁴ Edinburgh, p. 253.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 254.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 255.

For full intercommunion and corporate union it will be necessary to reconcile the difference between Churches which hold (I) that a ministry in the threefold form [...] was instituted in the Church by Christ; (II) that the historic episcopate is essential for corporate [italics mine] union; (III) that a ministry was instituted by Christ in which bishops as distinct from presbyters are not essential; (IV) that no specially ordained ministry whatsoever is required by the conception of the Church.⁶⁸

In concluding this subdivision, intercommunion is not mentioned in relation to likeness in polity in Church government.

3. What Can We Do to Move Towards the Unity We Seek? - Report

In this third and final subdivision the Conference listed seventeen items. Under the title "Increase of Inter-course" intercommunion was considered as a concrete proposal in the realization of unity:

We draw attention to the multiplying examples of exchange of membership, of interchange of pulpits, and of intercommunion on the part of the different Churches in all parts of the world, and, subject to proper understanding and regulation, believe that these practices should be encouraged. When occasional communion is admitted in the practice of a Church but is not formally recognized by its law, it is desirable that, where principles permit, this apparent incongruity should be removed as soon as possible in order to avoid misunderstanding, both on the part of the recipient and of members of the communion extending the invitation. Where hesitancy still remains because of this ambiguity or for any reason, the communicants of one Church, whether ministers or laymen, should be encouraged to be present, even if they do not participate, at the sacraments

⁶⁸ Edinburgh, p. 256.

of other Churches. And such presence should be regarded as an act of common worship expressing the measure of spiritual unity already attained.

We feel moved to say in this connection that neither those who press for intercommunion nor those who feel obliged to oppose it should condemn the others but should in all ways respect one another's consciences; but all Christians should be saddened by every hindrance to the fellowship of full communion with all sincere disciples of our Lord.⁶⁹

4. Discussion on Intercommunion

The last paragraph above was the object of great discussion⁷⁰ at the last session on August 17th. The third draft contained harsh words rebuking both those who pressed for intercommunion with those whose consciences forbid, and those who show impatience with those whose loyalties hold them back from it. It was ambiguous reference to individuals or Churches. Some⁷¹ wished to delete it from the Report while others⁷² thought it expressed the ecumenical climate of the time and wanted it retained. John Mott suggested that it be withdrawn or thoroughly overhauled. The President then made the present accepted last paragraph as a suggestion, and it was agreed to, thus closing the entire discussion on this point⁷³ of intercommunion.

69 Edinburgh, p. 265-266.

70 Ibid., p. 183-184.

71 Ibid., p. 183.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid., p. 184.

F. Internal Criticism of Conference

1. The Orthodox

As seen this Conference covered a host of subjects, and was subjected to criticism from opposite theological camps. The Orthodox felt it necessary, as at Lausanne, to defend the catholic position. Archbishop Germanos read a statement for the Orthodox delegation just before the reading of the second revision of the Report, on August 16th. He was sharply critical of the Report: "We hold firmly that in religious discussions the truth is better served by making points of difference clear."⁷⁴ In regards to Section III, the Archbishop wished

to emphasize the great importance which the Orthodox Church has [...] attached to the Sacrament of Orders upon which [...] depends, of necessity, the valid rendering of all the other sacraments.⁷⁵

Passing to Report IV, he declared that the Orthodox hold

that intercommunion must be considered as the crowning act of a real and true Reunion which has already been fully achieved by fundamental agreement in the realm of Faith and Order and is not to be regarded as an instrument for Reunion.⁷⁶

Further, he stressed the necessity of accuracy in the formulation of the faith and was convinced that ambiguous and

⁷⁴ Edinburgh, p. 155.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 156.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

comprehensive expressions of the faith are of no real value "for the larger end for which they have been used."⁷⁷

2. The Protestants

On the last day of the Conference, at the final session on the ministry, a Southern Baptist, believing that "men are saved by faith in Christ Jesus without the intervention of priests, Church or sacraments"⁷⁸ saw a change in the wind and in the following statement about the Conference's Report complained that it

seems to put the Church with its sacraments between the sinner and his Saviour. I feel that the Conference more than once, while affirming belief in the grace of God, and all that implies, then thrusts the Church and its sacraments between the individual soul and its Saviour.⁷⁹

Finally, recalling the principle of "interdenominationalism," one member of the Church of Scotland declared that "no man's conscience has been challenged or rebuffed,"⁸⁰ and that they had met in a "spirit of candour and charity" never before more evident. "The air we have breathed has been untainted by the rank odour of ecclesiastical politics.

⁷⁷ Edinburgh, p. 157.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 139.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 145.

This fact we owe in no small part to the generous Christian temper of his Grace the Archbishop of York [the President, William Temple]."⁸¹

Article III

Evaluation and Criticism of Edinburgh Conference

A. Worship at Edinburgh

A committee had been appointed prior to the Conference to arrange for devotions at the Conference. The Rules of Procedure state that

besides the opening devotions provided for in the Programme, each day's work shall end with a period of devotion for the whole Conference [...]. There shall be other periods of devotion at the discretion of the Chairman [...] of any Full or Sectional Session.⁸²

The Committee had made arrangements with various delegates to conduct morning and evening devotions, leaving to the delegate the liberty to lead morning devotions according to the accustomed use of his own tradition.⁸³ As regards intercommunion,⁸⁴ the Conference followed the Lausanne

⁸¹ Edinburgh, p. 145.

⁸² Ibid., p. 59.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 23.

⁸⁴ The Executive Committee had decided at a meeting in May, 1936, that no united communion service would be held (FO No. 72, p. 9).

procedure.⁸⁵ Many were disappointed and "would have [liked] to have [had] more sharing of one another's liturgical worship at Conferences such as this [...] [although] at present there is no organization for promoting such gatherings on a large scale,"⁸⁶ the Rev. Duncan Jones is reported to have said.

A closing service was convened at St. Giles' Cathedral. It is appropriately entitled in Leonard Hodgson's Volume as "An Act of Thanksgiving." There were prayers of thanksgiving, hymns, the reading of verses 1-12 in St. John's fifteenth chapter, a period of silence, and a closing benediction.

B. Edinburgh Continuation Committee

A new Continuation Committee was appointed at Edinburgh. Archbishop Temple was retained as President, as well as Canon Hodgson as Theological and General Secretary of the Executive Committee.⁸⁷ A new task was added to their work,

⁸⁵ The Conference records note that "no meetings or services were arranged for by the Conference during the daytime on Sundays, so that members should be left free to worship in Edinburgh churches, many of which provided special services on these two Sundays" (Edinburgh, p. 77). Such services were held by the Church of Scotland at St. Giles' Cathedral, by Anglicans at St. Mary's Scottish Episcopal Cathedral, and by the Orthodox at Holy Trinity Church, Dean Bridge (Intercommunion, p. 123).

⁸⁶ Edinburgh, p. 183.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 373.

the supervision of Faith and Order's participation in the formation of the World Council of Churches. Previous to Edinburgh, a committee had been appointed to explore with the Life and Work Movement the possibilities of such a Council. They submitted their findings to the Conference at Edinburgh⁸⁸ and the Conference subsequently appointed a Committee to pursue the matter further while in session. The Committee duly reported⁸⁹ and the Conference appointed seven delegates to join with seven members of Life and Work⁹⁰ to study the problem more thoroughly.⁹¹

C. Criticism of Edinburgh Conference

1. Orthodox Criticism

Immediately after the closing of Edinburgh, many members of the Conference felt free to discuss, criticize, and comment on what they thought had transpired at Edinburgh.

⁸⁸ Edinburgh, p. 192-204.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 270-274. The Report was approved with one dissent. The Anglican Bishop of Gloucester, Headlam, after the first revision, wished to record his "opposition to the proposal for the creation of a World Council of Churches" (ibid., p. 151). Nevertheless, the official Report released to the Churches, in the 17th item listed under "What can we do to move towards the Unity we should seek?", approved in principle the proposal of formation of W.C.C. (ibid., p. 286).

⁹⁰ Called the "Committee of Fourteen" (ibid., p. 375).

⁹¹ Edinburgh, p. 274.

Professor Arseniew pointed out that the third Section on Sacraments and Ministry once more underlined the principal difference between the Orthodox and Protestant worlds.⁹² This divergence, he thought, resides moreover in the incomprehension of Protestants in regard to the charism of the priesthood and their inability to comprehend the significance of the sacerdotal gift in the eyes of others — Orthodox, Catholics and some Anglicans. This fact is significative and important in ecumenical discussions.⁹³ Finally, he defended the role of the Orthodox Church at Edinburgh as "in great part catechetical."⁹⁴

Professor Zander commented that even though Archbishop Germanos expressed dissatisfaction with the resolutions, his statement does not disparage but rather shows the insufficiency of the Report.⁹⁵ Archbishop Germanos' statement and the Greek delegation's abstention⁹⁶ from voting

⁹² N. Arseniew, "La doctrine des Sacraments," in Irénikon, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1938, p. 33-34.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ "Le rôle de l'Eglise orthodoxe dans ces réunions oecuméniques est en grande partie catéchétique: elle doit ouvrir les yeux sur la richesse fondamentale, souvent perdue de vue, surabondante de l'Eglise" (ibid., p. 30).

⁹⁵ L. Zander, "Mouvement oecuménique," in Irénikon, Vol. XIV, No. 6, 1937, p. 524.

⁹⁶ The Greeks abstained from voting as a matter of principle (ibid.).

were not considered a "contradictio."⁹⁷ But, above all, Professor Zander felt that the resolutions are not what counts, but the work that goes into them, for it is in the elaboration of the resolutions that the authentic encounter between Churches occurs. This is the reason, he says, why we must examine the discussions and various drafts of Conference to understand and appreciate the work of the Congress.⁹⁸ However, Professor Zander warns the Faith and Order Movement not to presume that all questions will be resolved by study, even profound study.⁹⁹ Such theological labor clarifies misunderstandings, and helps us to conquer prejudice, yet at the same time it cannot help but reveal the abyss which separates Christians.¹⁰⁰ He thought he

97 According to the Procedure (Edinburgh, p. 59-61), nothing would be accepted in the Report if contradicted.

98 "Ce n'est pas l'acceptation ou le rejet formel de telle ou telle résolution qui importe, mais seulement le travail réel par lui-même qui se fait pendant son élaboration. Cette élaboration s'avère extrêmement productive et utile, car là se produit la rencontre authentique des consciences ecclésiastiques, là elles apprennent à se connaître, et là se fait le processus de rapprochement mutuel ou d'éloignement. C'est pourquoi, pour comprendre et apprécier le travail du Congrès, il faut en prendre connaissance non pas avec le texte définitif des résolutions, mais avec toutes ses trois variantes, car ce sont elles qui, au prix de nombreuses corrections, additions et suppressions, donnent enfin naissance au texte définitif" (L. Zander, "Mouvement oecuménique," in Irenikon, Vol. XIV, No. 6, 1937, p. 524).

99 L. Zander, "Les impressions d'un Orthodoxe," in Les grandes Conférences oecuméniques d'Oxford et d'Edimbourg, p. 179.

100 Ibid.

discerned a certain naive Secratism in the atmosphere of the Conference: "a hope because of the vigorous study of the difficulties we could conciliate principles which, in fact, are mutually exclusive."¹⁰¹

2. Protestant Criticism

Fernand Ménégoz thought that in spite of the difference in theology, the delegates present at Edinbrough recognized no less that all types of ministry and sacramental cult were means of grace.¹⁰² He also was of the opinion that the Conference's declaration of Christ being the sole celebrant of the Sacraments paved the way for intercommunion. The two extreme positions on the eucharistic celebration: the identity of "presence" exclusively with the consecrated elements, and the psychological commemoration of the historical fact of Christ's death (the "presence" remaining still associated to the elements), could now be united in the common belief in the presence of Christ as the true celebrant of the Eucharist.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ L. Zander, "Les impressions d'un Orthodoxe," in Les grandes Conférences oecuméniques d'Oxford et d'Edimbourg, p. 179.

¹⁰² F. Ménégoz, "Réflexions sur la conférence d'Edimbourg: Les progrès réalisés," ibid., p. 162.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 163-164.

Professor Jean Cadier's remarks are particularly revealing.¹⁰⁴ Commenting on the comprehensiveness of the definition of the Eucharist, he felt that Zwinglianism, so prevalent in the Reformed Churches in France at the time, had been excluded.¹⁰⁵ He thought the Conference did not wish to go further than stating a clear belief in the real Presence. It seemed to him that the last word was in favor of the Calvinist doctrine of the spiritual but real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. He felt it was not the only time that the Conference perceived the value of Calvinist doctrine as a meeting ground for different doctrines.¹⁰⁶ Concluding his comments on the Eucharist and the Mass, he declared that the Conference remains here in accord with the positive data of the Reform.¹⁰⁷

After reflecting on the nature of ordination as seen at Edinburgh, Professor Cadier then commented on the "irritating" question of the validity of sacraments. For him, validity did not depend on the minister, who is simply obeying the order of Christ, nor on the rite observed, but solely on the will of God.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, in the last

104 Jean Cadier, "Le Ministère et les Sacrements," in Les grandes Conférences œcuméniques d'Oxford et d'Edimbourg, p. 208-214.

105 Ibid., p. 208.

106 Ibid.

107 Ibid., p. 210.

108 Ibid., p. 214.

analysis, he thought that the obstacle to Christian unity was the value of the ministry. One part of Christianity did not recognize the ministry of the other Churches, and this is what hinders intercommunion. Surreptitiously, he¹⁰⁹ deplored the fact that Edinburgh¹¹⁰ had not attempted the experiment which the Life and Work Conference had tried at Oxford, where the Archbishop of Canterbury on his own responsibility invited all the delegates to a communion service.¹¹¹

3. Roman Catholic Criticism

a. Post Edinburgh

Rev. D.C. Lialine, C.S.B.,¹¹² commenting shortly¹¹³ after the closing of the Conference, thought Professor Florovsky particularly wise to advise a serious historical study

¹⁰⁹ Each critic referred to had been a member of Edinburgh Conference.

¹¹⁰ Cf. supra, p. 82-83, for intercommunion and worship at Edinburgh.

¹¹¹ Jean Cadier, "Le Ministère et les Sacrements," in Les grandes Conférences oecuméniques d'Oxford et d'Edinburgh, p. 214.

¹¹² For excellent appraisal of Dom Lialine's ecumenical work, cf. "In Memoriam: Dom Clément Lialine (1901-1958)," in Irénikon, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1958, p. 165-182; particularly p. 169-170, for early interest in Faith and Order.

¹¹³ D.C. Lialine, C.S.B., "Chronique religieuse," in Irénikon, Vol. XIV, Nos. 4-5, 1937, p. 408.

of what the apostolic message really was, and not what the members of Edinburgh believed it to be.¹¹⁴ Dom Lialine felt the absence of accord on the necessity of the sacraments was due to the anti-sacramental attitude of the Quakers and Salvation Army.¹¹⁵ He also felt that in the discussion¹¹⁶ on intercommunion, Dr. Temple found a formula (last paragraph) which repeated the same affirmations in terms even more conciliatory than the previous ones.¹¹⁷ Dom Lialine mentioned that the Orthodox influence was felt principally in private conversations,¹¹⁸ although they did not hesitate to protest openly when certain statements about intercommunion were made in the sessions.¹¹⁹ Finally, Dom Lialine makes the refreshing remark that Edinburgh showed more unity than Lausanne and moreover manifested this unity in a way in which

114 At Edinburgh Conference, very little was said about the nature of Baptism or Tradition. Professor Florovsky openly admitted that "most of us suffer from lack of knowledge" (Edinburgh, p. 142).

115 D.C. Lialine, O.S.B., "Chronique religieuse," in Irenikon, Vol. XIV, Nos. 4-5, 1937, p. 408.

116 Cf. supra, p. 79.

117 D.C. Lialine, O.S.B., loc. cit., p. 409.

118 The Orthodox stayed together at Cowan House and evidently much tête-à-tête conversation occurred (ibid., p. 420, note 2). The whole article should be read for interesting details of Orthodox relations at the Conference. Also, cf. The Eastern Churches Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1937, p. 219-224.

119 D.C. Lialine, O.S.B., loc. cit., p. 417.

different Christian viewpoints become complementary rather than exclusive.¹²⁰

b. Twenty-five Years After

It is interesting to note twenty-five years after the Conference what Catholic theologians say about the Edinburgh Conference. Fr. Thils thinks Edinburgh remained faithful to the general ideal of Faith and Order, and that the members profited from the experience of Lausanne.¹²¹ The general tone of the Conference was dogmatic and he believes the doctrinal work constitutes a very important confirmation of Christian dogma represented at Edinburgh.¹²² Fr. Bernard Leeming, S.J., supports this by commenting that the slogan "service unites, but doctrine divides," quite popular at Lausanne, was no longer approved at Edinburgh.¹²³ The supreme importance "of facing doctrinal differences frankly was widely, if not universally, recognized."¹²⁴ Fr. Dino Bellucci, S.J., in a very recent appraisal of Unity of the

¹²⁰ D.C. Lialine, O.S.B., "Chronique religieuse," in Irenikon, Vol. XIV, Nos. 4-5, 1937, p. 240.

¹²¹ Thils, p. 63.

¹²² Ibid., p. 64.

¹²³ Bernard Leeming, S.J., The Churches and the Church, p. 62-64.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 62.

Church and World Council of Churches, thinks that Edinburgh added to the doctrine considered at Lausanne, although he remarks that the method of procedure was the same.¹²⁵

c. Personal Impressions

A Roman Catholic, unfamiliar with the present trends within Protestantism, might be surprised at the stress the Edinburgh Conference placed on the sacramental life of the Church, and particularly the quite unanimous affirmation of belief in the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist. When one is conscious of the wide variety of Protestant Churches that were present and the degree of liberty allowed among Anglicans who were there, the doctrinal content of the agreed upon statements is perhaps even more surprising. Recalling what was written above,¹²⁶ the section on the sacraments and the ministry of the Church touch upon much of the theology involved in the problem of intercommunion. Finally, it is my impression, that the members of the Edinburgh Conference considered intercommunion, although the term was at that time not very clear, more as an "aspect" of unity among

¹²⁵ Dino Bellucci, S.J., "The Unity of the Church and the W.C.C.," in Unitas [English], Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1962, p. 239-251. Fr. Bellucci's article is an ardent plea for stimulation of Roman Catholic interest in the ecumenical movement, particularly as seen in the W.C.C.

¹²⁶ Cf. supra, p. 75.

Churches rather than an emphatic manifestation of unity of "one" Church. The Edinburgh Conference did not suspect all the implications involved in the latter. It was only after more and later discussions on the nature of the Church that these implications would be revealed.

CHAPTER FOUR
OPEN STAGE
LUND CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER, 1952

Article I
Immediate Preparation for Lund¹

A. Introduction

The Edinburgh Continuation Committee² convoked its first meeting³ in August, 1938, at St. George's School, Clarens, Switzerland.

A Report of the Committee of Fourteen⁴ was presented and after considerable discussion two members of Faith and Order, Dr. Newton Flew and Dr. J.H. MacCracken, were appointed to the World Council Provisional Committee. The following year the Continuation Committee met in the same familiar surroundings and established two Theological Commissions to study Ways of worship and Intercommunion.⁵

The war years interrupted the Continuation Committee meetings and the mutual communication of many of its members.

1 For general history of preparation for Lund, cf. "Part Two: From Edinburgh to Lund," in Lund, p. 69-80.

2 Cf. supra, p. 83.

3 FO No. 91.

4 Cf. supra, p. 84.

5 FO No. 92, p. 16.

Nevertheless, the work of the theological commissions did continue in the United States, and survived somewhat in England, due to the personal efforts of Dr. Leonard Hodgson.⁶

The last meeting of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee known under that name was held at Amsterdam,⁷ in August of 1948. It was convened to officially approve the arrangements whereby Faith and Order became part of the World Council of Churches.⁸

B. Formation of Theological Commission on Intercommunion

1. History of Commission⁹

a. Introduction

The Edinburgh Conference asked the Continuation Committee to take steps to promote the study of liturgical questions by the appointment of a commission or by what other methods seemed best.¹⁰ At the 1938 meeting of Continuation Committee, the members discussed this memorandum and

6 Lund, p. 71-72.

7 Ibid., p. 74.

8 At Lund, this union will be reconsidered, and the Faith and Order Commission will be reorganized with precision in the W.C.C. Cf. Thils, p. 84-96, for greater detail.

9 Cf. "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 15-16.

10 Cf. Edinburgh, p. 261.

what to do about it. According to the minutes, in the process of discussion, Rev. James E. Hagan¹¹ prematurely said he wished:

to bring a suggestion from the Church of Scotland, that in any such study of liturgical questions a predominant place should be given to Intercommunion. In making this suggestion the Church of Scotland was animated by two motives; the first is that the scandal which is caused to Christian consciences is not so much over the existence of the various separate Churches, but over the absence of intercommunion. [...] The second point is that set before the Movement as a whole.¹²

No Committee on the Liturgy was appointed, as the members of Continuation Committee thought they were not sufficiently advanced at this stage but it was agreed that at their next Continuation Committee meeting the main business "should be to carry further the plans for the study of liturgical questions, including the problem of Intercommunion."¹³ Thus at this period, the Continuation Committee did not mention a separate Commission on Intercommunion, but saw the issue as a part of the Commission's work on Liturgy.

11 Leonard Hodgson paid tribute to Dr. Hagan at Lund by reminding the Conference that it was Dr. Hagan's sturdy courage which refused to let them rest in peace behind their cowardly evasions (Lund, p. 112).

12 FO No. 91, p. 39-40.

13 Ibid., p. 27.

b. Formation of Commission on Intercommunion

The Edinburgh World Conference on Faith and Order has supplied sufficient evidence to show the temper which excited the members of the Conference when the problem of intercommunion is raised. The issue was "packed so full of emotional dynamite that we were afraid lest poking into it should strike a spark that would blow our whole movement to pieces," observed¹⁴ Dr. Hodgson, the theological secretary. Hence, the members came to the Continuation meeting at Clarens, in 1939, somewhat anxious to face the problem of intercommunion. Dr. Hodgson promoted the idea that it would be unwise to simply attach the problem to a Commission's work on Ways of Worship. He said his chief reason for this proposal was: "a feeling that Anglican members of the Movement are in some quarters suspect of always trying to shelve this subject."¹⁵ He then suggested the formation of a "comparatively small group instructed to explore the subject [...], to produce results within two years, so that we shall not be thought continually to be evading this issue."¹⁶ The question was then discussed. The minutes of meeting include the following statement:

14 Lund, p. 112.

15 FO No. 92, p. 14.

16 Ibid., p. 14-15.

as the original mover for the inclusion of the subject of Intercommunion, he [Dr. Hagan] wished to support the proposal to have two commissions.

The minutes add that Dr. Hagan

hoped that such a Commission [Intercommunion], without in any way trampling on the principles of any Church, would be able to establish a community of principles which did not at present exist.¹⁷

It was voted unanimously to establish two Commissions, one on Ways of Worship, and the other on Intercommunion.

c. Physiognomy of Commission on Intercommunion

In the Secretary's Report¹⁸ for the period August 1939 - October 1941, reference is made to a suggestion of Dr. Hodgson that the Commission should be organized in two parallel sections, one with its headquarters in the United States and the other in Europe. The plan was approved and immediately executed in the United States. The Rev. Hugh Thomas Kerr was appointed Chairman of the United States section, which included members of the following Churches: Southern Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Northern Baptist, Disciples of Christ, Methodist, Russian Orthodox, Congregational Christian, Brethren, United Lutheran and the United Church of Canada.¹⁹ In Europe, the most that could be done,

17 FO No. 92, p. 16.

18 FO No. 96.

19 Ibid., p. 13-14.

was a circular letter sent out by Dr. Hodgson requesting information on existing rules, customs and practices concerning intercommunion. By 1943, Dr. Hodgson had heard from several Churches,²⁰ and in 1944, he produced a report²¹ from their responses.

d. Directors of the Commission

After the war, at the first meeting of the Executive Committee of Edinburgh World Conference on Faith and Order, in 1946, the members agreed that Professor Donald Baillie, of the University of St. Andrew, would be asked to be chairman of the European Section.²² At this meeting, no decision was made on what to do with the two already published²³ reports, but Dr. Hodgson was reported to have said that

it was not the task of the Faith and Order Movement to tell the Churches what they ought to do or ought not to do, but it was its task to help them to grow in mutual understanding of one another's theological principles, and hoped that the Commission on Intercommunion would direct its efforts to this end in respect of its subject.²⁴

20 FO No. 97, p. 3.

21 FO No. 99.

22 FO No. 101, p. 10.

23 The American Section report was published in 1942, as FO No. 98.

24 FO No. 101, p. 9.

The following year, Dr. John Marsh was appointed secretary to the Commission on Intercommunion. Prof. Bailie reported to the Continuation Committee that the Commission "was planning the publication of a book on the theological principles underlying the question of intercommunion."²⁵ They planned on having these principles explored by a number of essays written by Churchmen "as widely representative as possible" although they would not be asked "officially to represent their Churches."²⁶ Subsequent meetings of the Commission on Intercommunion were held at Baarn in Holland in September 1948; at Chichester, England, in July 1949; and at Bièvres, near Paris, in September 1950.²⁷

e. The Commission's Publication: The Volume Intercommunion

In 1952, prior to the Lund Conference, the Commission published the volume "Intercommunion," which contained the Commission's Report, some historical studies on the problem of intercommunion and fifteen essays by various Churchmen, the majority of whom were not actually members of Commission.

25 FO No. 102, p. 50.

26 Ibid.

27 Intercommunion, p. 16. By the autumn of 1948, the W.C.C. had been formed, and the Commission on Intercommunion became simply the Theological Commission on Intercommunion, without any reference to European and American sections (ibid.).

The Commission's Report is considered in various locations throughout this chapter and in future chapters. The second part of the volume is concerned more with the historical problem of intercommunion, starting with the Reformation and moving through the intervening centuries into the contemporary ecumenical situation, whereas the last part, the greatest section, contains the theology on intercommunion. This theology is expressed in a series of independent essays. Nevertheless, if they are read along with the Commission's Report they reveal the complexity of the problem. Some of the essayists represent highly individual positions within their own Church, while others, not writing as official representatives, attempt to explain the position of their Churches.

There are also two appendices in the volume. The first one is a survey based on the rules and customs on intercommunion as reported in Faith and Order pamphlets 98 and 99. The second, a most interesting one, describes an experimental "Agape" in an Anglican parish.

Altogether, this volume represented for the first time, the gathering together of material, much of it original, on intercommunion. Its value appears inestimable in the present ecumenical period. The Lund Report states: "This volume deserves most careful attention and should

receive earnest and sympathetic study by all our Church authorities."²⁸

2. Theological Perspectives
of the Commission on Intercommunion

a. The 1947 Clarens Meeting of the Continuation Committee²⁹

1) A Lutheran View

At this Continuation Committee meeting two papers were read. Professor Ragnar Askmark, of the Church of Sweden, considered the Lutheran view. He remarked:

the Lutheran disinclination to intercommunion was rooted in the feeling that dissensus of doctrine is the most important factor of all that severs the Churches from one another.³⁰

The disinclination did not depend "on any Lutheran rejection of the Communion of alien Churches as a Sacrament"³¹ as

everywhere where the Communion is consecrated in a Church and is distributed in conformity with Christ's Word of Institution the Lutheran Creeds recognize the sacramental character of its Communion.³²

28 Lund, p. 56.

29 As usual, the Continuation Committee meeting received progress reports of the Commissions, listened and discussed papers read by members of the Commissions.

30 FC No. 102, p. 55.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid., p. 58.

Just before this Prof. Askmark proposed that here was

a point of contact for Lutheranism's positive stand on the question of intercommunion. Everywhere, in whatever Church it might be, where Lutheranism can admit that the Word is preached "secundum Evangelium" and the Sacraments administered "secundum Christi institutionem," there is the preparation for leading into negotiations with reference to intercommunion.³³

Nevertheless, only a preparation, for Prof. Askmark observed:

the faith in what the Sacrament is and gives is the condition under which the Sacrament shall be able to exercise blessed influence upon the communicants. [...] The communicants must be instructed in the gift of the Sacrament and tried as to their faith. [...] Therefore the Augsburg Confession states: "The Body of our Lord is not usually given except to them who previously have been examined and have received absolution."³⁴

In conclusion, the Lutheran Church, according to Prof. Askmark, seems to require for intercommunion that "he who goes to the Lord's Supper must know what he there receives."³⁵

2) An Anglican View

The Rev. A.G. Hebert presented an Anglican viewpoint. He sees the problem more intimately connected with ecclesiology.³⁶ Rev. Hebert maintained: "membership in the Church

33 FO No. 102, p. 57.

34 Ibid., p. 59.

35 Ibid.

36 Cf. supra, p. 71.

cannot be regarded as of secondary importance."³⁷ He said: "the Protestant desire for intercommunion reflects an individualistic conception of the Christian faith, and one that cannot claim to be Biblical."³⁸ He remarked that the Protestant distrust of the visible Church was "valid against the mediaeval distortions of the idea of the Church, but not against the Biblical and truly Catholic idea of it."³⁹ Rev. Hebert observed:

it is clear that it is not possible for an oecumenical movement to accept general intercommunion for the simple reason that it would thereby exclude a large proportion of those who now take part in it, and so would cease to be oecumenical. [...] Therefore the Faith and Order movement appears to be bound, in the nature of the case, to refuse to accept general intercommunion. It is not that the Catholic view must be allowed to prefail over the Protestant view. It is that abstinence from intercommunion appears to be the only condition under which both sides can meet and co-operate.⁴⁰

In the final analysis he held that if general intercommunion exists

we should be doing exactly what we should do if all Christendom were reunited and the schisms ceased to exist. But the schisms do exist, and the burden of them is intolerable.

37 FO No. 102, p. 66.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., p. 67.

40 Ibid.

Rev. Hebert suggested: "It would not be truthful to seek that relief from pain,"⁴¹ by general intercommunion.

3) Discussion of Viewpoints

Dr. Zernov approved of Hebert's approach to the problem. According to the minutes of the meeting, it was recorded that Dr. Zernov, as an Orthodox:

found something unbearable in the way in which some Free Churches practised intercommunion as though they were indifferent to the fact of schism and apparently considered it not worth bothering about.⁴²

An Anglican, the Rev. Kenneth Riches thought it was clear that there were two attitudes about intercommunion within the Church of England. There were, he said:

(a) those who held that communion was only possible where it expressed the true unity of Christian people within the Church, and (b) those who regarded the act of communion as in itself effective towards unity.⁴³

He defended the former group, and supported Hebert's view that there would be "an element of untruthfulness" among those Churches that pretended by "such action" that their Churches were not divided when they were.

⁴¹ FO No. 102, p. 67. These words are a little out of context here, as Fr. Hebert was discussing intercommunion at a particular situation at their house at Kelham. Nevertheless, they appear to remain true to his general ideas on intercommunion.

⁴² Ibid., p. 72.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 74.

The minutes of meeting reveal that Professor Zander "was in doubt about whether the matter was as clear as Professor Askmark's paper seemed to make it." Continuing, the minutes report that Prof. Zander "found himself in a difficulty when Askmark tried to distinguish doctrine from order and from forms and ceremonies."⁴⁴ "Dr. Florovsky," the minutes stated, "had hesitated to speak because of the terribly complicated nature of the problem." He was concerned about the reality of schism and thought that those who abstained from intercommunion "took the fact of disunion seriously as a real and heavy burden. The whole doctrine of the Church, of the ministry, of redemption, was involved in this discussion."⁴⁵ Professor Edmund Schlink said he "thought that communion was even more open than Askmark had said." He thought the question of orders must not be considered "entirely irrelevant," but he did second Professor Askmark's belief that

the Lutheran Church recognized that, where the words of institution were duly said, whatever the belief of the people, the Body and Blood of Christ was present and was given.⁴⁶

Bishop Palmer asked "what would happen if an earnest Roman Catholic wished to receive communion in the Lutheran

⁴⁴ FO No. 102, p. 63.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 75.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

Church."⁴⁷ Professor Askmark replied, after stating that he did not intend his paper to refer to "occasional" visits by members of one Church to another, that a "Roman Catholic would, of course, be given admission to Holy Communion as an individual."⁴⁸

b. Meetings Held From 1947 to 1951

In the discussion after the reading of a Paper "Communion in Congregational Churches" at a Faith and Order Continuation Commission meeting in Baarn, Holland, in September, 1947, the Rev. Kenneth Riches is reported as having felt:

a growing impression of the need of the closest possible interchange of views between the three Commissions.⁴⁹ When they considered intercommunion by itself, their practices sometimes seemed harsh and uncharitable. But they all practised, if not intercommunion, the giving of communion in cases of need. [...] In all such cases, the sacrament was essentially a Church act and behind the practice lay the doctrine of the Church. At Amsterdam they found the deepest division there. To communicate at a Congregational Service would, for him, involve accepting a doctrine of the Church which he could not honestly do. They had to see the act of communion, in the context of the whole liturgy and the liturgy in the whole life and doctrine of the Church.⁵⁰

47 FO No. 102, p. 63.

48 Ibid., p. 64.

49 The Church, Ways of Worship, and Intercommunion.

50 FO No. 103, p. 64.

This same view is enlarged in a Faith and Order Paper published⁵¹ by Continuation Commission in 1950. Different conceptions of the Church are at the "heart of the ecumenical problem. The problem of 'intercommunion' is naturally only an extension of that central disagreement."⁵² However, "since the discussion about the Church is in a complex and fluid state, discussion of intercommunion is not tidy either." But "the problem springs from the central ecumenical paradox: we must say that we are 'united in Jesus Christ;' we cannot say that we are already 'one Church',"⁵³ the Paper reads.

In respect to terminology, the Commission realized there was confusion "springing from divergent ideas of what is the corporate relationship of Churches." This confusion about words, the Paper states,

is not surprising, nor indeed entirely unavoidable, for words are used to describe things, and when things are in a state of irrational confusion they cannot be forced into precise logical definitions without misrepresentation.⁵⁴

51 FOC No. 3. Cf. Signs and Abbreviations for meaning of FOC.

52 Ibid., p. 60.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid., p. 59.

Finally, what did the Commission on Faith and Order expect from the Theological Committee on Intercommunion?

The Commission realistically appraised as folly

to expect the Commission [on Intercommunion] to have "solved" the problem. It is already clear that only a fully united Church will "solve" the problem by abolishing the anomaly which the word "intercommunion" describes.⁵⁵

Dr. Baillie at an Executive Meeting in Clarens, in August, 1951, was reported to have said:

all that the Commission could do in its report was to clarify them [the sharp differences of opinion] for discussion at the Lund Conference. Surely they might hope and pray that that Conference would be able to give a clear lead in the direction of a solution. It was undoubtedly something for which the Christian world was waiting.⁵⁶

3. Worship at Commission Meetings

At the meeting of Continuation Committee at Clarens, in 1939, when the Commission on Intercommunion was formed, suggestions about terms of reference for the Commission were requested from the members present. Dr. Visser't Hooft, according to the minutes of meeting, discussed: "a new development called 'spiritual intercommunion,'⁵⁷ a term which he

55 FOC No. 3, p. 58.

56 FOC No. 8, p. 30.

57 Cf. O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 110. In general, the meaning conveyed is attendance without sacramental participation at a Communion Service.

disliked because it seemed to infer that real intercommunion was not spiritual."⁵⁸ To facilitate "what was to be done in the present intermediate period, especially in ecumenical gatherings" Dr. Viesser't Hooft felt that the Faith and Order Movement should examine "critically that whole proposal of 'spiritual intercommunion'."⁵⁹

The records do not reveal conclusively that during this intermediate period "real" intercommunion was actually practised by the members of the Faith and Order Commissions. At the meeting of Continuation Committee, in 1947, the minutes read: "the Rev. Kenneth Riches announced that the Anglicans present were proposing to celebrate Holy Communion each morning in the School chapel." He said: "since this meeting fell within the terms of the resolutions⁶⁰ passed by the English Bishops, members of other Churches could be welcomed to communicate."⁶¹ At an Executive Committee meeting held at Bièvres, France, in 1950, the minutes reveal:

58 FO No. 92, p. 19.

59 Ibid., p. 20.

60 The Lambeth Conference approved an Anglican "open" Communion service where there was a gathering of Christians assembled to forward the cause of unity (Intercommunion, p. 268).

61 FO No. 102, p. 6.

Archbishop Brilioth conducted a service of Holy Communion according to the rite of the Church of Sweden in which he was also the preacher. All members of the Committee were invited by the Archbishop to attend as communicants.⁶²

Thus the invitation to partake of communion is offered by Churchmen of Anglican and Lutheran convictions. The Orthodox appear to be the only exception to this procedure at the meetings of Faith and Order representatives.

C. Intercommunion at Ecumenical Conferences Prior to Lund

1. Introduction

To understand how true were Dr. Baillie's words to the Executive meeting at Clarens in 1951,⁶³ a brief examination of intercommunion at ecumenical gatherings prior to Lund is now warranted.⁶⁴ No practical problem in the ecumenical movement offered more difficulty, and no adequate solution had been found to satisfy all the various members who participated in these Congresses. The practical problem of what to do at these ecumenical meetings eventually stimulated the participants to think through more thoroughly their Church position on intercommunion. Thus a "theology

⁶² FOC No. 4, p. 16.

⁶³ Cf. supra, p. 109.

⁶⁴ Cf. supra, p. 50 and 82, for intercommunion at Lausanne and Edinburgh.

on intercommunion" at ecumenical conferences gradually developed in every organization participating in the ecumenical movement.

2. Communion and Intercommunion in W.S.C.F.

a. Theology of Federation

In the beginning, being an original child of the Protestant Evangelical Awakening,⁶⁵ worship in the Student Christian Federation remained in the old form of non-liturgical tradition. As members of non-Evangelical Churches increased in the movement, the Federation adopted the safer course at its meetings, and did not arrange for a united Communion Service, although individual ministers would often express an invitation to Communion to members other than his own denomination.⁶⁶ It was felt that "matters of Communion and intercommunion are questions of Church discipline outside the province of the World's Student Christian Federation."⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the leaders of the movement were very conscious of the problem.

A new stage of development occurred in 1935. The Federation issued a statement of policy that members of

⁶⁵ Cf. supra, p. 6.

⁶⁶ O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 108.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

different Church traditions should take the opportunity of attending each other's services, without communicating when doing so would be against the discipline of their Church.⁶⁸ In consequence of this recommendation, special arrangements for Communion Services and for non-communicating attendance were made at international meetings by the Federation's staff. It appeared that this was the only kind of plan for "ecumenical worship which truthfully reflected the actual relation of the different Churches."⁶⁹

Further developments occurred in 1948, after many objections were raised to this plan.⁷⁰ The General Committee of the Federation re-examined the policy, and subsequently removed their endorsement of non-communicating attendance at Communion Services. Not rejecting entirely intercommunion as a means of reunion, they suggested that when more than one celebration was held at a meeting, they should be held at the same hour, preceded by a service of preparation. The Federation would not arrange one common Communion Service for all.⁷¹

68 O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 110.

69 Ibid., p. 111.

70 Ibid., p. 111-112.

71 Ibid., p. 114-115.

b. The Federation's Amsterdam and Oslo Meetings

These meetings occurred respectively in 1939 and 1947, and were organized by the W.S.C.F., various youth groups and the assistance of the World Council Provisional Committee.⁷² There were four Communion Services: one according to the Reformed rite, one according to the Lutheran rite, a third according to the Anglican rite, and lastly the fourth according to the Orthodox Liturgy. At both Conferences, the host Church, alternately the Reformed and Lutheran, expressed the invitation "to all baptized and communicants members of any Church" to share in their Communion, and in both cases "the great majority of the Conference had felt able to accept the invitation."⁷³

However, at both Conferences, the intransigence of the position and the small number of Orthodox delegates being taken for granted, the Church of England deemed it necessary to remind the Conference that its Service was not an "open" Communion, and its members that they should receive Holy Communion from priests of their own Church or from priests of Churches in full Communion with it. The Anglican authorities felt that these Conferences of relatively

⁷² Cf. supra, p. 94.

⁷³ O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 128.

uninstructed youth did not fit into the category of permissible "occasional" intercommunion envisaged by the Lambeth Conferences.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Anglicans from outside the provinces of England proper, did not feel so bound by this "warning," and some, particularly "Americans, had been specifically counselled by their bishops to receive Communion at the Reformed or Lutheran services."⁷⁵ As Dr. Tomkins states:

The Anglican intransigence brought the matter into sharper focus, since most Protestants found the Orthodox minority so utterly strange in any case that their "closed Communion" was just one more incomprehensible eccentricity. It was never clearer that Anglicans provide a catalyst in this question when they do not hold an "open Communion."⁷⁶

3. Communion and Intercommunion in W.C.C., Amsterdam

a. Theology of W.C.C.

At an Executive Meeting of the Faith and Order Commission held at Clarens, in August, 1951, considerable discussion was given to a letter of Dr. Henry Van Deusen about Communion Service at ecumenical meetings. Who was responsible for sponsoring such a service, the World Council of

⁷⁴ An example, would be "unusual or extreme urgency" (Intercommunion, p. 366).

⁷⁵ O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 129.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Churches, the personal invitation of Christ, the individual Churches?⁷⁷ Thus, a year before the Amsterdam Assembly was convened, a small group was appointed to study the matter.

The Official Handbook of the Assembly states:

(1) The Assembly as such does not hold services of Holy Communion, since it is a gathering of Christians representing diverse traditions and disciplines. (2) The Committee [...] wishes to make facilities for services of Holy Communion on these two principles:

(I) that each member [...] should have the opportunity to participate as a communicant in a service of the Holy Communion;

(II) that each member [...] should have the opportunity to attend, in the fellowship of prayer, the eucharistic worship of other traditions, even though, whether by reason of his own conscience or by reason of the tradition of the Church of which he is a member or which is holding the service, he cannot participate as a communicant.⁷⁸

b. Worship at Amsterdam Assembly, 1948

As at the youth Conferences, four Communion Services were celebrated representing the majority of participants, and again the Orthodox Liturgy was "closed" and the Anglicans added in the Handbook that "it was expected that only members of Anglican Churches [...] will receive Communion at this service."⁷⁹ An interpretation of the requirements for

⁷⁷ FOC No. 8, p. 31-33.

⁷⁸ Quoted from O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 131.

⁷⁹ O.S. Tomkins, ibid.

being a communicant at this Anglican service was rendered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and similarly, the same interpretation was given as at the youth conferences. But again the interpretation could not be considered binding and "there were Anglicans, ordained and lay, who felt bound in conscience to accept the invitation of the Dutch Reformed Church if their own Communion Service was not an 'open' one."⁸⁰

The host Church of this Conference was the Reformed Church of Holland. It had the largest service of the four celebrated. It was preceded by a Service of Preparation, a Liturgy expressing the sorrow, and penitence of disunion, and the hopes of future union. The Communion Service itself, on the following day, had twelve hundred participants:

"Ten ministers from different countries and different confessions sat in turn at the Communion Table and spoke the words of institution as each group of communicants came forward. It was an impressive service, expressing the fellowship of the Church at its deepest level. For two-and-a-half hours the representatives of the Churches and nations moved in groups of one hundred to find their places at the Lord's Table. There were men and women from all corners of the world, of all races. There were archbishops and laymen, youth delegates and aged Church leaders."⁸¹

⁸⁰ O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 132.

⁸¹ Quoted from O.S. Tomkins, ibid., p. 133.

Article II

The Lund Conference

A. Introduction

The Conference opened at 8 P.M. on Friday, August 15th, with a service held in the Cathedral of Lund. There were 225 delegates representing 114 Churches, some 80 accredited visitors,⁸² as well as four observers from the Catholic Church "for the first time appointed, by due authority."⁸³ The following morning, at the Conference's general session, Dr. Newton Flew recalled the previous work of Bishop Brent and Archbishop Temple, and presented Archbishop Brilioth to the delegates as a worthy successor for the presidency of the Conference. The Archbishop was unanimously elected along with Dr. Douglas Horton as vice-president of the Conference.

The Presidential Address duly honored some of the men who had worked so diligently for the cause of Faith and Order, and then, because of a lapse of fifteen years from the Edinburgh Conference, the Archbishop considered briefly the history of Faith and Order, particularly the historical preparation for Lund. He regretted the absence of the Roman

82 Lund, p. 357-358.

83 Ibid., p. 106.

Catholic Church's active participation in the Conference, and also the unfortunate reality of few Orthodox delegates.⁸⁴ The Archbishop closed his address by accepting the fact that the members of the Conference would differ in discussion, but he trusted "that we shall feel united in our adoration."⁸⁵

Dr. Hodgson was the next person to address the Conference. He explained lucidly and pointedly the task of the Conference. His words must have had an exciting ring:

Let me make it quite clear [...] that our part [Preparatory Commissions] has been simply to prepare the way for you, the officially appointed delegates of the Churches, intelligently and efficiently to discuss the issues left over from Edinburgh. You are not called together to endorse what we, as supposedly expert theologians, have agreed that you ought to say. [...] we are [not] asking you to produce the report of this Lund Conference by revising or amending these reports of the theological commissions. It is for you to decide what method you wish to follow. You are free to write your own report de novo, recording the agreements and disagreements that you have arrived at through discussing this material together.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Lund, p. 104. The records reveal twelve Orthodox delegates who were official representatives, while several additional Orthodox were at Lund in another capacity, v.g. consultants, etc. (ibid., p. 334). See also Archbishop Athenagoras' address (ibid., p. 124) for qualifications of "Greek" delegates, and the fact that the delegates were not "to be involved in dogmatical disputes."

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 107.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 109-110.

Dr. Hodgson then went on to introduce the Reports of the three Commissions on the Church, Ways of Worship, and Intercommunion, pointing out how the three were closely connected. The experience of the last two Conferences and the work of the Commissions made it clear that "over and over again differences on this or that particular topic were rooted in different conceptions of the Church."⁸⁷ Finally, he remarked:

if, on the basis of what we have gained in the way of mutual understanding, we join together in seeking light on mysteries which are common to us all, light which, reflected back on our present distresses, may show the Churches a way forward to unity.⁸⁸

B. Procedure of Conference

The Conference was divided into several sections. Three of these sections were devoted to the Church, and one each to Ways of Worship and Intercommunion. The subjects were pondered all week and by Saturday⁸⁹ afternoon, August 23rd, the first drafts of the reports were available for study by the delegates. On Monday, in full Session, the delegates discussed the reports, and subsequently, after suggestions, the reports were presented for revision. Sectional meetings occurred again on Tuesday, and finally on

⁸⁷ Lund, p. 111.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 122.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 324.

Wednesday, August 27th, the Conference, in full Session, went over the reports for the last time and then voted⁹⁰ approval that they be sent to the Churches represented at Lund as the mind of the Conference.

C. The Conference Reports⁹¹

1. The Church

a. Introduction

The Lund Conference devoted itself principally to doctrinal matters on the nature of the Church. The sections on Ways of Worship and Intercommunion were viewed within that context. The three sections on the Church proper occupied the greater part of the Report and included the greater number of participants. Thus a great deal of discussion occurred. It was inevitable that a certain vagueness would be found in the Report. The President suggested that the procedure of the Lausanne and Edinburgh Conferences should be adopted, which was to receive the reports and recommend them to the Churches for study, rather than formally to adopt them.⁹² It was agreed to, and in this section, along with

⁹⁰ Lund, p. 325.

⁹¹ The full Report is found in Lund, p. 15-65, and extracts can be found in Bell 1948-57, p. 223-231.

⁹² Lund, p. 298.

the revision, there is a methodological difference between the preliminary drafts and the final Report on the Church. The second and third sections were combined to form one chapter entitled "Continuity and Unity." This chapter on "Continuity and Unity" is more closely related to the problem of intercommunion than the previous one on "Christ and His Church," and should be read for a fuller understanding of the problem of intercommunion.

b. The Report

The Edinburgh Conference pointed out the significance of intercommunion as an aspect of Church unity,⁹³ related both to "cooperative action" and "corporate union." This chapter on the Church's continuity and unity is extremely aware of this signification. On the very first page the Report reads:

While there are indications of diversity in worship in the New Testament, nevertheless the preaching of the Word and the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were everywhere [italics mine] marks of the Church's unity.⁹⁴

Where the Report considers the nature of schism, it stresses the obligation of Churches to seek closer organic union because of regional, historic or doctrinal reasons, not forgetting "the need for, and the possibility of, a reunion of

93 Cf. supra, p. 75.

94 Lund, p. 23.

wider scope, which may bring together those of very different spiritual heritage."⁹⁵ Again, this unity is not particularly explicit, but later on, where the Conference reports on varying degrees of recognition, it appears clear that some form of mutual recognition is what is being strived for in the Faith and Order Movement. Already "membership in the World Council of Churches implies a measure of recognition in that the Churches recognize one another as serving one Lord." The Report continues this idea of recognition:

A more general form of recognition is extended, on the other hand, by the very fact of joining, in mutual respect, for the study of differences, engaging in co-operative endeavour in Christian action and missions, and occasionally gathering in common worship. In these and other ways Christian recognize one another as belonging to the Body of Christ.⁹⁶

Previous to this statement the very fact of non-participation in sacramental life of each other's Churches was listed as a factor not expressing "full recognition." Notice, also, that reference is made to Christians, and not to Churches, as "membership in the Council does not imply that one Church must regard all other members as Churches in the full [*italics mine*] sense."

95 Lund, p. 28.

96 Ibid., p. 33.

The Report becomes more precise when it talks about the "Unity we have and the Unity we seek." They agree that there are not two Churches, "one visible and the other invisible," but there are differences of opinion about whether "doctrinal, sacramental and ministerial forms are of the essence of the Church itself," although

none [italics mine] of us looks forward to an institution with a rigid uniformity of governmental structure and all of us look forward to a time when all Christians can have unrestricted communion in Sacrament and fellowship with each other.⁹⁷

The Report then considers a series of recommendations of how all the Churches can work together, having previously declared its belief:

it is God's will that we should be united, and we see in the urgent problems and the disparate needs of the whole modern world new calls and opportunities to hear the unifying Word of God.⁹⁸

Finally, the Report summarizes by stating:

the nature of the unity towards which we are striving is that of a visible fellowship in which all members, acknowledging Jesus Christ as living Lord and Saviour, shall recognize each other as belonging to His Body, to the end that the world may believe.⁹⁹

In concluding this section, it is accurate to say that no specific union is recommended. A somewhat appended

97 Lund, p. 34.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid., p. 37.

closing paragraph on this section of the Church mentions the position of some as regards organic unity, but in a rather unbiblical way, the other group maintains. It is indeed difficult to obtain from this section any clear notions of the Church or the unity the members of the Conference seek. It does appear that a greater degree of visible unity is desired, but how this is to come about is at the moment unknown. All seem to sense the need of greater unity because of the Church's mission to the world. It is inaccurate to conclude that all are seeking a loose federation of Churches in which intercommunion would be the visible bond, though it is obvious that some in the Faith and Order Movement do not want anything but that form of union.¹⁰⁰

2. Ways of Worship

a. Introduction

This section represents the more practical view of the problem of intercommunion. The Rev. A. Marcus Ward, of the Church of South India, introducing the first report to the plenary Session, remarked:

when all is said and done, we learn the meaning of worship, not by talking with one another, or even at one another, in the conference, but by praying together.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Cf. supra, p. 59.

¹⁰¹ Lund, p. 264.

Mr. Eric Hayman, a Consultant from the Church of England, commenting on the report, declared:

Liturgy is the focal point round which ecumenical work must now move, because it is alive, and because it is totally dependent on God.¹⁰²

How true these statements are will be seen from a brief examination of the Report, and later in an examination of the Conference's "praying together."

The Report is divided into three parts, one concerned with theological factors, another with non-theological factors, and the last part contributes a series of recommendations. As with the Report on the Church, considerable discussion, particularly on the nature of sacrifice, occurred at the plenary Sessions. The report was revised, voted upon nemine contradicente, and sent to the Churches represented at Lund with the appended note:

some delegates desire that it should be made clear that the acceptance of these suggestions [...] must be subject to the provision of Church discipline and pastoral wisdom.¹⁰³

b. The Report

The Conference agreed:

the work of the Commission [...] [had] strengthened the conviction that Worship, no less than Faith and Order, is essential to the being of the Church.

¹⁰² Lund, p. 272.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 48.

It is moreover true to say that in the differing ways of worship "that disunity becomes explicit and the sense of separation most acute."¹⁰⁴ However, "we were all agreed that the issues raised take us right to the heart of the Church's witness" and in whatever way we view the Church's worship, "we are unanimous that its setting is the Church's witness to the world."¹⁰⁵ Thus worship is seen in an ecclesiastical setting and even

in private prayer, the Christian is always praying with the Church [...] [as] the worship of the congregation is [...] the basis of all private prayer and devotion.¹⁰⁶

Concentrating so heavily on the communal aspect of worship, the Conference inevitably approached the question of leadership of this worship. Here the Conference reached the same impasse as at the other Conferences. At the moment the question of ministry was classified as among the "Unsolved Problems." It recorded: "leadership of worship can on some occasions be entrusted to any member" of the people of God. However, as regards most Churches, the Conference states:

[They] believe that our Lord has called forth in His Church a stated ministry. To this ministry alone the leadership of certain acts of worship is restricted.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Lund, p. 39.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

The Report then considers the basis for this restriction and realistically admits that questions regarding "the character of the ministry, priestly and prophetic, continue to be grave obstacles to unity." Nevertheless, the questions surrounding the ministry, the Conference declares:

must be faced fully and frankly [for] fruitful discussion here may well render less intractable the differences in defining the meaning of apostolic ministry and validity.¹⁰⁸

The problem of sacrifice in connection with the Eucharist is likewise in the category of "Unsolved Problems." Nevertheless, the Conference records gratefully the measure of understanding on the nature of sacrifice reached at Lund. A more sacrificial language is now in use with the "warrant of Holy Scripture," although "the mystery of the love of God, which we celebrate at the Lord's Table, surpasses human expression."¹⁰⁹ The Report finishes this idea of sacrifice by noting:

there are some among us who regret that the discussion of the Eucharist has concentrated on this sacrificial aspect. In their opinion the main issue is the real bodily presence of the crucified and risen Lord and our receiving of His Body and Blood.¹¹⁰

Some of the best work is done where this section considered the non-theological factors in worship. The

¹⁰⁸ Lund, p. 42.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

Report is principally concerned with social and psychological factors, and the over-lapping of the two in relation to worship. Faith and culture go together but, the Conference observes:

because human beings are sinners, we have to reckon with the possibility of profound corruption [in worship]. A particular Church may unconsciously, in liturgical forms, take for granted social and political institutions which have received drastic criticism at once in theory and practice.¹¹¹

For certainly, the Report continues:

in a divided Christendom such phenomena can easily create the impression that reconciliation between Churches involves the acceptance of what belongs to the accidents of their worldly history rather than to the vital substance of their faith.

Finally the Report suggested a number of recommendations that the Churches in the World Council should consider, among which are the following pertinent ones to the problem of intercommunion:

(e) Thorough examination of the relationship between the unique sacrifice of Jesus Christ and man's response in worship and life.

(h) an examination of the existing situation in which some Churches regard the preaching of the Gospel as well as the eucharistic act as essential for worship, whereas others regard the Eucharist as by itself containing the essential elements of worship.¹¹²

The Report also suggested more practical steps, namely:

(a) The holding of inter-confessional retreats, conferences, etc. [...]

¹¹¹ Lund, p. 45.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 47.

and finally

(g) The inclusion in the teaching of worship within each communion of opportunities to attend the worship of other traditions.¹¹³

To assess briefly the work of this section on Ways of Worship is admittedly inadequate, yet, certain truths appear so evident that it would on the other hand be an injustice not to mention them. Roman Catholics are not unaware of the liturgical revival that is likewise occurring outside their Church, and it is a pleasure to note the strong emphasis placed on the "Sacrament" in communal worship. The whole section on sacrifice is

a far, far cry, from the Westminster Confession's "the Papist sacrifice of the Mass, as they call it, and most abominably injurious to Christ's one only sacrifice," and even from the Thirty-Nine Articles,¹¹⁴

even though this section recorded disagreements. The absence of discussion of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist makes the report incomplete, and finally, it seems that the Conference lost an opportunity to present to a wider public the very principles of sacramentalism so clearly exposed in the Preparatory Commission's Volume on Ways of Worship.

113 Lund, p. 48.

114 Bernard Leeming, S.J., The Churches and the Church, p. 83. This quote is out of context as it referred to the Theological Commission's Preparatory Report on Ways of Worship, but it does appear to be true also for the Lund Conference Report on Ways of Worship.

3. Intercommunion

a. Introduction

The section on Intercommunion followed the accepted procedure of the Conference.¹¹⁵ Unquestionably, the delegates who participated in this section realized the delicacy and importance of the matter. They needed no reminding that this section touched "the exposed nerves of the Churches,"¹¹⁶ but nevertheless Archbishop Brilioth realistically appraised the position of intercommunion for the delegates by remarking in his opening address:

these two reports [Ways of Worship, Intercommunion] deal with questions of the highest importance and formulate problems of burning activity in the ecumenical world. In a way, they are subsidiary to the main theme, the nature of the Church, and should be discussed with this central problem present in the minds of the sections.¹¹⁷

On the first Sunday evening, the Conference assembled in full session to hear two introductory addresses. In the second address, the Rev. Oliver Tomkins reviewed the implications of the ecumenical movement, and felt free to recall to the delegates assembled:

115 Cf. supra, p. 120.

116 Lund, p. 286.

117 Ibid., p. 102-103.

the sense of urgency with which the Theological Commission on Intercommunion did its work, and with which its report and volume have been received, are further evidence that when we touch questions of what we do in worship we are engaging with one another at a deeper level of commitment than is usually reached by discussion.¹¹⁸

The delegates were therefore psychologically as well as theologically prepared to "handle" this section. The Report issued by the Preparatory Commission on Intercommunion was a "model of clearness and conciseness."¹¹⁹ Along with the volume on Intercommunion issued by the Commission, the delegates had more than enough matter to ponder through the week. To come up with a final Report that is so orderly, in such a short period of time, attests to the laborious hours of work by the sectional meetings and the understanding of the problem by the drafting Committee.

b. Physiognomy of the Section

The section comprised forty-five delegates, four consultants and four members of the youth group. The Church of England had five delegates, Churches with some form of episcopacy had approximately twelve delegates, Churches with a Calvinist tradition had five delegates, Churches with a Lutheran tradition had seven delegates, the Methodist Church

¹¹⁸ Lund, p. 171.

¹¹⁹ Bernard Leeming, S.J., The Churches and the Church, p. 58, note 1.

had five delegates, and the remainder of the section was made up of Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Congregationalists, Moravian and the Eglise Chrétienne Missionnaire Belge.¹²⁰

Interestingly, only six delegates had been previously members of the Theological Commission on Intercommunion, along with Rev. Brandeth and Rev. Hebert, the two Anglican consultants in this section. It is also worthwhile noting that five of the members of this section had prepared articles for the volume on Intercommunion, while many other contributors were in the other sections of the Conference. Dr. E.A. Payne, a Baptist from England, was appointed Chairman, with Professors R. Hettlinger, an Anglican from Canada, and J.K.S. Reid, of the Church of Scotland, as secretaries to the section.

c. The Report on Intercommunion

1) Introduction

Immediately noticeable is the short length of the document compared to the Preparatory Report, which contained much information on the nature of the problem, the results of the Commission's work, but obviously unnecessary for inclusion in the final draft of the Lund Report. Nevertheless the Lund Report follows the overall plan of the Preparatory

¹²⁰ Lund, p. 346.

Report but in some ways it is a more readable document. The Lund Report attempts to find common ground, while the Preparatory Report records the contribution of individual Churches' position on intercommunion. Thus the Preparatory Report was indeed the perfect instrument that it was intended to be, to prepare the members of Lund to find common agreements or to discover the disagreements existing among the Churches in Faith and Order on the problem of intercommunion.

The Lund Report is divided into four principal parts, with several sub-divisions. Each part will be treated separately. The discussion in plenary sessions proved fruitful, and hence there are methodological as well as theological differences between the preliminary draft and the final Report. The drafting committee and the whole section considered carefully the suggestions and accepted those pertinent ones along with those that "served to express the intended meaning of the section more clearly."¹²¹ The President finally put the whole Report to the Conference, "which received it nemine contradicente."¹²²

¹²¹ Lund, p. 302.

¹²² Ibid., p. 303. Although the Orthodox, under the leadership of Archbishop Athenagoras, did not vote, they did take part in the discussion.

2) Part I - Introduction

a) The Report

The introduction is sub-divided into two sections: the first considers the present situation and seriousness of the problem of intercommunion, and the second is a reflection on the causes of the difficulties.

(1) Sub-division A - Present Situation (1952)

In reference to the present situation (1952) the Conference reports:

During the past fifteen years, the Churches have been drawn closer together in worship, thought and service. The urgency of making progress towards closer fellowship at the Lord's Table is very widely felt in all parts of the world.¹²³

A slight nuance is noticed in this last sentence from the earlier draft which reads:

As a consequence, the necessity of making progress towards closer fellowship at the Lord's Table has grown in urgency.¹²⁴

The position of the Orthodox Church is then clearly stated:

In their view the observance of Holy Communion is an act of the Church as One Body. It cannot properly be celebrated as a joint act of bodies which in their church life and doctrine are

¹²³ Lund, p. 49.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 276.

separated from each other. [...] so far as the Orthodox are concerned the question of intercommunion as ordinarily understood does not exist.¹²⁵

This paragraph is an addition to preliminary draft, and important for the understanding of Orthodox position in World Council.

The Report then logically declares that intercommunion is a problem for those Churches "which are able to envisage sacramental fellowship without complete organic union." How serious are the issues at stake? The Report answers:

(1) This new mutual commitment [in World Council] raises ever more sharply the question of what justification remains for continuing in division at the Lord's Table. (2) New factors [new missionary opportunities, persecution and war, etc.] in the present historical situation demand that any barriers to fellowship which are not based on fundamental divergences of faith and order should be removed as speedily as possible. (3) The ultimate urgency comes from our Lord's call to us. [...] Christ's followers stand under the imperative of his prayer that they all may be one. They are bound to work and pray to overcome whatever separates them from one another in the sacrament of Holy Communion.¹²⁶

The second point of the preceding statement appears to be a broader view than the original draft where reference is made only to "fellowship in communion," if "communion" is interpreted here pertinent to Lord's Supper.

¹²⁵ Lund, p. 49.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 49-50.

The final Report adds a closing paragraph to section "A", a little more expanded than the original, which emphasizes the urgency for some of the problem of intercommunion. Division at the Lord's Table hinders the full enjoyment and expression of "unity which has been given us in Christ." Nevertheless, the Report continues:

there should be no move toward intercommunion which would treat our differences superficially or would use intercommunion as a means of by-passing difficulties.¹²⁷

(2) Sub-division B - Causes of Difficulty

What is the source of most of the difficulty, what hinders the Churches from uniting at the Lord's Table? The Report answers:

It is not a question merely of human pride and stubbornness [...] [rather] the difficulties arise from profoundly held differences of conviction about the nature of the Church and of the sacraments. These cause grief and perplexity to us all. The achievement of full sacramental fellowship depends, in part at least, upon fuller agreement in these matters.¹²⁸

The introduction closes by recalling the "painful nature of the problem" as some of the members could not "conscientiously participate" in Open Communion services on "occasions of ecumenical fellowship in this central act of the

¹²⁷ Lund, p. 50.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 50-51.

Church's worship," and, more hopefully, declares "that we see more clearly the issues at stake" even though the solution is not yet rendered.¹²⁹

b) Discussion

Very little critical discussion is recorded about the Introduction to the Report. One member thought there was contradiction between the closing paragraph of section "A" and a later part of the Report and suggested that the latter be removed. Dr. Robert Nelson wished a note added as early as possible in the Report explaining that Baptist use the term "ordinance" rather than "sacrament." One member appreciated the inclusion of new factors as an issue at stake in the seriousness of the problem of intercommunion.

c) Conclusions

The introduction visualizes intercommunion without "complete" organic union. Intercommunion does not exclude some "form" of organic union, but no attempt is made here to explore what such a "form" of organic union would be like.¹³⁰ The introduction sees the joining together in the World Council as a further influence on those who wish intercommunion with each other, obviously to the exclusion of the

¹²⁹ Lund, p. 51.

¹³⁰ Cf. supra, p. 124.

Orthodox Church. Here, and later in the document in more explicit terms, intercommunion between Churches without doctrinal differences is greatly desired. What kind of unity is expressed by two Churches in intercommunion, as for example between Old Catholics and the Churches of the Anglican Communion? Archbishop Rinkel in the discussion period pointed out that this meant far more than mutual open communion, but said no more. Is it a "form" of organic unity? Can two separate Churches be organically united? Finally, is the term "organic" an expression of visible or invisible unity, or of both at the same time? These same questions will be developed at another time.

3) Part II - Terminology

a) The Report

The Conference recognized the need for an accurate terminology in ecumenical discussion. It also realized that the various relationships between Churches made it difficult to find an unambiguous language acceptable to all Churches. Nevertheless the importance of their purpose and the pressing need of conversation, after reminding the reader "that none of the relationships described below can be regarded as the fulfilment of that complete unity which we believe to be

God's will for his Church,"¹³¹ moved the section to advise the following terms:

(1) Full Communion: where Churches in doctrinal agreement, or of the same confessional family, allow communicant members freely to communicate at the altars of each, and where there is freedom of ministers to officiate sacramentally in either Church [...] "families" of Churches, respectively.

(2) Intercommunion and Intercelebration: where two Churches not of the same confessional family, by agreement allow communicant members freely to communicate at the altars of each, and where there is freedom of ministers to officiate sacramentally in either Church, e.g., Lutheran and Reformed Churches in France.

(3) Intercommunion: where two Churches, not of the same confessional family, by agreement allow communicant members freely to communicate at the altars of each.

(4) Open Communion: where a Church on principle invites members of other Churches to receive communion when they are present at its communion services.

(5) Mutual Open Communion: where two or more Churches on principle invite each other's members and the members are free to accept the invitation. This does not necessarily involve intercelebration.

(6) Limited Open Communion (Communion by Economy or Dispensation): the admission of members of other Churches not in full communion or intercommunion to the Sacrament in cases of emergency or in other special circumstances.

(7) Closed Communion: where a Church limits participation in the Lord's Supper to its own members.¹³²

b) Discussion

Reference has already been made to Archbishop Rinkel's comment about intercommunion between some Anglican Churches and the Old Catholic Church, but just previous to

¹³¹ Lund, p. 51.

¹³² Ibid., p. 52.

this discussion the present Archbishop of Canterbury defended the definitions given in the report and explained the distinctions intended by them.

c) Conclusions

For the sake of accuracy it should be noted with the Report that the above categories are not all mutually exclusive, and likewise with the Report that the relations at the time between the Church of South India and the Church of England constituted a special case of intercommunion and intercelebration "involving certain specific limitations."¹³³

The terminology appears adequate and justified. The term intercommunion becomes nonsensical where "complete unity" exists, and the Report duly but indirectly recognizes this truth. A close inspection of the language used in each category reveals the important nuances necessary for ecumenical discussion, v.g., in number (1) and number (2) the "not of the same family" makes considerable difference, or in (3) and (4) "by agreement" and "on principle" cover a broad history of theology.

¹³³ Cf. Lambeth Conference 1958, Part 2, p. 23, for further development.

4) Part III - The Ordering of the Lord's Table

This part is sub-divided into three sections: the first registers the agreements, the second considers the disagreements, and the third lists the recommendations of the Conference.

a) Sub-division A - Agreements

(1) The Report

The Conference is agreed:

the Table is the Lord's and that He gives Himself to us in the sacrament of Holy Communion.

The Report states:

we¹³⁴ should be able to partake as brethren in the family of God at one Table.

The Conference is further agreed that

the responsibility for the due ordering of the Table in the name of Christ has been committed to the Church, [and] the formulation of regulations for admission to the Table, is carried out by the several Churches.

Withholding the sacrament "has a grave responsibility before God." The invitation in those Churches practising Open Communion "is not to be interpreted as applying to the unbelieving or the unprepared."¹³⁵

¹³⁴ It is not evident whether "we" refers to individual Christians, or to Churches.

¹³⁵ Lund, p. 53.

The Report says very little about the nature of the Eucharist, although it specifically includes here a short paragraph that reiterates a common teaching:

We are agreed in recognising the administration of the Lord's Supper in the divided Churches, when controlled by the words of institution, as real means of grace through which Christ gives Himself to those who in faith receive the appointed elements of bread and wine.

However, in the following paragraph, the Conference does record:

the Churches have progressed towards unity in their understanding of the theological interpretation of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and we believe that agreement in this field is in fact greater than commonly appears. We have studied with satisfaction the statement of doctrine contained in the Report of the preparatory Commission [...] and believe that the great majority of our Churches are able to accept it in this slightly amended form: This dominical sacrament [...] is: (a) a memorial of Christ's incarnation and earthly ministry, of His death and resurrection; (b) a sacrament in which He is truly present to give Himself to us, uniting us to Himself, to his eternal Sacrifice, and to one another; and (c) eschatologically, an anticipation of our fellowship with Christ in His eternal Kingdom.¹³⁶

The corresponding section in the preparatory Report reads:

this dominical sacrament is everywhere controlled by the words of the institution, and is everywhere a memorial of Christ's death and a Sacrament of His Body and Blood in which He is truly present to give Himself to us, uniting us to Himself and to His eternal sacrifice.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Lund, p. 53-54.

¹³⁷ FCC No. 5, p. 29-30.

(2) Discussion

No actual discussion is recorded in respect to this section. Interestingly, the area of difficulty is the same as in the section on Ways of Worship, namely the notion of sacrifice. Professor Torrance considered the word "unity" as the key-word in sacrifice and that the idea of eschatological union was likewise important. Both ideas are incorporated in the final Report in the section on Ways of Worship and Intercommunion.

(3) Conclusions

This section in the original draft was rather short. Some disorder existed between the sub-divisions of the section, but the final Report has emerged orderly and clearly. The idea that in a divided Christendom, it is the duty of separate Churches to formulate regulations for admission to the Eucharist was long overdue. Nevertheless this will not deter the Conference from making suggestions about communion at ecumenical gatherings and other occasions.

b) Sub-division B - Disagreements

(1) The Report

The Conference recorded differences:

as to the right or responsibility of a Church to refuse admission to the Lord's Table to members of other Churches, or to restrain its own members from participating in the sacraments of another Church, on the grounds of divergence in faith or order.

(1) The majority [*italics mine*] of us, without for a moment losing sight of the ultimate goal of full unity, believe that there already exists among the members of the World Council of Churches such a fundamental unity as to justify, or indeed require, joint participation at the Lord's Supper. Those who hold this view would express their position thus: [the example of the experience of South India before union]. Intercommunion is not a substitute for reunion. It is not an end in itself. [...] Intercommunion must be agreed upon [...] on the basis of a common life in Christ, sufficient to preclude any unreality in the practice of intercommunion. [...] when thus agreed without sacrifice of principle, [intercommunion] may properly and beneficially precede reunion.

Where there still cannot be any formal relationship of intercommunion there should be an extension of the practice of open communion services on special occasions and in special circumstances.

(2) Others, without questioning the reality of our present unity, believe that fellowship in the Sacrament rightly exists only where there is fuller agreement in doctrine, a mutually acceptable ministry, or organic unity of church life.¹³⁸

The Conference then records certain Lutherans and some Anglicans as among this second group, noting that in cases of urgent need, with the exception of Orthodox Church, no members of World Council would refuse the Eucharist to each other.

138 Lund, p. 54-55.

(2) Discussion

Considerable discussion occurred over this section. In the original draft there were altogether five principal parts. The fourth one was entitled "The Way Forward?" and it is in this location that the above section is found. In the original draft a note was appended explaining a Lutheran position. This proved unsatisfactory to some Anglicans and even the title was objected to by some members, as they felt it was not a way forward since Lutherans, Anglicans and Orthodox were to be found in opposition to it. Thus, the whole section was re-ordered, the fourth part is now incorporated into this present third section and a particular reference is now made to include the following:

many Anglicans, in accordance with the statement of the Lambeth Conference, 1930, would hold that "intercommunion should be the goal of, rather than a means to, the restoration of unity."

Nevertheless, the Lund volume records that the Rev. D.T. Niles in the discussion period

spoke of the great value of paragraph B in Part IV,¹³⁹ as lying in the fact that at last the majority had been allowed to state their conviction with the goodwill of the minority.¹⁴⁰

139 Cf. supra, p. 145.

140 Lund, p. 285.

(3) Conclusions

It is in this section that one of the practical problems of intercommunion faces the ecumenical movement. Is intercommunion the goal or the means of reunion? Depending on the answer one gives to this question, will follow the attitude one takes toward Communion at ecumenical meetings, the next practical problem the delegates were soon to face.

c) Sub-division C - Recommendations

(1) The Report

The Conference, before making any recommendations, admitted:

differences in practice and theology do not here correspond exactly with denominational or confessional boundaries. In certain Churches there is acute division of opinion on these issues. We have not been able to resolve the differences and tensions that exist among us.

The Report calls for careful attention and a sympathetic study by all Churches of the volume Intercommunion, which discusses the problem of intercommunion from varying points of view.

The discussions at Lund lead the Conference to recommend:

(1) All Churches should re-examine their ways of ordering and administering the Lord's Supper with a view to discovering whether there is or can be agreement with regard to the basic requirements from communicants. Greater thought and care on this matter by all Churches might well pave the way for closer agreement, and help towards relationships of intercommunion where these do not at present exist.

(2) All Churches should give attention to the relationships of their theology and practice of Baptism to their theology and practice of the Lord's Supper.

(3) Churches which require full doctrinal agreement prior to communion fellowship and Churches which require episcopal ordination as the test of a valid sacrament should carefully re-examine their practice in the light of exceptions which are already customary by way of Limited Open Communion, or Communion by Economy or Dispensation.

(4) Churches which practise Mutual Open Communion should seriously examine the objections to the practice urged on grounds both of doctrine and order. They should ask themselves whether they could not and should not move on towards a closer relationship of visible unity, in view of the relationship of the Sacrament to the wholeness of the Church.

Finally, the Report closes this section by expressing their "deep disappointment and concern that there is not a larger measure of agreement among us."¹⁴¹

(2) Discussion

Attention has already been called to the methodological difference in this part in the original draft and in the final Report.¹⁴² These suggestions in the original draft were proposed for the "careful consideration of the

¹⁴¹ Lund, p. 56-57.

¹⁴² Cf. supra, p. 146.

Churches," while in the final Report they are now listed as recommendations.

(3) Conclusions

The second recommendation was long overdue. The Edinburgh Conference had little to say about Baptism, and when one thinks of the prestigious position of lay priesthood in Protestantism, the neglect of this Sacrament in Faith and Order Conferences is incomprehensible. This advice was well taken as in 1960 the World Council's Commission on Faith and Order produced a valuable document "One Lord One Baptism," on the meaning of Baptism.¹⁴³

The last recommendation, implicit throughout most of the document, is an explicit "plea" for closer visible unity among Churches with similar understanding of doctrine and similar order. Catholics familiar with the ecumenical movement are not unaware of the great strides being made on this recommendation all over the Christian world.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ The first part of this work is on the Trinity and the Unity of the Church. The American Edition can be obtained from the Augsburg Publishing House, Minn., 15, Minnesota.

¹⁴⁴ One of the duties of Faith and Order is to bring to the attention of member Churches what is going on in the work toward visible unity. The Ecumenical Review faithfully publishes its findings.

5) Part IV - Communion Services at Ecumenical Gatherings

a) The Report

This part opens with an introduction to the problem. By the time the Lund Conference convened, the ecumenical movement had grown in numbers and stature. The problem was more acute than ever. When the members came together to study common problems for days and weeks at a time, their "life and worship together are not complete unless they can have the fellowship of the Lord's Table."¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the ecumenical movement is comparatively young to their separations, and the Lund Conference recognized "that we are only at the beginning of the consideration of this problem and do not yet realise all its implications."¹⁴⁶

The Report introduced the recommendations by stating:

when all members are not able to meet at the Lord's Table, no service which is held can be regarded as the communion service of the Conference. For such difficult situations we wish to make the following recommendations:

(1) There should always be a united service of preparation for Holy Communion with special emphasis on the note of penitence for our separation from each other

(2) There should be opportunity for communion services at such times as will make it possible for every member of the conference to receive communion somewhere without violation of his own conscience or disloyalty to his Church tradition. These should be held at different times.

¹⁴⁵ Lund, p. 57.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

(3) Open communion services [...] for the many who desire such services and are free to partake. Such services should where possible be held on the invitation of the local church or churches which sanction such services.

(4) At conferences held at places remote from local churches, or in ecumenical institutions, similar arrangements may be made within the conference or community. The celebrant in each case should be a minister, who will celebrate according to the order of his own Church, and issue such an invitation as he is authorized to give.

(5) It is important that those who cannot partake at a particular communion service should be invited to attend the service as worshippers, though they cannot receive communion.¹⁴⁷

The entire Report on Intercommunion then reminds the members that these recommendations do not solve the practical problems which arise "from the as yet unresolved divergences in the doctrine of the Church." The Report closes recommending

in particular further careful study of the principles underlying procedure at ecumenical conferences and institutions should be undertaken by the newly appointed Faith and Order Commission.¹⁴⁸

b) Discussion

This part promoted considerable discussion between those who did not want the recommendations as a section in the Report and those who did so. The latter prevailed with a rider for further study suggested by Dr. Visser't Hooft added to the recommendations.

¹⁴⁷ Lund, p. 58.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 59.

c) Conclusions

In the original draft presented to the full Conference for discussion, the fourth (4) recommendation included the words "a minister who, as a minister of the Church Universal, will celebrate etc." Archbishop Ramsey suggested the phrase needed further examination, as it implied an ecclesiology which would not be universally held in the World Council. So far, the Archbishop said, the World Council had succeeded in avoiding making such presuppositions. As noticed, in the approved and final Report the phrase is omitted. Nevertheless, in a preceding opening paragraph¹⁴⁹ to this section, the Conference did not hesitate, irrespective of ecumenical meetings, to say:

whereever a minister celebrates, his action involves the implicit claim that he does so as a minister of the Church Universal.

The same substantial idea appears present and likewise appears to be in open contradiction to what Archbishop Ramsey had to say about the language of the World Council.

D. The Conference Worship

1. Daily Worship

The regular daily worship in the Cathedral comprised a short morning service, led by delegates each according to

¹⁴⁹ Lund, p. 57.

his own tradition. The evening prayers in the Cathedral took the form either of Compline or of a time of free prayer led by a delegate.¹⁵⁰

2. Sunday Worship

a. Service of Preparation

Frère Max Thurian tells us that the Conference itself, in order to avoid any painful discussion on intercommunion, did not organize a eucharistic service.¹⁵¹ However, the suggestion of the Theological Commission's Report on Intercommunion, that a joint service of preparation should be provided,¹⁵² was adopted by the Conference Committee on Worship. The service was held in the cathedral on Saturday evening, August 16th. All the members appeared to have taken part, including the Orthodox. The sermon was preached by Professor Donald Baillie, the Chairman of the defunct Intercommunion Commission. Dr. Baillie's words were particularly appropriate but also a vivid reminder to some of the impossibility of fulfillment when he spoke of coming tomorrow "to God's heavenly altar, we shall compass it as a people, a

¹⁵⁰ Lund, p. 93.

¹⁵¹ Cf. the article on Lund Conference in Verbum Caro, 1952, Vol. VI, Nos. 21-24, p. 128.

¹⁵² FOG No. 5, p. 28.

kingdom of priests, to make our corporate sacrifice of thanksgiving to God."¹⁵³

b. Sunday, August 17th

There was no program arranged for Sunday, although the Handbook contained an announcement of welcome to the members of the Conference to a service of High Mass and Communion to be held in the Cathedral by the Church of Sweden.

The Cathedral, the Lund volume states:

was packed with a vast congregation, and very large numbers, including the great majority of the Conference delegates received the Holy Communion.

Rev. Tomkins adds:

It is clear from subsequent comments that the service made a very deep impression, and for all present, whether conscientiously able to be communicants or not, it became one of the supreme memories of the conference period.¹⁵⁴

c. Sunday, August 24th

In the morning, the delegates worshipped where they felt free to go. Many attended the Cathedral services "where, as in other churches of the city, the preacher of the day was a conference delegate."¹⁵⁵ In the afternoon

¹⁵³ Lund, p. 143.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 144-145.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 287.

there was a youth Rally addressed by several Conference delegates. In the evening, the Conference held an official prayer service at the Cathedral, for which their Majesties the King and Queen of Sweden were present, and in which a variety of faiths were actively represented including once again the Orthodox.

3. The Closing Service

The Lund volume simply states that after the hymn "Thine is the glory" was sung, Dr. Douglas Horton preached the sermon, followed by a collect, the Lord's Prayer, a Lesson, from John 15, 1-8, and then the form of the Methodist Covenant Service was conducted by Rev. Oliver Tomkins.¹⁵⁶

E. Evaluation and Criticism of Lund Conference

1. Introduction

An appendix to the Lund volume shows how widely the press covered this Conference.¹⁵⁷ A special Press and Publicity Committee had been appointed to disseminate information. Reading over the Committee's Report, the realization of the Conference's importance becomes more dramatic. Although there is no indication of a Catholic press reporter

¹⁵⁶ Lund, p. 316.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 352-356.

having been present, the significance of the Conference did not escape the ecumenical minded reviews and periodicals. The Ecumenical Review, the organ of World Council, published a summary of these "Roman Catholic Voices" and considered most of the reports objective.¹⁵⁸

The material on the Lund Conference is abundant and readily available. Thus, the evaluation and criticism is confined to a few brief sample remarks on intercommunion from Roman Catholic and Protestant sources, and a few personal observations. The sentiments of the members at the Conference, representing the Orthodox, Anglican and Protestants are sufficiently evident.

2. Protestant Views¹⁵⁹

a. Disciples of Christ¹⁶⁰

The only answer Lund could give was a clear statement of the opposing views. We agree with those who advocate the fellowship of Christians at the Lord's Table, regardless of traditional doctrine, even though we are not unaware of the

¹⁵⁸ Cf. "Roman Catholic Voices on the Lund Conference," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. V, No. 3, April, 1953, p. 294-298.

¹⁵⁹ In 1957, FOC No. 24 was published, which contained the responses of the Churches to the Lund Report.

¹⁶⁰ On page 2 of FOC No. 24, entitled "Status of Responses," the following statement concerning Disciples of Christ is found: "As free people, Disciples of Christ have no way of making a deliverance which is strictly official, much less binding upon any who are in our communion."

implications involved in such a procedure. Christ's invitation must be heard above our human attempts to speak and to decide for him,¹⁶¹

declares the response of the Disciples, which was widely circulated and commented upon by the heads of their Seminaries.

b. Lutheran¹⁶²

The American Lutheran Church responded that "the most neuralgic point is intercommunion." The Response felt there was "tremendous pressure being exerted in the direction of establishing and justifying the practice of intercommunion." The Response declared "that we do not regard holy communion as a means to an end."¹⁶³

c. Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

This response continued the difficulty connected with the nature of sacrifice:

¹⁶¹ FOC No. 24, p. 43.

¹⁶² The Lutheran Response was drafted by Julius Bodensiock, a delegate at Lund, on the basis of a few letters he had received and on his own personal observations. No evidence that this response was approved other than by the author could be found. He says: "Whether the report [Response] here given really represents the thinking of the entire American Lutheran Church is open to question" (ibid., p. 3).

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 45.

The expression "uniting us to his eternal sacrifice" would not be accepted by our Church. The sacrifice of Christ was an event in history. Our participation is not in that sacrifice but in its benefits.¹⁶⁴

This response was prepared by a committee and approved by the Permanent Commission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.¹⁶⁵

d. Congregational

The Congregational Union of England and Wales, in a statement prepared by John Marsh, thought the term "Full Communion" conflicted with their own use of it "to express the status of those who accept and enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of communicant membership of our Churches."¹⁶⁶

3. Anglican View

Finally, the Church of England, in a response whose responsibility is vague,¹⁶⁷ declared:

our practice and our pronouncements can appear to conflict with one another, and other Churches are uncertain which they must take as fundamental in determining our attitude to them.

164 FOC No. 24, p. 41.

165 Ibid., p. 2.

166 Ibid., p. 45.

167 Ibid., p. 3.

The Response thought the cause of unity would be greatly served if

the Church of England were to issue an official statement of the theological grounds on which its present practice is based,

for in the final analysis, the Response states:

the World Council of Churches can offer no guidance that does not ultimately derive from the rulings of the Churches themselves.¹⁶⁸

4. Roman Catholic Views

a. "Documentation Catholique"

This Journal thought that the Report on Intercommunion was heart-breaking. It observed that everywhere through the Report, one finds qualities of noble and pious Christians trapped with a problem which sincerely bothers them, but which is in its present status insoluble. Mutually respectful, they wish for a miracle, which is what it would require, that would unite them all around Christ's altar, while remaining true to their faith and with a clear conscience,¹⁶⁹ remarks Documentation Catholique.

This Journal also thought that the Report used the expression intercommunion in the classical sense of a common participation in the Eucharist. This is the only theological

¹⁶⁸ FOC No. 24, p. 48-49.

¹⁶⁹ Documentation Catholique, 1952, col. 1259, § 5.

connotation which the word really presumes, as the Church is constituted by Christians reunited around the Lord's Table. Finally, the problem of intercommunion is thus situated at the heart of ecclesiology, whether Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant,¹⁷⁰ declares Documentation Catholique.

b. "Irénikon"

Dom Lialine's remarks on the section on Intercommunion were brief but to the point. He summarized the problem up to the time of Lund by declaring simply that the "Catholic-protestant" opposition had been the resisting force to the practice of intercommunion. He saw in Lund a kind of "transconfessional" experience permeating the Conference. He questioned the influence of this experience on the practice of intercommunion. Will not the practice of intercommunion eventually be considered the form of Church Unity? This would fulfill the perfect reciprocal recognition of Churches which was missing in the heart of the World Council. Thus, the problem of intercommunion is resolved, for, as far as concerns the Eucharist itself, it is total Communion, that is, a participation without restriction in the same sacrament. Dom Lialine closed his remarks on intercommunion by saying that some members of the Anglican Church, the

¹⁷⁰ Documentation Catholique, 1952, col. 1264, § 7.

Church of South India, and many others were the precursors of this view.¹⁷¹

c. Personal Observations

There is a striking note of urgency in the intercommunion Report. This is found at the beginning and leaves a deep impression throughout the Report, to the point where one feels, although the overall Report is fair to the convictions of all member Churches of the World Council of Churches, that intercommunion is the desirable thing in Faith and Order as a preparation for Church reunion. Secondly, although the Report does not exclusively relate the term intercommunion to the Eucharist, it does appear to be the predominant connotation. I wonder if this will not hinder fruitful discussion with the Orthodox and other Eastern Churches, if Faith and Order should continue to use the term intercommunion in this restricted way. The example of Anglican and Orthodox conversations in the past tends to confirm this hypothesis.

Finally, the difficult situation which arises at ecumenical gatherings seems on the way to a solution. The Lund Report fully recognized that until all members of such gatherings can meet at the Lord's Table, no service should

¹⁷¹ D.C. Lialine, O.S.B., "Lund 1952," in Irenikon, Vol. XXVI (1953), p. 279.

be regarded as the communion service of the Conference. To be realistic to the present ecumenical situation, the Conference, I feel, should have recommended not only an open communion service but also a communion service of a Church which cannot in conviction invite other Church members to its altar. The other alternative, complete eucharistic abstinence, neither meets the minds of most members of Faith and Order, nor the actual ecumenical situation. However, even if all members could meet at the same altar at a Faith and Order or ecumenical conference, can one say that such a service could be called the service of the Conference? Some interesting implications of the ecclesiastical status of the sponsoring agent of such a service might arise!

SECOND PART
THEOLOGY OF INTERCOMMUNION
IN FAITH AND ORDER

INTRODUCTION

It is seen from the previous chapters that the issue of intercommunion in the Faith and Order movement arose from different theological perspectives of a wide variety of Churches. From the undercurrents of Lausanne to the formal consideration of Lund, the problem of intercommunion has taxed the members of Faith and Order. The Lund Conference evidently did not completely solve the question. Suggestions, both speculative and practical, were recommended by the Conference. Recognition that the problem, in practice, "arises from the as yet unreconciled divergences in the doctrine of the Church" and that "doctrinal as well as practical issues must be further explored,"¹ challenges theologians in the ecumenical movement to penetrate more profoundly the fundamental theological issues that are involved in the problem of intercommunion.

Prior to the Lund Conference, the problem of intercommunion was generally considered from the sacramental point of view. The realization that the sacramental perspective involves also the ecclesiological becomes more

1 Lund, p. 58-59.

dominant at Lund.² With this in mind, this second part now considers how the Lutheran, Reformed (Calvinistic), Anglican and Orthodox Communion, in the light of their theology of the Church and sacraments, have shaped the Faith and Order position on intercommunion. A concluding chapter situates some developing Roman Catholic perspectives on intercommunion in relation to the Faith and Order dialogue.

2 Lund, p. 53-54.

CHAPTER FIVE
PROTESTANTISM AND INTERCOMMUNION

Article 1

Lutheran Theology

A. Nature of the Church

1. Introduction

Unquestionably, the problem of intercommunion, according to Dr. Leonard Hodgson, "arises in a Christendom divided into a number of 'Churches'" and "were this not so, were we really one Church, there would be no need of the prefix inter-."¹ In a sense, a Lutheran would agree with this, yet in another sense, he would disagree with these ideas. That there exist "denominations related to one another somewhat after the manner of sovereign independent states"² he would have no quarrel, but that these "Churches" are not "one" would excite reservations in a Lutheran.

Professor Martin Heineken, of the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia, writing recently, insisted:

the "oneness" of the Church is an enduring fact. There never was, or will be, or can be more than one Church. The "oneness" of the Church is not something

¹ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 18.

² Ibid.

still to be achieved; it is not a goal to be reached; it is a present fact, of which we can only become aware, and in which we can only rejoice.³

Consequently, the Lutheran understanding of the nature of the Church is important for the explanation of its position on intercommunion, for, if the Lutheran, as Professor Heineken claims, sees only the problem of "awareness" of the unity of the Church, he thus has no problem of a de facto division of Churches, and in truth, as we shall observe, the problem of intercommunion loses its strict ecclesiological significance for the Lutheran. Nevertheless, Lutheran ecclesiology, somewhat different from the teaching of other members of Faith and Order, should be briefly examined to understand how the problem of intercommunion is not positioned in this particular locus.

2. Notes on Luther's Doctrine of the Church

From the beginning of his "revolution," Luther insisted vigorously on the reality of the Church here below, but he divorced the visibility of its nature⁴ from the very essence of the Church.⁵ Luther, writes A.J. Mason:

3 Martin J. Heineken, "The Congregation of Word and Sacrament," in The Unity We Seek, edited by W.S. Morris, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1962, p. 130.

4 Cf. La Guillou, Vol. II, p. 201-203.

5 Y. Congar, in Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Eglise (Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1950), explores the reasons which led Luther to make this divorce. Cf. particularly p. 219-222.

was the first to whom the contrast between the two things became a religious certainty. No one before Luther had been able to emancipate himself in conscience from the visible Church. Until his time the opposition between the true Church of Christ and the corporate society did not exist, so far as the practical life of Christendom was concerned.⁶

As early as 1521 Luther wrote:

Who will show us this Church, since it is hidden in the spirit and only a matter of faith when we pray: "I believe in the holy Christian Church, etc."⁷

What then constitutes the Church? Luther answers:

The Church does not constitute the Word, but is constituted by the Word. A sure sign, by which we may know where [*italics mine*] the Church is, is the Word of God.⁸

In 1523, writing to the Bohemian Christians, Luther encouraged them not to doubt that the Church of God was among them, irrespective of their separation from Rome, "even if there are only ten or six who have the Word."⁹ In 1528, Luther emphasized his idea of the unity of the Church by professing his belief that

6 A.J. Mason, "Conceptions of the Church in Early Times," in Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry, edited by H.B. Swete, London, Macmillan and Co., 1918, p. 10. Prof. Mason points out that Tertullian's concept of Church fell short of Luther's idea "inasmuch as the Montanist Church was not a purely invisible union, the very existence of which was a matter of faith, and whose members were known only to God" (*ibid.*, p. 28).

7 The Misuse of the Mass (1521), English Translation, Luther's Works, American Edition, Phil., Muhlenberg Press, Vol. 36, 1959, p. 144.

8 Ibid., p. 145.

9 Concerning the Ministry (1523), Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 40, 1958, p. 42.

there is one holy Christian Church on earth i.e. the community or number or assembly of all Christians in the world, the one bride of Christ, and his spiritual body of which he is the only head.¹⁰

Finally, Luther's sermon at Leipzig in 1539, a few years before his death, fervently summarizes his belief:

What the true Church does and directs is done and directed by God. [...] Here we agree with the papists that there is one Christian church; but Christ wants to be everywhere in the land.¹¹

Luther then rhetorically asks what the dissension between the papists and the reformers consists in, and answers:

"about the true Christian church."¹² In short, Luther says:

The Lord Christ and the pope each have their own church, but with this mighty difference which Christ himself, the best dialectician, here describes, telling us what it is and where it is, namely, where his Word is purely preached. So where you hear this, there you may know that this is the true Church. For where the Word of God is not present, there also are no true-believing confessors and martyrs.¹³

¹⁰ Confession Concerning Christ's Supper (1528), Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 37, 1961, p. 367.

¹¹ Sermon in Castle Fleissenburg, Leipzig (1539), Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 51, 1959, p. 305.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 309.

Concluding this brief survey of Luther's view of the Church, the Augsburg Confession¹⁴ faithfully echoing Luther's teaching,¹⁵ professes:

the Church is the Congregation of saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered.¹⁶

3. Observations from Contemporary Lutheran Ecclesiology

Luther's theology of the Church appears to have guided present day Lutheran theologians with few

14 Concerning Lutheran "confessions" Professor Heineken says: "These confessions are taken seriously, and subscription to them is more than a passing state. The nature of this subscription must, however, be properly understood. In the first place, the confessions make themselves subservient to the witness of the Scriptures. The Scriptures remain the norma normans, the norm which does the norming; while the confessions are the norma normata, the norm which has been normed by the Scriptures. They are accepted, therefore, as 'true witnesses to the gospel'.

"In the second place, the confessions are recognized as historical documents, in address to an immediate situation, and they must always be understood in the light of that situation. They demand a clear either-or; one stands either with the Lutherans or with their opponents on the issues as then presented and discussed" ("The Congregation of Word and Sacrament," in The Unity We Seek, p. 129).

15 The Augsburg Confession "was prepared, on the basis of previous drafts, and with conscientious care, by Philip Melancthon, at the request and in the name of the Lutheran states, during the months of April, May, and June, 1530, at Coburg and Augsburg, with the full approval of Luther" (Philip Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, New York, Harper & Brothers, 6th rev. ed., Vol. I, 1931, p. 225-226).

16 "Est autem Ecclesia congregatio Sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur Sacramenta" (Philip Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, Vol. III, p. 11).

exceptions.¹⁷ Almost word for word, a Lutheran rejoices in repeating that the Church of Christ is true to Christ's foundation where and when the Word of God is rightly taught and the sacraments rightly administered. For instance, Ragnar Askmark¹⁸ speaking on the theological principles of intercommunion from the Lutheran viewpoint says:

that a Church must be organized and built in a certain way in order to be the Church of Christ, the Lutherans cannot allow. That a Church must have bishops, presbyters and deacons which, for instance, the Anglicans feel in order that it should be a correctly built Church in conformity with the Scriptures and the tradition, the Lutherans must deny, for the very reason that they deny the propriety of the strong Calvinist doctrine that bishops with spiritual power over the pastors stand against the order of Christ [...]. An Episcopal Church can be a true church of Christ and a non-episcopal likewise.¹⁹

In the papers presented to the Theological Commission on the Church appointed by the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh World Conference on Faith and Order, Professor Edmund Schlink reiterates Luther's thoughts:

Where the Gospel is purely preached and the sacraments administered in accordance with the Gospel, there we have in the most proper sense the reality of the ecclesia proprie dicta, of the fellowship of true believers, even if we cannot distinguish them individually from the ecclesia large dicta, the merely external community.

¹⁷ Cf. J. Robert Nelson, The Realm of Redemption, London, The Epworth Press, 1962, 5th ed., p. 160-187. Dr. Nelson was secretary from 1953-1957 of Christian Unity Committee of Faith and Order.

¹⁸ Cf. supra, p. 111.

¹⁹ FO No. 102, p. 60.

In this sense, Professor Schlink observes:

the true Church, even though concealed among the large number of hypocrites, is visible for faith on earth.²⁰

Finally, Professor Martin Heinecken remarks:

the doctrine of the Church is only a further amplification of the articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae, the article by which the Church will stand or fall: "justification by grace alone, for Christ's sake, through faith unto good works."²¹

The Church is not, therefore, to be understood, Professor Heinecken says:

in terms of a local congregation, that is, of an organized institution. To be sure, any assembly of believers is fully the church in the sense that it needs no supplementation from elsewhere. The assembly of believers exists where the Gospel is proclaimed and Christ is present and active in that proclamation. [...] Here is contained the refutation of the Roman hierarchical conception of the church. "Where the bishop is, there is the church." Here, on the contrary, it is asserted, "Where Christ is, there is the church" — fully; Christ's presence needs no supplementation from any ecclesiastical headquarters.²²

Concluding, Professor Heinecken observes:

from this basic position no Lutheran is willing to budge. [...] Nor can an external hierarchy guarantee the presence of this gospel. This is what Luther had learned that bishops [...] could go counter to the Gospel, and that, therefore, the church is

20 The Nature of the Church, edited by R. Newton Flew, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1952, p. 65.

21 Martin J. Heinecken, "The Congregation of Word and Sacrament," in The Unity We Seek, p. 130.

22 Ibid., p. 132.

and can be only where the Gospel is rightly proclaimed and the sacraments administered in accordance with it.²³

4. Conclusions

From the Lutheran viewpoint, the doctrine of the Church does not include the notion of ecclesiastical order implying a special power over other sacraments, and thus as such this particular problem of Orders for some other Churches in Faith and Order is no problem for the Lutheran. If one accepts the basic Lutheran premise that the Church is constituted by the proclamation of the Word and the right administration of the sacraments, then it appears logical to conclude that Anglican Orders or any other Orders are not what is important, but the integrity of the Gospel "message" is what counts in the problem of "reunion" of Churches around the altar, i.e., intercommunion is not a matter of validity of orders, but of a consensus of the Gospel meaning of "Communion" itself.²⁴ As Professor Askmark declared to the Continuation Committee in 1947:

The way to intercommunion must go via a renewal of consensus of the doctrine of Communion. For consensus de administratione sacramentorum is part of consensus de doctrina.²⁵

23 Martin J. Heineken, "The Congregation of Word and Sacrament," in The Unity We Seek, p. 134.

24 Cf. FO No. 102, p. 52.

25 Ibid.

which seems to me to represent the majority of Lutheran feelings. Some Anglicans, and all Orthodox would agree with these statements, but they would also include the idea of "orders" as being fundamentally within the very structure of the Church, and thus of divine institution, and consequently necessary for the "right administration of sacraments."

B. Nature of Sacraments

1. Introduction

"From the Lutheran viewpoint the unifying act is consensus in doctrina, the Church-splitting factor is dissensus in doctrina"²⁶ remarked Prof. Askmark at the Faith and Order Continuation Committee Meeting in 1947. The problem of intercommunion for Lutherans hinges, according to Askmark, fundamentally on a consensus in doctrine on the sacrament of the Eucharist. Prof. Askmark's statement appears to be in agreement with the Augsburg Confession, which states:

"Unto the true unity of the Church, it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere."²⁷

26 Cf. FO No. 102, p. 52.

27 "Et ad veram unitatem Ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et administratione Sacramentorum. Nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas, seu ritus aut ceremonias, ab hominibus institutas" (Philip Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, Vol. III, p. 11-12).

Consequently, some notion of Luther's views on the sacraments in general and the Eucharist in particular, and some observations on this Sacrament from present day Lutheran theologians will illustrate a few ideas, about which some Lutherans have made it known to Faith and Order they wish greater consensus before they are willing to practice general intercommunion in the present ecumenical situation.

2. Notes on Luther's Doctrine of the Sacraments in General

Luther held that the sacraments of the New Law do not differ from those of the Old Law:

in the effectiveness of their signs. For in this respect they are the same. The same God who now saves us by baptism and the bread, saved Abel by his sacrifice, Noah by the rainbow.²⁸

In what does the efficacy of the Sacraments consist? Luther's answer is: "in faith itself." Thus, Luther writes:

it is not baptism that justifies or benefits anyone, but it is faith in that word of promise to which baptism is added. This faith justifies, and fulfills that which baptism signifies.²⁹

This apparent attack on the traditional teaching of the Church on the efficacy of the sacraments is immediately followed by the statement that the sacraments can be called

²⁸ The Babylonian Captivity of the Church (1520), Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 36, 1959, p. 65.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 66.

effective "in the sense that they certainly and effectively impart grace where faith is unmistakably present."³⁰ Luther still remains true to his original premise of the work of faith, for a little later on he explains:

the sacraments do what they do not by their own power, but by the power of faith, without which they do nothing at all.³¹

The sacraments are thus seen as a kind of divine testament attached to God's promise. Ultimately, man contributes nothing to this testament, as even the faith man professes in the Word, Luther said, "is a work of God, not of man."³² The sacraments exist then not so much as causes of justification or the increase of grace, but rather as signs of certitude of Christ's promise of salvation.³³

3. Notes on Luther's Doctrine of the Eucharist

Through his entire life, Luther adhered firmly to the belief in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. His understanding of this doctrine conflicted often with the teaching of the other Reformers and the Roman Catholic Church. In the first works of Luther, he hesitates to explore this

³⁰ The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 36, 1959, p. 66.

³¹ Ibid., p. 74.

³² Ibid., p. 62.

³³ Cf. The Misuse of the Mass, ibid., p. 174.

doctrine and is content to say simply that he "cannot fathom how the bread is the body of Christ."³⁴ He does not believe that transubstantiation is necessary for the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. What is important is to cling simply to Christ's words, "which", Luther remarks, "I will allow no violence to be done by petty human arguments, nor will I allow them to be twisted into meanings which are foreign to them."³⁵

Later, Luther explains that the object of faith is not so much the Sacrament as the words of the Sacrament that feed our faith.³⁶ Yet, again, Luther says:

We must understand that it is not the words which we speak that draws him down. They have been given to us rather to assure us, that we may know we shall certainly find him.³⁷

Thus neither faith in the words of consecration, nor the words themselves account for the presence of Christ. Once the act is placed in conformity with Scriptural teaching, which includes the words of Christ, by repeating these words faith is assured that Christ is present i.e. the very repetition of the act as Christ commanded and to which Christ

³⁴ The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 36, 1959, p. 34.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

³⁶ Cf. The Adoration of the Sacrament (1523), ibid., p. 296.

³⁷ The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ -- Against the Fanatics (1526), ibid., p. 342.

attached his presence at the last supper is what guarantees the real presence of Christ. Thus no problem of validity in orders is encountered by Luther. The strong emphasis on the belief of what Christ commanded and accomplished is what matters.

Luther has little to say about the traditional concept of the Eucharist as a sacrament of unity. He sees the Eucharist more as a personal issue. "Each person must have his own faith in this promise [Eucharist] and be convinced in his own heart that it will come to him as God has promised"³⁸ Luther writes in 1521. In 1526, Luther, comparing a sermon to the Eucharist, places more emphasis on the communal aspect of the sermon. He writes:

When I distribute the sacrament, I designate it for the individual who is receiving it [...] in the sermon one does not point out or portray any particular person, but in the sacrament it is given to you and to me in particular, so that the sermon comes to be our own.³⁹

4. Notes on Luther's Doctrine of the Mass

Faith and Order has rightly seen the intimate relationship of the problem of intercommunion with the question of worship in Christian Communion. The controversial

³⁸ The Misuse of the Mass, Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 36, 1959, p. 178.

³⁹ The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ — Against the Fanatics, Ibid., p. 348.

notion of sacrifice, both at Edinburgh and Lund, made up a considerable part of the preparatory and formal discussion of the meaning of worship. It seems evident that a consensus of doctrine on the notion of sacrifice and worship is as important as the consensus of doctrine on the Eucharist itself.

From his first writings, Luther clearly took a position:

to be brief and to the point, we must let the Mass be a sacrament and testament; it is not and cannot be a sacrifice any more than the other sacraments are sacrifices.⁴⁰

Thus, from the beginning of the Reformation, Luther excised what he believed to be the work of man, the sacrifice of the mass.

The Eucharist, for Luther, remains solely a sacrament. Luther admitted when he wrote in 1520 that "few, however, understand the mass in this way."⁴¹ It is true, Luther said that man must offer sacrifice, but the offering of Christ as sacrifice is accomplished by Christ "himself for us in heaven and ourselves with him."⁴² What man offers is himself, his praise and thanksgiving by which man moves Christ in heaven to intercede for us at the throne of the

⁴⁰ Treatise on the New Testament that is the Holy Mass (1520), Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 35, 1960, p. 97.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 100.

⁴² Ibid., p. 99.

Father.⁴³ In this respect, man's sacrifice is an adjunct to the Eucharist, for such a sacrifice, Luther says, occurs "apart from the Mass and should so occur."⁴⁴ Yet, Luther continues:

it is more precious, more appropriate, more mighty, and also more acceptable when it takes place with the multitude and in the assembly, where men encourage, move, and inflame one another to press close to God.⁴⁵

Hence, the Eucharist, and the assembly in which it is celebrated was commanded by Christ principally to enkindle in one another faith, and as Luther says "to move each other to the increase of this faith."⁴⁶

Thus, Luther's concept of sacrifice logically omits the necessity of hierarchical priesthood with valid orders. As Luther says: "All Christian men are priests, all women priestesses. Here there is no difference, unless faith be unequal."⁴⁷ In Luther's idea, the Christian act of offering sacrifice belongs to each baptized member of the Church in his own right.

⁴³ Cf. Treatise on the New Testament that is the Holy Mass, Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 35, 1960, p. 100-101.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 96.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 104.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

5. Observations from Contemporary Lutheran Doctrine of the Eucharist

As to the nature of the Eucharist, Pehr Edwall, of the Church of Sweden, in the volume Ways of Worship⁴⁸ prepared by the Faith and Order Commission for the Lund Conference, indicates what he thinks is the present Lutheran position. He says:

The view of the Eucharist expressed in theology and preaching is marked by the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence — the sacramental presence of Christ "in with and under" the Bread and Wine. This leaves room, however, for a variety of interpretations — from the purely symbolical to the romanising.⁴⁹

Herbert Goltzen, in the same volume, expresses his opinion about the present Lutheran position. He writes:

She [Lutheran Church] firmly maintains that, according to His promise, the Lord Himself gives His effective presence in the proclamation of the active

⁴⁸ When the Commission on Intercommunion was first discussed (cf. supra, p. 107-108), it was not thought of as separate from the Commission on Ways of Worship. This latter Commission submitted its Report (a remarkable document for a Roman Catholic to read who is unfamiliar with the renewal of liturgy outside his own Communion although even greater strides have been made since then), which contains, along with articles from other Communions, four essays on Ways of Worship by European Lutherans, and as such would probably articulate a more avant-garde theology. Nevertheless, it is not inaccurate to suggest that the European influence has touched Lutherans in other continents (cf. Michael J. Taylor, S.J., The Protestant Liturgical Renewal, Westminster, The Newman Press, 1963).

⁴⁹ Pastor Pehr Edwall, "The Elements of Liturgy," in Ways of Worship, edited by Pehr Edwall, Eric Hayman, and William D. Maxwell, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1951, p. 102.

Word, and in the sacramental activities of the Church, for the salvation of the believer and the judgement of the wicked,⁵⁰

a faithful echo of Luther.

The Council of the German Evangelical Church and the Conference of Churches received on July 25, 1958 a group of eight theses formulated and adopted by a commission on the conversation concerning Holy Communion in the German Evangelical Church. The fourth thesis proposes:

the words spoken by Our Lord Jesus Christ when He offered the bread and wine tell us what He himself gives in this Supper to all who participate in it: He, the crucified and risen Lord, permits us to participate, with the bread and the wine, in His body and His blood given for all, thus enabling us through the Holy Spirit to share in the victory of His Lordship, so that through faith in His promise we may receive forgiveness of sins, life and bliss.⁵¹

Dr. Anders Nygren noticed some change from Luther's well known expression of Christ's presence in the Eucharist in this fourth thesis. Dr. Nygren writes:

We notice here that the well-known expression of Luther in, mit und unter has been avoided and been replaced by the more indefinite "with the bread and wine."

Dr. Nygren continues his observations:

⁵⁰ Pastor Herbert Goltzen, "The Elements of Liturgy," in Ways of Worship, p. 98.

⁵¹ "Report on the Conversation concerning Holy Communion in the German Evangelical Church," in The Ecumenical Review, vol. XI, No. 2, 1959, p. 190.

It is a pity to use such general and indefinite expressions when it can be said with such definite clarity. It is a general characteristic of Christ's presence, whether in the word or in the Sacraments, that he is present in, with and under ordinary human elements.⁵²

6. Observations
from Contemporary Lutheran Doctrine of the Mass

William Stahlin, in Ways of Worship, candidly writes:

the fact that Luther in his "German Mass" radically eliminated all parts of the traditional order of the Mass which contained the conception of sacrifice has had great influence. Since then the Lutheran Church has shown an almost ineradicable suspicion concerning the very idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist.

He goes on to explain the reason why:

for fear that the emphasis on man's sacrificial activity might obscure the exclusiveness of the divine gift of grace which we human beings can only gratefully receive and accept.⁵³

Yet, Bishop Stahlin adds:

In present discussion amongst Lutheran theologians in Germany there are not a few who demand the re-institution of sacrifice to its due place within Christian worship.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, Bishop Stahlin says:

⁵² "Reflections on the 'Report on the Conversation Concerning Holy Communion in the Evangelical Church in Germany'," Part II, "Remarks on the 'Report'," by Anders Nygren, in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XI, No. 4, 1959, p. 429.

⁵³ The Rt. Rev. Wilhelm Stahlin, "The Inner Meanings of Word and Sacrament," in Ways of Worship, p. 213.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

it would be a contradiction to the tradition of the Reformation to call a pastor a "priest", not even in his liturgical activity.⁵⁵

Clearly, the nature of the relation of Eucharist to the Sacrifice of Calvary in the Communion Service is presently in the thinking of Lutherans in a state of flux. Pastor Herbert Goltzen writes in the same volume:

Discussions are still going on as to whether the break in the sequence of the eucharistic prayers could be bridged again with prayers expressing the old anamnesis and the epiclesis in a way acceptable to the evangelical understanding of Christ's death upon the cross and His Presence at the Communion.

At the same time parallel theological and liturgical discussions on the eucharistic prayers in the North American Lutheran churches show that we are confronting new problems in the doctrine and practice of the Holy Supper which have not yet found a generally acknowledged answer.⁵⁶

7. Conclusions

The Eucharist, as Sacrament, is still generally considered, according to the evidence we have seen, by the majority of Lutherans to be the Sacrament of the Real Presence of Christ "in with and under" the bread and wine. Evidently, Lutherans are not however in agreement in the interpretation of this familiar Lutheran phrase. On the other hand, indications of the testimony of Lutheran theologians witnessed

⁵⁵ The Rt. Rev. Wilhelm Stahlin, "The Inner Meanings of Word and Sacrament," in Ways of Worship, p. 214.

⁵⁶ Pastor Herbert Goltzen, "The Elements of Liturgy," ibid., p. 91.

in Faith and Order documents leads me to conclude that from the point of view of the Eucharist as sacrifice, Lutherans believe that the Eucharist is at most a mere commemorative repast.⁵⁷ In the words of St. Peter, they would be called to "offer spiritual sacrifices" (1 Peter, 2:5); or with St. Paul, they are exhorted to present "their bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God" (Rom. 12:1). As Rev. Paul Palmer, S.J., says: "All Christians without distinction would be priests, but they would be priests only of an intimate and personal cult."⁵⁸ Thus present Lutherans adhere strongly to Luther's principle: "Faith alone is the true priestly office. It permits no one else to take its place."⁵⁹ Dr. Robert Nelson reminds us of this realization when he says: "that individualism is still a strong factor in Protestant faith and that it has far reaching influence upon our idea of salvation."⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Cf. "Worship in the Light of Protestant Theology," by Edmund Schlink, in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1961, p. 141-152. Professor Schlink's address was given at the World Eucharistic Congress held in Munich in 1960. His statement that "the Christian act of worship is not a sacrifice made by men to God; it is the sacrifice-of-atonement made by Christ once and for all time, which the congregation accepts in faith and praise," succinctly draws up Lutheran teaching in the mid-twentieth century.

⁵⁸ Paul F. Palmer, S.J., "The Lay Priesthood: Real or Metaphorical," in Theological Studies, Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1947, p. 574.

⁵⁹ Treatise on the New Testament that is the Holy Mass, Luther's Works, American Edition, Vol. 35, 1960, p. 101.

⁶⁰ J. Robert Nelson, The Realm of Redemption, p. 174.

C. Lutherans and Intercommunion in Faith and Order

1. Introduction

Roman Catholics ought to keep in mind that Lutheranism has a variety of government throughout the world. Some Lutheran Churches have bishops claiming apostolic succession, while others have only "pastors." Some Lutheran Churches are more ecumenical while others preserve a strict "synodal" existence. No one Lutheran Church can speak for all Lutheran Churches, nor does a particular Lutheran Church necessarily always speak the mind of an individual member. Evidence of disagreement among Lutheran Churches seems to have prevailed since the Reformation, the problem of intercommunion being no exception. Thus, in the words of the Lund Conference, "certain Lutheran Churches" are "unable to practice intercommunion,"⁶¹ while obviously certain others are able. Nevertheless, within those Lutheran Churches which are unable to practice intercommunion, evidence will show that individual members will occasionally approach the altar of another Church.

61 Lund, p. 55.

2. Intercommunion Prior to Lund Conference⁶²

Luther D. Reed, who was responsible for the statement on intercommunion in the Report of the American Section of the Commission on Intercommunion,⁶³ says:

"Recognizing the representative and confessional character of the Lord's Supper, he [the Lutheran] deems it best not to participate in the Sacraments in other Churches or to invite communicants of other Churches to his own altar."⁶⁴

The Faith and Order Intercommunion Commission report goes a little further than this statement. Concerning

"some Lutheran circles," the report says, "it is held that any extensive practice of intercommunion between separated Churches which differ in order or doctrine would, however well intentioned, imply a disrespect for truth and indeed for the sacrament itself, and would even be a betrayal of the ultimate hope of reunion."⁶⁵

The Intercommunion report makes it evident that for certain Lutherans even the open communion service at ecumenical gatherings is a shallow pretence of a real "koinonia." Such common participation is an artificial and dishonest

⁶² Cf. supra, p. 111-112, for remarks of Prof. Askmark to Faith and Order Continuation Committee Meeting in 1947.

⁶³ This was published in 1942, and a note on page 2 reads: "Nothing in this report, save as quoted in authoritative formularies, has official endorsement of the Church represented" (FO No. 98, p. 2).

⁶⁴ FO No. 98, p. 65.

⁶⁵ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 23-24.

compromise, because what they as Lutherans believe is so different from what Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists believe, the report declares.⁶⁶

The Intercommunion report then states:

"Lutherans in general lay great stress on doctrine as the basis of the unity of the Church, and upon agreement in doctrine as the true basis of intercommunion. And, in particular, they are greatly concerned for the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper in its distinction from the Reformed or Calvinist doctrine. To a Lutheran it is vital to believe that, in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Body and Blood of Christ are really present 'in, with and under' the elements of bread and wine. Lutherans, however, do not all lay the same amount of stress upon the doctrinal difference at this point, and therefore there are considerable differences of practice in the Lutheran Churches in the matter of intercommunion with other Protestant Churches."⁶⁷

The report makes it clear that this statement is particularly true as regards Lutheran and Reformed Churches on the European Continent, a fact easily verified by studying the historical situation of intercommunion solely in Germany.⁶⁸

On the North American Continent, the divisions between Lutherans and other Protestant Communion seem to be more clear-cut. Nevertheless, Dr. Reed's statement to the Faith and Order Intercommunion inquiry recognizes that some

⁶⁶ Cf. "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 28.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Cf. William Niesel, "Intercommunion in the German Evangelical Church," ibid., p. 281-288.

Lutherans and other Protestants are closer in fundamentals than at first suspected. The statement reads in part:

some of us are nearer substantial agreement in fundamentals than we have supposed, and that intercommunion between representatives of certain groups may be encouraged, if agreeable to individual consciences, at least on special occasions. Meanwhile sincerity and courtesy will be best expressed by each Communion regulating its own life with full respect for the beliefs and usages of others. Indiscriminate intercommunion without real inner unity will lead to superficiality and sentimentality.⁶⁹

Finally, Rev. O.S. Tomkins, discussing the general pattern of intercommunion in the World Council of Churches, remarks:

there are greater difficulties for Lutherans to attend a Reformed service than vice-versa, since at Amsterdam in 1939 and 1948, when the host Church, being Reformed, issued an open invitation, there was a Lutheran service.⁷⁰

However, according to William Niesel: "some leading Lutherans took part in the Reformed celebration of Holy Communion,"⁷¹ at Amsterdam in 1948.

3. Intercommunion in Lund Conference

The Lund Report on intercommunion, as seen, fully recognized that this problem arose from profoundly held

⁶⁹ FO No. 98, p. 65.

⁷⁰ O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 132.

⁷¹ William Niesel, "Intercommunion in the German Evangelical Church," ibid., p. 287.

differences of conviction about the nature of the Church and of the sacraments. It seems to me that the Report fairly estimates the Lutheran position where it states that full sacramental fellowship depends upon fuller agreement in these matters. In the discussion of terminology, mention is made explicitly to the agreement of intercommunion and intercelebration between Lutheran and Reformed Churches in France.

Further on, the Report states:

"Certain Lutheran Churches, maintaining that fellowship in the Lord's Supper depends upon the unity of the Church, and that such unity only exists where there is agreement in the proclamation of the Gospel, are unable to practice intercommunion where this would imply that the doctrine of the real presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, in, with, and under the elements of bread and wine is false or unimportant."⁷²

Immediately following, the Report declares that no member Church of World Council, except the Greek Orthodox, would deny the Eucharist to members of other Churches in cases of urgent need.

On the other hand, it would not seem inaccurate to state that certain Lutherans would be identified with the majority view in Faith and Order. For them, there already "exists among the members of the World Council of Churches such a fundamental unity as to justify, or indeed require,

⁷² Lund, p. 55.

joint participation at the Lord's Table."⁷³ These Lutherans who hold this view would adhere to the convictions on intercommunion expressed at Lund. Ultimately, for them, as the Lund Report states: "the practice of intercommunion with all its difficulties, appears to be a valuable way forward."⁷⁴ The Intercommunion Commission report makes this view even more explicit. It declares:

"there are some, especially among Lutherans, who believe that the Lord's Supper is supremely a means of the forgiveness of sins. Thus they believe that the inherently sinful situation of our division will never be overcome without the grace of common forgiveness which the sharing together in the Lord's Supper would bring. In this sense, unity as love is the fruit of the Holy Communion."⁷⁵

4. Conclusions

According to Faith and Order documents, some Lutherans view intercommunion, understood as open communion, even though convinced of a fundamental unity among Churches, as a betrayal of the ultimate hope of reunion, whereas others, with the same understanding of intercommunion, view it as a step and preparation for the reunion of Churches.⁷⁶ Almost

⁷³ Lund, p. 54.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 55.

⁷⁵ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 25.

⁷⁶ Cf. ibid., p. 23-25.

all appear to agree that on special occasions, such as at ecumenical gatherings, a Lutheran Church may express an invitation to "baptized and communicant members of Churches [...] who wish to receive the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁷⁷ Such actions appear to be an exception to the general practice of Lutheran Churches. Any further agreement on intercommunion would have to be based on a fuller consensus of doctrine and particularly the doctrine of Eucharist.

This Lutheran insistence on doctrine wins the sympathy of Roman Catholics. We cannot but encourage this continued approach in the ecumenical dialogue within Faith and Order, or in negotiations between Lutherans and other Communion. Primary concern for truth above pragmatic considerations has generally characterized Lutheran conversations. The Lutherans look for a solid doctrinal foundation and appear to be slower than many other members of Faith and Order in entering some form of intercommunion with other Churches. From the Lutheran viewpoint, however, once a consensus on the doctrine of Holy Communion has been reached, intercommunion always remains a possibility.

One result of the Lutheran Church's participation in Faith and Order and in their negotiations with other

⁷⁷ O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 132.

Churches on intercommunion, must be a Lutheran realization that many Churches are unwilling to surrender their understanding and practice of episcopacy. The example of the Lutheran conversations with Church of South India points out that episcopacy, with its implication of government and "validity" of orders, is a part of the problem of intercommunion for many Churches. Lutheran insistence that no form of government is required in the Church makes it difficult to see how Lutherans could establish intercommunion with Episcopal Churches that held Episcopacy as of the "esse" of the Church.

Finally, even though a consensus of doctrine could be reached, Lutheranism remains a strongly "confessional" Church. The evidence seen tends to indicate that for most Lutherans intercommunion is an "occasional" act, or remains the goal of the reunion of Churches, when it is no longer intercommunion but simply "communion."

Article II

Reformed (Calvinistic) Theology

A. Nature of the Church

1. Notes on Calvin's Doctrine of the Church

John Calvin, the spiritual father of Reformed Theology, in the beginning, adhered strictly to Luther's ecclesiological principle. Calvin says:

there can be no doubting that there is the Church, wherever we find the Word of God preached and heard in its purity, the sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ.⁷⁸

Likewise, for Calvin, there are no "churches" but only a "universal" Church, which, he says:

is the whole multitude which agrees in the truth of God and in the doctrine of the Word, whatever the diversity of nation, or distance of region, as long as they are united by the bond of religion. The Churches which are distributed in each city and village make up this universal Church in such a way that each has the title and authority of the Church.⁷⁹

Calvin's ecclesiology, at this point, evidently in agreement with Luther's, appears to present no problem of intercommunion for Protestant Churches. Calvin would admit that non-Reformed Churches, provided they agreed "in the

⁷⁸ Jean Calvin, *Institution Chrétienne*, Genève, Labor et Fides, 1958, éd. nouv., IV, 1, 9.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

truth of the Word," would belong to the Universal Church. Thus, intercommunion would logically be encouraged by Calvin.

For Calvin, however, the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments are certain signs "by which the Church is evidently recognizable as to the naked eye."⁸⁰ He says this Church has "Jesus Christ as sole head and under whose principality all adhere together."⁸¹ Calvin then adds a note to Lutheran ecclesiology: "this adherence to Christ is according to the order and government that he himself established."⁸² More explicitly, Calvin says, because Christ "no longer dwells with us in his visible presence, in a way in which we could hear his will from his own mouth, he uses the service of men for this."⁸³ Hence, Calvin was able to re-introduce into the doctrine of the Church a whole ministerial organization of which Luther was little concerned.

To a Roman Catholic, Calvin appears to have a greater sense of the institutional structure of the Church. The question is whether Calvin's way of speaking of the Church, conveys the traditional idea, that is, the idea

⁸⁰ Jean Calvin, Institution Chrétienne, IV, 1, 8. The text reads: "auxquelles l'Eglise nous apparait évidemment et comme à l'œil."

⁸¹ Ibid., IV, 1, 2.

⁸² Ibid., IV, 6, 9.

⁸³ Ibid., IV, 3, 1.

which Roman Catholicism retained in the Reformation, namely, organic union and cooperation of the visible with the invisible nature of the Church in the production of the reality of salvific grace. Is the Church visible a true mediator in Calvinism any more than in Lutheranism? Or does the Calvinistic concept of the Church, still keeping in mind Calvin's insistence on the visible, ultimately center on the idea that the Church is a place or sign that God alone, through His Word and Spirit, sanctifies souls? A positive answer to this question would indicate, even with Reformed theology's stress on the visible structure of the Church, that there is fundamentally no difference between the Reformed and Lutheran concept of the Church, and thus from the ecclesiological viewpoint there ought to be no "problem" of intercommunion between these two Churches. Rather, intercommunion would be demanded as a visible sign of the unity of the one, universal Church.

2. Observations from Contemporary Reformed Ecclesiology

Faith and Order documents themselves indicate that present day Reformed theologians tend to adhere strictly to Calvin's ideas on the Church. A sample of these writings should suffice to illustrate this point, and also to enable us to form some conclusions about the nature of the Church in relation to intercommunion in Reformed Theology.

Dr. G.D. Henderson, in a paper delivered at a Continuation Committee Meeting of Faith and Order, at Clarens, in 1947, says that Calvin's idea of the Church must be "safeguarded by the relation of the individual to a religious community."⁸⁴ Dr. Henderson says:

It was for him [Calvin] one of the great rediscoveries of the Reformation that the individual Christian might be in direct communion with God.

If then we take Calvin as a whole, noting assumptions and implications and somewhat contradictory emphases, we can say that with him the final test is, not the letter of Scripture, but the Word of God.⁸⁵

Concerning the visible Church, Dr. Henderson observes:

It is one [*italics mine*] in spite of separations and is recognisable through certain activities, though at some periods there may be no material evidence of its presence. The Church invisible is not an idea but consists of real persons, and is in part identical with the visible Church.⁸⁶

The Rev. Hugh T. Kerr and Lewis S. Mudge, in the statement on intercommunion submitted to the Faith and Order Commission on Intercommunion, as pertinent information on this issue, succinctly but clearly expressed their ideas on the Church. They said:

All Christian Churches are parts of the one Holy Catholic Church; their ministers, therefore, ministers of the one Church; and their members, Her members. Our doctrine of the Church is centered in

⁸⁴ FO No. 102, p. 19.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Christ the one and only Head of his body, the Church. All who seek to follow Him in sincerity and truth are united with Him and with one another in this Body.⁸⁷

Finally, Dr. E.J. Hagan, the person indirectly responsible for the Commission on Intercommunion, in the statement on intercommunion to the Commission, written for the Scottish Presbyterian Church, declares:

Since Holy Communion is the gift of Christ to the catholic visible Church, the Church of Scotland, in order to fulfill Christ's intention, must offer the sacrament to all who belong to the Catholic visible Church i.e. "to all who profess the true religion."

Dr. Hagan then explains who these are:

"all who by public profession of faith are members of any branch of the Catholic Church."

What Churches are considered to be a true branch of the Catholic visible Church? Dr. Hagan says:

The Church of Scotland has never declared. Hence it is left to the individual conscience, whether of members of the Church of Scotland receiving Communion in other Churches, or of members of other Churches receiving Communion in the Church of Scotland, to decide whether those other Churches are "branches of the Catholic visible Church."⁸⁸

3. Conclusions

It seems evident from Calvin's idea of the Church and from the observations on the same from Reformed

⁸⁷ FO No. 98, p. 67-68.

⁸⁸ FO No. 99, p. 45.

theologians within Faith and Order, that intercommunion is not a problem of ecclesiology, although the problem of intercommunion is seen within ecclesiology, in the sense that it would mean the mutual recognition of Churches as true Churches. Reformed theology adheres to the belief that unity is an essential attribute of the invisibility of the Church, while "diversity" (not disunity) is the characteristic of the visibility of the Church. The "true" Church appears to me in Reformed theology to be still the invisible Church of Luther, known only to God. True, Reformed theology stresses more completely the visible organs of the Church, but they remain only "signs" of the invisible Church, whose efficacy is attributed to the Holy Spirit alone.

Max Thurian has said of Calvin:

It often seems that for him Christ came with flesh and not that he truly became flesh. In general, the distinction between the two natures is too pronounced in Calvinistic theology: this distinction often becomes a juxtaposition.⁸⁹

It seems to me this judgment is also true about Reformed theology's idea of the Church, that is, the visible element of the Church is only a locus or site where the invisible true Church is found on earth. The "visible" is not the "true" Church. Thus, the Reformation principle — the true

⁸⁹ Max Thurian, "The Real Presence," in Christianity Divided, edited by Callahan, O'Bermann and O'Hanlan, London, Sheed and Ward, 1962, p. 210.

Church is found where the Word of God is preached and the Sacraments administered to the faithful — remains true, and the Reformed Churches regard this principle seriously with respect to any other Churches. Hence, when Reformed Churches, or occasionally members within these Churches, "judge" a Church to be in conformity with the above Reformation principle, for their part, such a Church is a true "sign" of the invisible Church, and intercommunion is therefore possible, and usually advocated, as will be seen.

Concluding, then, the recognition of true "Churches" is the foundation upon which Reformed Churches will "open" their Communion Service to all members within these true "Churches" who wish to partake. On the other hand, the Calvinistic doctrine of sacraments and particularly the Eucharist might offer obstacles on intercommunion to non-Reformed Churches. The Intercommunion Commission report specifically makes reference to the divergence of eucharistic doctrine held by Reformed and Lutheran Churches on the continent.⁹⁰ A brief examination of Calvin's and present day Reformed theologian's thinking on this matter is now warranted.

90 Cf. Intercommunion, p. 28.

B. Nature of Sacraments

1. Notes on Calvin's Doctrine of Sacraments in General

Calvin conceives a sacrament as a seal set by God upon a promise. He says:

a sacrament is an external sign through which God seals in our consciences the promises of his good will toward us, to confirm the weakness of our faith, and through which, on our part, we render witness not only before God and Angels, but also before men, that we hold him as our God.⁹¹

We are weak creatures, and faith in spiritual realities is difficult for us. Thus God gives us aids in the form of sacraments. Calvin says: "The sacraments are exercises to make us more certain of the Word and the promises of God."⁹² Not that the sacraments confer justification. Rather, the sacraments are for the consolation of man.⁹³

Salvation does not depend at all on participation in sacraments, as if justice were placed within them, which we know is situated in Christ alone.⁹⁴

Calvin says. Even more clearly he says:

the sacraments exist, not to confer goodness on us, but only to announce and point out the things we receive from the liberality of God.⁹⁵

91 Jean Calvin, Institution Chrétienne, IV, 14, 1.

92 Ibid., IV, 14, 6.

93 Cf. ibid., IV, 14, 17.

94 Ibid., IV, 14, 14.

95 Ibid., IV, 14, 17.

As Calvin candidly observes:

It is solely a question of knowing if God works through his proper and intrinsic power, or if He resigns his office to external signs.

For Calvin it is clear that the latter would take away God's sovereign power. He says:

This false imagination is struck down, to think that one could enclose in these elements a power that would justify us, or the graces of the Holy Spirit, as if they were recipients or vehicles.⁹⁶

Finally, he rejects totally a difference between the sacraments of the Old Law and the New Law:

All that we have today in our sacraments, the Jews of old law had in theirs. And the ancients had in their sacraments the same power ours have, namely, to be signs and confirmation of the goodwill of God for the salvation of men.⁹⁷

Clearly, then, there is no real dependence of grace in relation to a sacrament, which God would use as a cause of grace, in Calvin's theology of the sacraments.

2. The Eucharist in Calvin's Theology

a. Introduction

As distinguished from the Lutheran view, Reformed theology does not place such stress on consensus of doctrine. As far as the Eucharist is concerned, the American Statement

96 Jean Calvin, Institution Chrétienne, IV, 14, 17.

97 Ibid., IV, 14, 23.

on Intercommunion says: "It [the Sacrament] draws a line between believers and non-believers, and not between believers who may have their differences."⁹⁸ In a recent survey, only one per cent of American Presbyterian Churches practised "Closed Communion,"⁹⁹ which appears to confirm that Presbyterians practise what they believe. For the non-Reformed Christian, as regards intercommunion, he must question what Reformed theology teaches about the Eucharist, if only to discover why Reformed doctrine retains the position it does, to say little about the peace of his own conscience, which he believes is in conformity with the Word of God.

b. Notes on the Doctrine of the Eucharist

Calvin believes that Christ is the life-giving bread of our souls. Man's duty is to be in communion with Christ, but, Calvin says,

because this mystery of communicating to Jesus Christ is by nature incomprehensible, he shows us its figure and image in visible signs very appropriate to our littleness.¹⁰⁰

A little later, Calvin says:

⁹⁸ FO No. 98, p. 67.

⁹⁹ Cf. Michael J. Taylor, S.J., The Protestant Liturgical Renewal, p. 219.

¹⁰⁰ "Et parce que ce mystère de communiquer à Jésus-Christ est incompréhensible de nature, il nous en montre la figure et l'image en des signes visibles fort propres à notre petitesse" (Jean Calvin, Institution Chrétienne, 17, 1).

we are vivified by a true participation which he [Christ] gives us in himself, which he signified by the words drink and eat, so that no one would think that it was a simple knowledge of Christ. For, to eat bread, not just to look at it, to give food to the body, thus, the soul must be made truly a participant of Christ, to have eternal life.¹⁰¹

He repeats again that it is not just a question of knowing Christ — some sort of simple contemplation.¹⁰² He says:

In the Supper Jesus Christ is truly given to us under the signs of bread and wine, that is to say his body and his blood.¹⁰³

Calvin then goes on to explain how Christ is present with his body and blood in the Eucharist. He first denies or rather, he esteems "that it is illicit to lower them among the corruptible elements, or imagine that they could be present everywhere."¹⁰⁴ In fact, he says, it is not necessary in order for man to communicate with Christ, that is in order for Christ "to inspire in us his living life,"¹⁰⁵ that the presence of Christ be attached to the bread, as "all of this would take away from his heavenly glory."¹⁰⁶ Our souls "can be nourished on his body without its moving

101 Jean Calvin, Institution Chrétienne, IV, 17, 5.

102 Ibid., IV, 17, 11.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid., IV, 17, 12.

105 Ibid., IV, 17, 18.

106 Ibid., IV, 17, 19.

from heaven." The bond of this union, Calvin says, is "the Holy Spirit, who is like a channel or conduit, through whom all that Christ is and possesses, descends even to us."¹⁰⁷ Summarizing, Calvin says, this is no less communicating in Christ than if he were present corporally: "Participation by the power of Christ's Spirit. This is therefore the way to receive the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the sacrament."¹⁰⁸

Calvin, more than Luther, stresses the dispositions required to receive this sacrament. The sacrament is given not only as a sure sign of the promise of God, that man has been justified by the death of Christ, but also to console and strengthen his weakness. Even though we be abject, confused, stained and infected with sin, even though we be uncharitable we should still approach this sacrament. In fact, in some respects, these are the qualities demanded for its reception. Calvin says:

It was not instituted for the perfect, but for the weak and sick, in order to awaken, to stimulate, excite and exercise their faith as much as their charity, and to correct the faults of both.¹⁰⁹

107 Jean Calvin, Institution Chrétienne, IV, 17, 12.

108 Ibid., IV, 17, 18.

109 Ibid., IV, 17, 42.

c. Notes on the Doctrine of the Mass

Calvin reiterates Luther's teaching on sacrifice. He does not place the same stress on the priesthood of the laity, for he saw man's worship ordered in a ministerial function. Strangely, although Calvin placed great emphasis on the reception of the Eucharist, a Reformed service gradually became a service of the Word. Thus, the reemphasis now being given in some Reformed communities is a return to Calvin. The pendulum swings from Word to Sacrament, and it seems to be the quandary in Reformed theology to know exactly how to combine the two. For Calvin, no matter where the emphasis is, although Christ commands us to eat his body and blood, and Calvin takes Christ's commands seriously, Christ alone is a true priest "without end and without succession."¹¹⁰ "He alone," Calvin says, "once and for all has offered the host of purification and eternal reconciliation, and who now having entered the heavenly sanctuary, prays for us." "We are all priests in him, but only to offer praise and thanks to God, and principally to offer ourselves and, in sum, all that is ours"¹¹¹ concludes Calvin.

¹¹⁰ Jean Calvin, Institution Chrétienne, IV, 19, 28.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

3. The Eucharist in Contemporary Reformed Theology

a. Introduction

Unquestionably, there is a renewed interest in sacramental theology in Churches of a Reformed tradition.¹¹² Many factors explain this interest, not the least of which are the ecumenical and liturgical movements with their new consciousness of the Church and the position of worship within the Church, the latter evoking the problem of intercommunion. As in the Lutheran Churches, the European Reformed theologians, although not exclusively, have given leadership. Perhaps the example of the Taizé community speaks louder than any book so far written.

Nevertheless, the question still remains, for one interested in the problem of intercommunion: is this renewed interest in sacraments and liturgy a new way of dressing up "old ideas"? are Christians closer to each other than we sometimes think? It is impossible to give a representative answer from all Reformed theology. Some indications of what present day Reformed theologians writing for Faith and Order think about the Eucharist and worship may help to answer the above questions.

¹¹² Cf. Donald M. Baillie, The Theology of the Sacraments, London, Faber and Faber Ltd., 1961, p. 39-41.

b. Observations on the Doctrine of the Eucharist

In Ways of Worship, Rev. Dr. W.D. Maxwell, of the Church of Scotland, rightly introduces his discussion on Sacramental Worship by recalling the words of the First Scots Confession of 1560, which condemned the opinion that sacraments "be nothing ells but naked and bair signes."¹¹³

Dr. Maxwell says:

Sacramental doctrine in the Church of Scotland is the high Calvinian doctrine without taint of "Zwinglianism."¹¹⁴

Dr. Maxwell continues:

This is seen in the Eucharist, where the Confession of Faith asserts that "the body and blood of Christ are as really, but spiritually, present to the faith of believers in that ordinance as the elements themselves are to their outward senses."¹¹⁵

Dr. Maxwell adds that the Scots Confession is even more explicit.

Professor G. van der Leeuw, of the Dutch Reformed Church, the former Chairman of the Commission on Ways of Worship, says:

According to the doctrine of Reformed Churches the sacraments are tokens and seals of divine grace. This may be understood in a superficial but also in a deeper sense. It may mean solely a kind of acted

¹¹³ Quoted from "The Elements of Liturgy" by W.D. Maxwell, in Ways of Worship, p. 115.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

parable, an aid to our sensual nature, provided by God's mercy as a compliment to the preaching of the Word. There is no denying that from the beginnings of our Churches and thence in ever-increasing measure this superficial meaning has been adopted. On the other hand, however, the Reformed Churches have always preserved [*italics mine*] a sense of the mystery in the Sacrament, i.e. of the real Presence of our Lord and of His sacrifice under the tokens of Bread and Wine.

Professor Van der Leeuw continues:

The Reformed Churches are returning to sacramental realism. Of course they will continue to be averse from any conception of the Sacrament pointing to transubstantiation. It is hoped that they will also object more and more to every form of "symbolism" in the modern superficial sense. The position indicated to them is neither on the side of St. Thomas nor on that of Zwingli. They ought to reject both forms of rationalisation.¹¹⁶

Max Thurian, of the Taizé community, says: "The body and blood of Christ, his whole humanity and divinity, are truly, and in all reality, and substantially¹¹⁷ present in the Eucharist." How this is possible, when the glorified Christ is in heaven, explains Thurian, "is a mystery, the work of the Holy Spirit, which the Church cannot resolve."¹¹⁸ Thurian continues in a more explicit statement:

¹¹⁶ G. van der Leeuw, "The Inner Meanings of Word and Sacrament," in Ways of Worship, p. 228.

¹¹⁷ For Calvin, Thurian says, the term "'substance' signifies the profound reality of a being or of a thing" ("The Real Presence," in Christianity Divided, p. 206). Thurian himself defines the substantial presence of Christ: "the inner reality of the body and blood of the crucified and glorified Christ" (ibid., p. 216).

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 216.

The real presence of Christ must not be understood as a localization limited to the appearances of the bread and wine; Christ cannot be enclosed within these limits of creation. But the bread and wine in the Eucharist become a privileged site [*italica mine*] where it is possible to encounter and to receive concretely Christ himself in his humanity and his divinity.¹¹⁹

In the United States, Rev. Michael Taylor, S.J., has found, from a recent survey of Presbyterian pastors, that about thirty-five per cent believe in a real-spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist, whereas forty-five per cent believed the manner of our Lord's presence as symbolic. Dr. Van der Leeuw's above statement seems to be true also in North America. Taylor gives several examples of the meaning of symbolism, which can summarily be stated to be that the bread and wine are symbols which remind worshippers of Christ's love and sacrifice for them.¹²⁰

c. Observations on the Doctrine of the Mass

More incredible than the renewed sacramental interest in Reformed theology is the growing concern with the sacrificial nature of the "Eucharist." How more remarkable when one recalls the almost native aversion of the notion of sacrifice in Reformed theology. How widespread this concern

¹¹⁹ Max Thurian, "The Real Presence," in Christianity Divided, p. 216-217.

¹²⁰ Cf. Michael J. Taylor, S.J., The Protestant Liturgical Renewal, p. 207-209.

is, remains difficult to know. The writings of Reformed theologians interested in this aspect of the Eucharist, are, according to G. Dickmann, O.S.B., "finding increasingly friendly echoes."¹²¹ Nevertheless, to this writer, those theologians who are concerned with the sacrificial aspect of the "Eucharist" remain faithful to Calvin. The "Eucharist" is a memorial in faith or an echo of Christ's eternal sacrifice, appears to be the conclusion of some Reformed theologian interested in the sacrificial aspect of the "Eucharist."

Dr. Maxwell, in Ways of Worship, speaking on the meaning of the Lord's Supper in the Scottish rite, says:

"His sacrifice is not repeatable, but it is continually renewed; the 'remembering' is not mere recollection in the psychological sense, but a real uniting, possible by grace and through faith, faith which is not mere intellectual assent, but a commitment of the whole person to Him."¹²²

To this writer, this is a faithful rendering of Calvin's meaning of participation, but in this case to the Eternal Sacrifice of Christ perpetually offered to His Father.

Another Reformed theologian, T.F. Torrance, writing recently on Sacrifice says:

¹²¹ Godfrey Dickmann, O.S.B., "Factors that Unite Us," in Christians in Conversation, Westminster, The Newman Press, 1962, p. 101.

¹²² W.D. Maxwell, "The Elements of Liturgy," in Ways of Worship, p. 115-116.

"To the Church on earth, then, it is given in its eucharistic worship to echo the eternal intercession of Christ. The action of the Church is the anamnesis¹²³ of an act that is once and for all, and enduring before the Face of the Heavenly Father; but it is no more than anamnesis, for it is not the act itself."¹²⁴

To this writer, although there are signs of a sacrificial language related to the Eucharist in Reformed theology today, Reformed theologians still treat our Lord's sacrifice of himself to the Father as a private matter within the Trinity. As with Lutherans, the Lord's Supper could be an occasion of personal sacrifice, perhaps joined with the personal sacrifice of other worshipping members of the Church, but it is no more than that.

4. Conclusions

For Reformed Churches, the Sacrament "draws a line between believers and non-believers, and not between believers who may have their differences."¹²⁵ The stress appears to be that the Eucharist is not so much the Sacrament of a particular Church, or else that it is not the particular

¹²³ Dr. Torrance means a "sacramental" memory by which "the past is made a present reality" (T.F. Torrance, Conflict and Agreement in the Church, London, Lutterworth Press, Vol. II, 1960, p. 176).

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ FO No. 98, p. 67.

Church which invites but Christ Himself who expresses the invitation. As Dr. Torrance says:

The Eucharist by its very nature, inasmuch as it enshrines the real presence of the Son of Man, the Lord of the Eucharist, stands above the institutional continuity of the Church and can never be made relative to it.¹²⁶

This divorce of the Eucharist from any institutional organ of the Church is often the crucial point in ecumenical discussions on intercommunion. Ultimately, it is to ask: what in fact makes a table, to be the table or altar of the Lord? For the Reformed, all Christian Churches are parts of the One, Holy, Catholic Church, and Christ is the Lord of this Church. As there is not division in the Church, so at the table, where Christ is again Lord and Host, there ought to be no division. For the Reformed, therefore, the Lord's Table is fundamentally "open," as Christ instituted the Eucharist to reconcile men.

C. Reformed and Intercommunion in Faith and Order

1. Introduction

It should be evident from the previous observations on the nature of the Church and Sacraments that Reformed Churches would generally be expected to advocate

¹²⁶ T.F. Torrance, Conflict and Agreement in the Church, Vol. II, p. 198.

intercommunion to the Faith and Order movement — at least when it is understood as "Open Communion." However, it must not be thought that Reformed Churches are indiscriminate about Open Communion. Faith and Order documents will make this quite clear.

Secondly, even though a Reformed Church would recognise the ministry of another Church, it does not mean that a minister of such a Church is automatically a minister in the Reformed Church. The process is a little more complicated, varying with the different Reformed Churches, but in general it is a matter of Church government and Church Order. On the other hand, a minister of such a Church would not usually be refused permission to celebrate the Lord's Supper in the Reformed Church.

2. Intercommunion Prior to Lund Conference

We have already seen¹²⁷ that the Church of Scotland leaves the question of intercommunion to the individual conscience of its members. However, prior to the declaration of this position, the statement reads: "Such grounds [...] are sufficiently provided by the doctrine of the Church and Sacraments held by this Church."¹²⁸ This statement, and a

¹²⁷ Cf. supra, p. 197.

¹²⁸ FO No. 99, p. 45.

similar one issued in the report from the Presbyterian Churches in the United States and Canada, confirms the method we have used in trying to understand the position Reformed Churches adopt in this question of intercommunion.

The position that most Reformed Churches have adopted is best describes as "Open Communion." In the terminology of today, intercommunion appears in Faith and Order documents to be restricted to "agreements" between Churches. Faith and Order documents reveal that few Reformed Churches so far have entered "agreements" on intercommunion. Rather, as the Intercommunion Commission report states, "this is not a question of agreements with specific Churches, but has become a universal principle of these Churches."¹²⁹ The report previously stated that Presbyterians, at least many of them, "regularly and by long tradition invite communicant members of all branches of the Christian Church to partake with them at the Lord's Table."¹³⁰ Thus, in this particular instance, "intercommunion" is not a result of the ecumenical encounter, but already an established tradition.

The report then goes on to expose the foundation upon which Reformed Churches, such as Presbyterian, base this tradition of Open Communion. The report states:

¹²⁹ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 20.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

The practise of open communion [is] based on the conviction that not only one's own Church but also other Churches are true Churches, parts of the Church of Christ; and that in spite of the tragic and sinful divisions there is a fundamental unity sufficient to justify common participation at the Lord's Table; and that while it is the duty of a church to exercise supervision and discipline over its own members, it is not called to do this for the members of other Churches individually.¹³¹

It is evident that this statement is based on a Calvinistic conception of the Church. However, less one think such a view diminishes the corporate nature of the act of communion or minimizes the sense of the visible Church, the report just prior to this statement declares: "traditional Calvinistic theology has laid immense stress upon the corporate nature of the sacrament and upon the visible Church."¹³²

The statement appears warranted, and is an accurate summary of traditional Calvinistic approach to the Sacrament and the Church.

It is clear from this report that those Reformed Churches which practice open communion are fundamentally in agreement with those who favor intercommunion as a step in preparation for the reunion of Churches. Yet the report also makes it clear, that not all Reformed would accept communion indiscriminately from any Church. Difference in the

¹³¹ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 26.

¹³² Ibid.

doctrine of the Eucharist might keep a Reformed church member away from the altar of another Church, v.g. an Orthodox, or, as the report states, "a really 'high' Anglo-Catholic type"¹³³ of service. On the other hand, the report further on states: "there are many Anglicans who take a less 'high' view of the Sacrament than many Presbyterians."¹³⁴ It thus becomes clear that for Reformed Churches, even though, as the report states, they "tend to make much less of this difference in eucharistic doctrine,"¹³⁵ they do make some discriminating judgments.

Finally, "during" an ecumenical conference, Reformed Churches are accustomed to extend an invitation to the Lord's Supper to all members of the conference. Normally, the invitation does not express what the Reformed Church believes about the Lord's Supper, as a Lutheran invitation might do, but simply issues a direct invitation to partake of the Sacrament.¹³⁶ The Edinburgh Faith and Order Conference distinguished this "action" from intercommunion and open communion as usually understood.¹³⁷

¹³³ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 28.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 30.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

¹³⁶ Cf. O.S. Tomkins, "Intercommunion in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 115-137, for practice and principles in Ecumenical Conferences.

¹³⁷ Cf. supra, p. 76.

3. Intercommunion in Lund Conference

As already stated, the Lund Report on intercommunion, eminently fair to the convictions of member Churches of the World Council of Churches, seems nevertheless to convey the impression that intercommunion is the desirable thing for the preparation of Church reunion. The Report in fact declares that this is the majority view, and without hesitation, although not stated, Reformed Churches would associate themselves with this view. It is impossible, on the basis of previous examination, to make any other judgment.

The Lund Report offered some suggested terminology on intercommunion, among which due consideration was given to Reformed Churches. The Report mentioned the specific agreement of intercommunion and intercelebration between Reformed and Lutheran Churches in France. More important, the Report distinguished open communion, practised by most Reformed Churches, from intercommunion by observing that the latter is based on agreement while the former is a matter of principle. A little further on the Report states:

Those Churches which practise Open Communion have their own requirements for participation; the invitation extended is not to be interpreted as applying to the unbelieving or the unprepared.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Lund, p. 53.

Where the Report suggests a series of recommendations, Churches which practise "mutual Open Communion" with other Churches, and I gather that Reformed Churches would be among those Churches, are asked:

Seriously [to] examine the objections to the practice urged on grounds both of doctrine and order. They should also ask themselves whether they could not and should not move on towards a closer relationship of visible unity, in view of the relationship of the Sacrament of the wholeness of the Church.¹³⁹

Finally, where the Report discusses communion services at ecumenical gatherings, the Reformed principle of open Communion service is recommended as the belief of the Conference. The Report states:

Though on the grounds already indicated there are some who object to open communion services, yet we believe there should be an opportunity of this kind for the many who desire such services and are free to partake.¹⁴⁰

4. Conclusions

To this writer, the Reformed Churches have made their point in Faith and Order as clearly and directly as possible. Evidence from the very first Faith and Order Conference¹⁴¹ shows the affinity Reformed theologians have for the problem of intercommunion. The Calvinistic conception

¹³⁹ Lund, p. 57.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁴¹ Cf. supra, p. 47.

of the Church presses intercommunion as an acceptable sign of the unity of the Church. Some have questioned whether Reformed theologians have not assumed an analogous situation in the World Council of Churches. Interestingly, the Lund report on intercommunion states: "This new mutual commitment [in the W.C.C.] raises ever more sharply the question of what justification remains for continuing in division at the Lord's Table."¹⁴² The Intercommunion Commission report is even more explicit:

There are, indeed, some who hold that intercommunion of this kind [because of a fundamental unity of faith] is in principle involved in [...] recognising each other [...] in the World Council of Churches.¹⁴³

That some Reformed theologians would be numbered among those accepting this statement seems undeniable.

Reformed Churches thus see intercommunion as a step toward the day when all the visible witnesses to the Church will be visibly one. However, it should be kept in mind that in Reformed theology the Church, even visibly witnessed, is now essentially one. If I do not misinterpret the evidence, Reformed theology holds that various denominations are not so much to be thought of as Churches, but rather as

¹⁴² Lund, p. 49-50.

¹⁴³ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 27.

different witnesses of the One, Invisible Church. The Eucharist does not belong to various "Churches," but essentially to the One Church. Likewise, the question of "orders" evaporates from this theology, for otherwise one "Church" could lay claims against another. Hence, no more greater sign of the unity of the Church can be experienced than when all "Churches" came together to share in the Eucharist of the One Church.

Finally, some Reformed theologians are bringing to the attention of Faith and Order the concept of the Eucharist as an "eschatological" event. Dr. T.F. Torrance, in the volume Intercommunion, has written a rather difficult and somewhat obscure essay on this subject, for anyone unfamiliar with the language.¹⁴⁴ He does remind the Churches of an often forgotten idea, that the Eucharist not only "proclaims" the death of Christ, but it does so "till we should come again to drink it anew." In the meantime, all Christians should unite at the Eucharist, as a sign of that future unbreakable union. It seems to me that Dr. Torrance speaks well for the Reformed position in Faith and Order when he says:

¹⁴⁴ Cf. T.F. Torrance, "Eschatology and the Eucharist," in Intercommunion, p. 303-350.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that Churches ought to sit down together before the presence of the Son of Man, and together eat and drink the judgement of the death of Christ upon their sinful divisions and compromised histories, in order that together they might be given anew the power of resurrection to rise above the trammels of the past and to realise the very unity of the one Body into which they have been baptised.¹⁴⁵

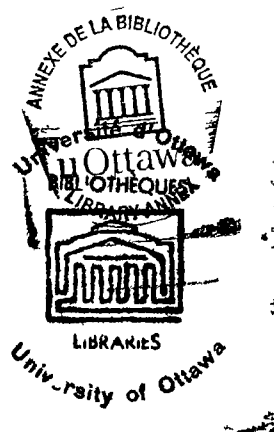
¹⁴⁵ T.F. Torrance, "Eschatology and the Eucharist," in Intercommunion, p. 349.

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by Rev. Leo J. Steady, C.F.D.

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CHAPTER SIX
ANGLICANISM AND INTERCOMMUNION

Article I
Introduction

It is well known that Anglicanism harbors a variety of theologies within its fold. This comprehensive quality has been historically the "trademark" of the Anglican Communion. Each element has had its times of favor and disfavor, yet, all seem to survive. The ideal appears to be some sort of synthesis in Scripture, theology and worship. However, the question which confronts Anglicans today is the nature of such a synthesis. Can one ask more of contemporary Anglicans than at the time of the Settlement, external conformity sine consensu ex animo?

Nevertheless, one must not be duped into thinking that there is no unity in Anglicanism. Several factors appear to shape Anglican unity. First, and perhaps the most important one, the Anglican Communion, wherever it is located, retains an episcopal structure. The Anglican Communion claims and believes that its Episcopacy is in continuous succession with the Pre-Reformation Church. Secondly, the Anglican Communion takes a stand on the supremacy of Scripture. Thirdly, Anglican Churches are liturgical Churches. The Book of Common Prayer, recognized as the most powerful

symbol of Anglican unity,¹ with adaptation, feeds the liturgical life of the whole Communion. Anglicans accept Baptism and the Eucharist as Gospel sacraments. Finally, without hesitation, the Anglican Communion has committed itself to the ecumenical movement. The early phase of the Faith and Order movement is itself chiefly characterized by Anglican thinking.

However, irrespective of the problem of unity within the Anglican Communion, it appears undeniable that the Anglican Church does not present a united front in the ecumenical movement. At this writing, I have not seen anything to negate the following statement of the Catholicity Report to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1947:

"Above all, the problem of re-union is showing how sharp is the cleavage of outlook within the Anglican Communion, and it is here that the strain is most evident. It is often remarked that steps towards re-union with other Christian bodies cannot be made in any one direction without the creation of disquiet and alarm in some other quarter. Though the conflict expresses itself chiefly in differences about the doctrine of the ministry, there lies at its root a divergence in the idea of the Church."²

The truth of this statement appears strikingly evident when Anglicans are faced with the issue of intercommunion in the

1 Cf. The Lambeth Conference 1958, London, SPCK, 1958, Part II, p. 79.

2 Catholicity, A Study in the Conflict of Christian Traditions in the West, being a Report presented to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, London, Dacre Press, 1947, p. 52.

Faith and Order movement. Faith and Order documents reveal that Anglicans, both as regards the theology and practice of intercommunion, are more divided than Lutherans or Reformed. Yet, similar to Lutherans and Reformed, the nature of the Church, and particularly the doctrine of the ministry with its undertones of sacraments and liturgy, determine Anglican perspectives on intercommunion within Faith and Order. Thus a sample of Anglican writings on the nature of the Church and above all the doctrine of the ministry, should help to understand the attitudes that Anglicans take on the issue of intercommunion in the Faith and Order dialogue.

Article II

Nature of the Church in Anglicanism

A. Observations on the Unity of the Church

As we have already noticed,³ the problem of the unity of the Church is closely related to the issue of intercommunion. No problem has perhaps so vexed the Anglican theologian as this one on the unity of the Church. Present day Anglican theologians, well known and often speaking within the Faith and Order movement, conceive the Church as the Body of Christ and irrefragably one in Christ. This unity of the Church is neither capable of fracture nor

3 Cf. supra, p. 75-79.

essentially disrupted by whatever divisions may arise. For instance, S.L. Greenslade, in the volume Intercommunion, declares:

The Church which is the Body of Christ is one. This is not only a true theological proposition but also a fact of experience. Over against a secular society, sincere Christians of all communions are increasingly conscious of their unity. And if this is true of the visible Church, it is even more plainly true of the Church Triumphant.⁴

One is reminded of Prof. Heineken's statement about the "awareness" of unity.⁵

On the other hand, for some Anglicans the facts of experience do not reveal the extent of visible unity that Dr. Greenslade⁶ extols. At the Continuation Committee meeting in 1947, Rev. A.G. Hebert made this quite explicit.⁷ Rev. Hebert recognized the divisions and the pain they cause in the Church. He then rhetorically asks: "If the Church is really Christ's Body, whence come the divisions?" He answers: "They have come because the Church is human as well as divine. As divine, it has a unity which even the schisms

⁴ S.L. Greenslade, "Intercommunion: A Personal Opinion," in Intercommunion, p. 223.

⁵ Cf. supra, p. 165.

⁶ Dr. Greenslade's statement should not mislead the reader into thinking that he believes in institutional unity. He has made this sufficiently clear in other sources. Cf. particularly his work Schism in the Early Church, London, SCM Press, 1953.

⁷ Cf. supra, p. 103-105.

have not been able to break."⁸ For Hebert, it thus appears that these "human" divisions do not rent the Body of Christ, but obviously prevent the fullest manifestation of the unity of Christ's Body. For him it would not be truthful to seek general intercommunion as a relief from the pain of these divisions.⁹

In the volume The Nature of the Church prepared for the Lund Conference, Dr. Leonard Hodgson observed:

In the mind of the Church of England the universal Church is the society of men and women which Christ constituted as the fellowship of forgiven sinners to be the earthly body through which He should carry on His work in the World. [...] The Church of England believes itself to be a constituent member of this universal Church of Christ.¹⁰

Dr. Hodgson does not specify what he understands the Church of England to mean by the "society" of men and women, nor does he explicate the meaning of the "fellowship" of forgiven sinners. Whether he personally understands a unity in a visible society and fellowship is not clear in this article. Nevertheless, the tone of the above statement appears to me to be in conformity with Reformed principles of theology on the nature of the Universal Church.

⁸ FO No. 102, p. 69.

⁹ Cf. supra, p. 105.

¹⁰ Leonard Hodgson, "The Doctrine of the Church as Held and Taught in the Church of England," in The Nature of the Church, edited by R. Newton Flew, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1952, p. 145.

Finally, Bishop Stephen Neill, writing recently, expressed some personal opinions on the meaning of unity in the Anglican Communion. He says:

When confronted with questions of "Church union" he [Anglican] tends to think automatically in terms of the manifestation of a unity that in Christ is already there, and not of some ecclesiastical carpentry through which a non-existent unity can be brought into being.

We do not pretend to know the limits of this divine society that God has brought into being. The Lambeth Conference has stated that we accept all those who have been baptized with water in the name of the Trinity as members of Christ's holy Catholic Church.¹¹

To this writer, Bishop Neill sees the unity of the Church more as a mystery to be believed than a problem to be solved. For him, unity already exists among those who are baptized with water in the name of the Trinity, and it is this reality which constitutes all the members as one in Christ's holy Catholic Church. How this unity is to be manifested in a visible way still remains to be discovered, but obviously, the visible manifestation, or the fullness of it, is not absolutely essential to the unity of the Church, in this Anglican view.

¹¹ Stephen Neill, "The Worshipping Community," in The Unity We Seek, p. 75.

B. Observations on the Visibility of the Church

For the Roman Catholic the Anglican concept of the Church as a visible society often seems unintelligible. That the Church is a visible society the Anglican strongly insists. The works of L.S. Thornton, particularly in The Common Life in the Body of Christ, E.L. Mascall, in Corpus Christi, Anglican Scripture scholars, all point to one belief in the Church as a visible society. Even such an independent thinker as Dr. Greenslade speaks, as we have seen, as if the Church were one visible society. Mindful of the position of the Lambeth Conferences in the Anglican Communion,¹² an examination of the last Conference (1958) will illustrate the difficulty of obtaining a clear notion of the Church as a visible society in Anglican thought. The Conference states:

12 As regards the nature of a Lambeth Conference the late Bishop Rawlinson said: "Its functions are consultative and its resolutions are advisory only. They carry a considerable measure of intrinsic weight, as being expressions of the considered judgement, reached after discussion and prayer, of the holders of episcopal office; but they possess no binding or legislative force unless subsequently made the subject of constitutional action in particular Provinces of the Church" (A.E.J. Rawlinson, The Anglican Communion in Christendom, London, SPCK, 1960, p. 15). Dr. Leonard Hodgson has said about the Lambeth Conference: "The Lambeth Conference may have no legislative authority, or power to bind the Church, but its pronouncements are undoubtedly evidence of what is commonly believed and held among us" (Intercommunion, p. 257), and later on: "The Lambeth Conference may have no binding authority, but in actual practice few Anglican bishops or clergy feel justified in disregarding its resolutions" (ibid., p. 262).

Conscious of the calling of the Church to be one family in Christ and to make known to the whole world in word and deed his Gospel of the Kingdom, we declare our ardent longing for the healing of our divisions, and for the recovery and manifestation to the world of that unity of the Body of Christ for which he prayed and continues to make intercession.¹³

The Council further on declares:

We believe in One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, which takes its origin not in the will of man but in the will of our Lord Jesus Christ. All those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and have been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity are incorporated into the Body of Christ and are members of the Church. Here is a unity already given. [...] The recovery and manifestation of unity, which we seek, is the unity of the whole Church of Christ. This means unity in living Christian fellowship, in obedience to Christ in every department of human life, and plain for all men to see. There can be no limit to the range of such unity.¹⁴

There is unquestionably a visible notion of the Church in the minds of the Bishops who drew up these statements. Baptism is a visible rite which presumably initiates the recipient into something which is visible. What the nature of the visibility is, the Conference does not make explicit. On the one hand, when the Lambeth Report states its belief in "One" Catholic Church it certainly cannot mean the same unity which it had just previously declared that it wished to recover and manifest to the world. The Report must refer to two different sorts of unity. In the one case

¹³ "Church Unity and the Church Universal," in The Lambeth Conference, 1958, Part II, p. 21.

¹⁴ Ibid.

it appears to declare its faith in an invisible unity which binds all baptized men and women, and in the other case it appears to believe this unity should be manifested visibly, almost as an obligation laid upon the Church by Christ Himself. On the other hand, Lambeth Conference 1958 speaks of recovering unity. This is not too clear. If this refers to the unity which once was before the great Schism and the Reformation, then the notion of Papacy would have to be included in the idea of unity in the Church. The present Archbishop of Canterbury has written:

A Papacy, which expresses the general mind of the Church in doctrine, and which focuses the organic unity of all the Bishops and of the whole Church, might well claim to be a legitimate development in and through the Gospel.¹⁵

Even this mild statement would not be agreeable to many Anglicans. Nevertheless, if this is what most Anglicans mean by unity, irrespective of the significance of schism, then I think that one could say that the Church in some Anglican thinking is at least potentially one visible society.

C. Conclusions

Ultimately, it is what one understands by the meaning of unity that determines one's view about the single visible structure of the Church. To this writer, for most

¹⁵ A.M. Ramsey, The Gospel and the Catholic Church, London, Longmans, 2nd ed., 1956, p. 65.

Anglicans the Church's unity is essentially invisible. However, Anglicans are conscious that the present ecumenical situation calls for a "greater" visible manifestation of this unity. The difficulty is: what is the nature of such a visible manifestation? It is my impression that when Lambeth speaks of "one family in Christ," or unity "plain for all men to see" the Bishops visualize a visible manifestation of unity in conformity with the view of their own Church, that is, not necessarily a single visible Church, but one family, united invisibly, remaining visibly many self-autonomous societies in full mutual communion. The difficulty for the Roman Catholic is how one can justify calling these many societies one visible society, or the Catholic Church.

Finally, I feel, assuming that the few samples of Anglican statements on the nature of the Church are accurate indications of the present thinking within Anglicanism, that most Anglicans would even now accept general intercommunion. True, there are some Anglicans who think that a difference in doctrine should hinder any extensive practice of intercommunion, but this view, we shall see, seems to be restricted especially to Anglo-Catholics. This writer is quite convinced that the Anglican Church does not demand more from other Churches than from its own members, namely, the supremacy of Scriptures, the Nicene Creed as a sufficient

statement of the Christian faith, the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, and an episcopal structure of government.

It is well known that the Anglican Church allows considerable liberty in the interpretation of these requirements. The first three have been discussed in Faith and Order Conferences and Anglicans seem to be at least in as much agreement about them with other Churches as they are among themselves. For most Anglicans it is neither eucharistic doctrine nor ecclesiology which prevents intercommunion, as Faith and Order documents will soon show. The stumbling block appears to be the question of Episcopacy: recognition by Episcopal Churches, and acceptance by non-episcopal Churches.

Article III

Nature of the Ministry in Anglicanism

A. Introduction

Sufficient evidence has shown that from the very first Faith and Order has wrestled with the problem of the ministry of the Church. Looking toward the future, Faith and Order visualizes a ministry acknowledged throughout the one Church. Presently, though, the meaning of "acknowledgment" is often different in the same Church. In any case, it appears clear that the problem of the ministry has been one of the thorns causing the greatest difficulties for

intercommunion between Churches -- bringing up the questions of the recognition of each other's orders as valid, and the unbroken apostolic succession through ordination.

No Church has been more in the thick of the discussion than the Anglican Church, and no Church seems to have so many differences of opinion as to the exact status of the ministry. It will eventually be seen that these divergent views of the ministry are basically responsible for the various attitudes Anglicans take toward intercommunion in the Faith and Order movement. Thus what the Anglican Church teaches about the ministry is of particular moment for the question of intercommunion to the Churches participating in the dialogue in Faith and Order. An exhaustive study is out of place, but several noteworthy sources, especially the Lambeth Conferences which have deliberated intensely on the problem since Faith and Order beginnings, should illustrate the complexity and diversity of Anglican thinking.

B. Observations on the Ministry

1. Lambeth Conferences

In 1920, the Lambeth Conference issued an appeal to all Christian people to take a new look on the meaning of the reunion of Churches. The Bishops felt that all Churches would have to accept, for this visible union:

a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body.¹⁶

This statement of Lambeth 1920 is a rewording of the fourth term of the famous Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral.¹⁷ This fourth term reads:

The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church.¹⁸

The Bishops in 1920, however, went on to ask:

May we not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing such a ministry. It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of those Communion which do not possess the Episcopate. [...] Moreover, we would urge that it is now and will prove to be in the future the best instrument for maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church.¹⁹

The Bishops added:

terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and clergy of our Communion would willingly accept from these authorities [of other Communion] a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations, as having its place in the one family life.²⁰

¹⁶ Bell 1920-30, p. 3.

¹⁷ Cf. A.E.J. Rawlinson, The Anglican Communion in Christendom, p. 16-17, for brief history of Quadrilateral.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Bell 1920-30, p. 3-4.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

At the 1930 Lambeth Conference, a committee of seventy Bishops, reporting on the unity of the Church said:

When we speak of the Historic Episcopate, we mean the Episcopate as it emerged in the clear light of history from the time when definite evidence begins to be available. It is, indeed, well known that the origin of episcopacy has been much debated.²¹

The Bishops then agreed they would accept the statement as found in the Preface to the Ordinal, namely, from the Apostles' time there have been three Orders of ministers in Christ's Church.²²

Attached to the 1948 Lambeth Conference Report of the Committee on Unity is a document of interest on the nature of ordination in a divided Church, with a discussion of supplementary and conditional ordinations. The Bishops do not identify themselves with either alternative. Nevertheless, some interesting statements about the nature of Episcopacy are made. The document reads in part:

²¹ "Report No. III, The Unity of the Church," in The Lambeth Conference 1930, London, SPCK, [no date], p. 114.

²² Louis A. Hazelmayor, discussing Lambeth and unity, says about the Bishops at these two Conferences: "The framers of the 1920 and 1930 Lambeth Reports were so influenced by the scholarship of the day which questioned the historic origin of the Episcopate in the Apostolic Church that they hesitated to insist that the theology of the Ordinal was a necessary part of the Quadrilateral" (Lambeth and Unity, London, Dacre Press, 1948, p. 25-26).

The divisions of the Church, at any rate from the Reformation, resulted in their being no longer any ordaining organ able so to act on behalf of Christ and the whole Church. [...] The episcopate ought to be the ordaining organ of the whole Church [...] the fact remains that at least the form of ordination is defective in that it is not conferred unmistakably by Christ and the whole Body; and that no Church can be completely assured that its ministers have the fullness of grace and authority until this defect is made good.²³

The question of how this defect is remedied is then considered. Supplementary or conditional ordination are two solutions. Neither one, at the time, appeared satisfactory to the Bishops, because both either gave or implied something which the episcopal and non-episcopal ministers already claim to have, or are not interested in obtaining. The answer seems to lie in a jurisdictional concept and not in a concept of orders. But then, the Bishops admitted, a new notion of Episcopal jurisdiction is demanded. In any case, the document was recommended for further reconsideration.

Finally, the Lambeth 1958 Conference likewise projects the historic episcopate as part of its reunion,²⁴ and intercommunion plans.²⁵ As regards the Report of the Committee on Church Unity and the Church Universal, the Abbot

²³ The Lambeth Conference 1948, London, SPCK, 1948, Part II, p. 64-66.

²⁴ The Lambeth Conference 1958, Part II, p. 22.

²⁵ Ibid., Part II, p. 44.

of Downside, B.C. Butler, thinks that the language used about the historic episcopate while not excluding the view that the episcopate is of the essence of the Church nevertheless leaves "room for the Lutheran idea."²⁶ It does seem that the Report studiously avoids saying that the traditional ministry was given to the Church by the "historical Christ from the beginning."²⁷

2. Individual Anglican Theologians

One man who carried considerable weight in the reunion movement at the turn of the last century was Arthur C. Headlam. About Episcopacy, in The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, he declared:

What I would claim for Episcopacy is the clear authority of the Church. What we call monarchical Episcopacy dates quite certainly from the close of the Apostolic period.

A little further on he remarks:

We want to find a basis on which we can unite which is older than our divisions and comes to us with some real authority. I would put it to you that the historic Episcopate just presents that.²⁸

²⁶ B.C. Butler, The Idea of the Church, Baltimore, Helicon Press, 1962, p. 119, note 29.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Arthur C. Headlam, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, London, John Murray, 1920, p. 244.

For Headlam, Episcopacy is the instrument of reunion and of union, and not the instrument of Orders. He says:

I would put it to you on the authority of Scripture that what is necessary for a valid ordination is laying on of hands with prayer, that no other form or ceremony can be considered essential.²⁹

Later on he considers this same point:

Moreover, if this theory of Orders were necessary [i.e. ordinations through Bishops in Apostolic Succession], we would undoubtedly find it definitely laid down in our Anglican formularies. But I cannot personally find it anywhere.³⁰

Thus neither Scripture nor Anglican formularies necessarily demand episcopal ordination for Arthur Headlam. Concluding, he says:

I believe, therefore, that in all those bodies which solemnly appoint their ministers by laying on of hands and prayer, and celebrate the Sacraments in accordance with our Lord's commands, the Orders and Sacraments are valid. It is, then, not because I believe that the historical Episcopacy is necessary for valid Orders, but because I believe that it is necessary to secure Christian unity.³¹

Louis Haselmayer has some interesting ideas about the role of the Episcopate as the center of unity. He observes:

The administrative characteristics of the Episcopate have envolved out of its powers of ordination. Ordination has not devolved upon the Episcopate because it exercised the regulatory administration of

²⁹ Arthur C. Headlam, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, p. 254.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 266.

³¹ Ibid., p. 268-269.

Church life [...]. The Catholic ministry is a theological reality. It exists to fulfil a theological purpose. To ask any other Christian Communion to accept this Apostolic Ministry except for these reasons which demanded its existence and continuance is unfair to them and disloyal to our formularies. We cannot ask Christians to accept the Catholic Ministry merely as a means of Church government. We can only ask them to accept the Catholic Ministry because it is a sacramental life-giving organism, safeguarding and reproducing in successive generations the reality of Catholic doctrine, discipline and worship.³²

These particular ideas possibly express one terminal of the most extreme positions within Anglicanism. They are certainly not in conformity with the Anglican practice of liberty of interpretation. For Haselmayer, it is clear that Episcopacy is not something one barter with in reunion or intercommunion plans. It is something absolutely required to safeguard and regenerate in the Church the reality of Catholic life and worship.

An interesting theory of "degrees" of validity is espoused by some Anglicans. It is related again to the role of the Bishop in a divided Church. If I have not misunderstood this theology, it means that the opposite of valid is not "null and void" but rather "less valid." They argue that once you admit that part of the essence of Orders consists in an authority which involves the whole body of the Church as one, validity of Orders in a divided Church becomes

32 L.A. Haselmayer, Lambeth and Unity, p. 156-157.

a matter of degree. On this basis non-episcopal ministries are not simply invalid, but less valid than episcopal ones, although the latter are likewise in defect. In any case, Bishop Rawlinson writes:

God in his loving kindness and mercy can be counted upon not to withhold his grace, for any defect of Church order, from any who in sincerity of heart and in good conscience seek him whether in Word or in Sacrament.³³

Dr. Greenslade appears to approve of this theory in his article on intercommunion in the Intercommunion volume. He says:

Schism within the Church has brought about a situation in which no minister, even one episcopally ordained within the apostolic succession, is recognized as a minister de facto of the whole Church. The problem is to know whether a minister in one communion has in fact been ordained as a minister of the whole Church and needs only open recognition by the several other communions, or whether the fact that the human ordaining agent of a part is not recognized to be acting on behalf of the whole Church causes a defect in orders, schism preventing Christ Himself from conferring the complete authority which He would give if the ordaining agent were so acting. [...] I incline to the opinion that the Lord of the Church accepts the part as representative of the whole (taking advantage, one might say, of the fundamental unity of the Church).³⁴

Dr. Greenslade not only approved but goes beyond by accepting all orders as equal.

³³ A.E.J. Rawlinson, Problems of Reunion, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1950, p. 67.

³⁴ S.L. Greenslade, "Intercommunion: A Personal Opinion," in Intercommunion, p. 233.

Dr. Leonard Hodgson says, in reference to this theory of validity in an article in the Intercommunion volume, that "theological principle forbids us to equate episcopal and non-episcopal ministries,"³⁵ and if I do not misunderstand his position he believes this to be true because of the very fact of Episcopacy. Yet, he says Anglicans are "episcopalian by the accident of history,"³⁶ and for this Anglicans can be grateful, but on the other hand, not boastful — that is, Anglican should not, he says:

think of God as penalising either men or Churches for failing to secure such a thing as the apostolic succession, if what they were doing was honestly seeking to find and do His will as it appeared to them in the circumstances of their time.³⁷

On this assumption, Dr. Hodgson suggests that Anglicans

can be faithful to both principles if [they] distinguish between God's will for His Church in its unity and His will for it in its present divided condition.³⁸

Dr. Hodgson concludes that in this interim period God "wills us [Anglicans] to recognise the equality of His sacramental activity in episcopal and non-episcopal bodies alike."³⁹

³⁵ Leonard Hodgson, "Anglicanism and Intercommunion," in Intercommunion, p. 262.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 264.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 265.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 266.

Finally, Rev. A.G. Hebert is quite critical of these past two positions. He writes in The Form of the Church:

The starting-point, surely, is to realize quite definitely that the episcopal and non-episcopal Ministries are different; they are not equally "valid" (however exactly that word is to be defined); they are not one and the same thing called by different names. A Bishop is not a Moderator or a Superintendent under another name. Episcopacy is not merely a means of Church Government.⁴⁰

Later on Rev. Hebert says:

The complex reality called Church is not something which we are free to make and remake according to our liking; it is something given, having a definite pattern of its own. It rests on a course of action, proclaimed to have been taken in history by the Eternal God for the salvation of mankind. If that message is false, the Church ought to be repudiated and denounced as a false thing by all honest men; if it is true, we have been told that we must give all that we possess if we are to have it.⁴¹

C. Conclusions

From these examples it appears clear that the Anglican Church does not have a common teaching on the ministry, and I doubt very much that theologians in the Church of England could formulate a doctrine of the ministry which would generally be accepted by all Anglicans. As was expected, this freedom of interpretation with regard to the ministry follows the general pattern of accomodation. However, in

⁴⁰ A.G. Hebert, The Form of the Church, London, Faber and Faber Ltd., 1954, rev. ed., p. 133.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 135-136.

this instance, this liberty of interpretation concerns one of the most vital principles of Anglican unity -- episcopacy. One can only conclude that Anglicans have not reached agreement about one of the first principles of the unity they are seeking with others.

On the other hand, the Anglican Church does have a common practice with respect to its ministry. Each one of its ministers is episcopally ordained, irrespective of an individual's opinion even of his own ordination, and as a general rule the Anglican Church does not allow a non-episcopally ordained minister to celebrate Holy Communion in its churches. One can conclude that the Anglican Church is more concerned about the fact than the doctrine of the episcopacy.

Finally, one should expect therefore that both this Anglican teaching and practice would shape its perspectives on intercommunion. It would seem that the most Anglicans could demand from another Church would be the fact of episcopacy, leaving the same freedom of interpretation with regard to episcopacy (as we have seen exists today in the Anglican Church).

Article IV

Anglicans and Intercommunion in Faith and Order

A. Introduction

That other factors beside ecclesiology and ministry are involved in the Anglican approach to intercommunion is undeniable. Such factors as the meaning of the Eucharist as Sacrament and Sacrifice, ways of worship, etc., do influence the perspectives of some Anglicans.⁴² However, according to Faith and Order documents, these factors do not appear to be the determining ones, for these same factors within Anglicanism do not hinder their unity of communion. The Faith and Order Commission's Intercommunion report clearly states: "within the Anglican Communion itself, and within any one of the Churches that belong to it, there is probably as wide a doctrinal divergence⁴³ upon the meaning of Holy Communion as

42 Cf. A.G. Hebert, "A Root of Difference and of Unity," in Intercommunion, p. 236-254, for an Anglican approach to the problem of intercommunion. Although the essay is concerned with the different ways in which Protestant and Catholic Christians worship, — the root of difference presently incompatible for intercommunion — Rev. Hebert is conscious of the many other problems involved in the issue of intercommunion. His closing remark that "the unity of Christians is a thing to be realised not only in ecumenical gatherings but also in the life of every Christian community" envisions something much greater than intercommunion.

43 The report cites as an example: "Many Anglicans [...] take a less 'high' view of the Sacrament than many Presbyterians" ("The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 30).

anywhere else [...] yet all Anglicans, with their very divergent interpretation are members of one communion."⁴⁴ It thus seems clear that, if it were not for other factors than the Eucharist, the Anglican Church should not have any basic objections to intercommunion with member Churches in the World Council.

However, it is true the Intercommunion Commission recognizes that some Anglicans would make a similar plea as the Lutherans for a consensus of the doctrine of the Eucharist.⁴⁵ We shall see though within Faith and Order the fundamental Anglican obstacles to intercommunion are either the fact of the "separation" of Churches, or the difference in "orders." For the majority of Anglicans the latter appears to play the more determining role.

B. Intercommunion Prior to Lund Conference⁴⁶

Dr. Leonard Hodgson contributed the statement for the Church of England for the Faith and Order pamphlet on Rules and Customs of Churches concerning Intercommunion. He says:

⁴⁴ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 30.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁶ Cf. supra, p. 103-105, for remarks of Rev. Herbert and Riches on the discussion of intercommunion at the Continuation Committee meeting in 1947.

The Church of England has no written law relevant to present [1944] circumstances and unambiguously regulating either the admission of non-Anglicans to communion in Anglican churches or the permission given to Anglicans to receive communion in other Churches.⁴⁷

Hence, one can expect that there has been a variety of practice with regard to intercommunion throughout the Anglican Church.

Up until the present century Anglican formularies were the guides in the matter of intercommunion and the application of these formularies was for the most part left to individuals to determine.⁴⁸ More recently, official regulations have been issued in different parts of the Anglican Communion. J.P. Hickinbotham gives a summary survey of some of these regulations in his Appendix to the Intercommunion volume.⁴⁹

On the whole, there is no uniformity of practice throughout the Anglican Communion. The Church of England appears to give leadership but its policy is not followed everywhere throughout the Anglican Communion.⁵⁰ The Church of England sanctions an Anglican Open Communion service at

47 FO No. 99, p. 7.

48 Cf. T.P. Hickinbotham, "Existing Rules and Customs of the Churches," in Intercommunion, p. 364.

49 Ibid., p. 366-367.

50 Cf. supra, p. 114-115, for specific example of this open difference of practice.

ecumenical gatherings.⁵¹ Permission for such a service must be granted by the Bishop of the place where the conference is held. The Bishop is not obliged to grant permission but normally does so. On the other hand, the Church of England does not sanction, except in extreme circumstances, Anglicans going to communion services of another Church unless it is in agreement of intercommunion. It leaves this decision up to the individual conscience of its members.⁵² Thus, according to Hickinbotham, the Anglican position toward intercommunion has arisen "from a varied custom modified by occasional and sometimes contradictory local regulations and by occasional weighty admonitions which lack any sanction in Church law."⁵³

Be it as it may, a study of Anglican statements in Faith and Order, succinctly and adequately expressed in the Intercommunion report, will detect that the Anglican Communion shows three quite distinct perspectives as regards intercommunion in the Faith and Order dialogue. The first perspective rejects the claim that episcopal orders are of the esse of the Church. This view holds, the Intercommunion

51 Cf. supra, p. 110-111.

52 Cf. Leonard Hodgson, "Anglicanism and Intercommunion," in Intercommunion, p. 255-268.

53 T.P. Hickinbotham, "Existing Rules and Customs of the Churches," ibid., p. 364.

report states, that such a claim "is inconsistent with Anglican formularies and doctrine, and irreconcilable with much Anglican history and practice."⁵⁴ The report continues: "Ever since the Reformation many members of the Church of England have fully recognised the Reformed Churches outside England as true branches of the Church of Christ and have valued and exercised the liberty, allowed to members of the Church of England, of welcoming members of such Churches to occasional communion as visitors and of themselves communicating with those Churches in similar circumstances."⁵⁵ In this Anglican perspective, the basis for intercommunion is the familiar Reformed principle of mutual recognition of Churches. The question of "validity" of orders enters only in so far as it is either a fact or not that a non-episcopal minister is a real minister of the Word and Sacraments. If so, in this Anglican perspective, the non-episcopal minister is commissioned to do essentially what the episcopally ordained priest is similarly commissioned to do.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 34.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, "Grace, Ministry and Unity," in On the Move to Unity, edited by T.E. Fison, London, SCM Press, 1962, p. 38.

Although not specifically mentioned, this perspective is readily identified with Anglican Evangelicals.⁵⁷ However, Evangelicals are apparently not satisfied with this occasional "intercommunion" that they claim the Anglican Church allows. For "Anglican Evangelicals," the Intercommunion report observes, "intercommunion, understood as open communion, need not and should not wait for reunion, but is a step towards it, and a preparation for it."⁵⁸ Thus, Anglican Evangelicals would be allied with Reformed Churches in Faith and Order to press for general intercommunion as an acceptable and justifiable practice.

The second Anglican perspective, with some variations, sees the issue of intercommunion related principally to the question of "orders." The divergence of sacramental doctrine does not fundamentally hinder intercommunion, provided the minister is "qualified to celebrate Holy Communion." For many Anglicans, the Intercommunion report states: "episcopacy is not merely of the bens esse of the Church of Christ, but of its esse, and the episcopate in the apostolic succession is an essential part of that whole sacramental

⁵⁷ According to T.P. Hickinbotham's statement at the Continuation Committee meeting of Faith and Order in 1947, for Evangelicals "it was the Word of God that made the Church the Church, not the continuity of order" (FO No. 102, p. 71).

⁵⁸ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 25.

order within which alone the sacraments, in the full and regular sense, can exist."⁵⁹ The report then goes on to declare: "From this point of view, only those who have been ordained in a Church of that character are qualified to celebrate Holy Communion, and only those who have been duly confirmed in such a Church are normally qualified to receive it."⁶⁰

Within this particular perspective, there are evidently differences of opinion of how much and what kind of agreement about the doctrine of orders must exist between Churches for intercommunion to be feasible. To illustrate, the report gives several examples of negotiations that have occurred between the Church of England and other Churches in respect to intercommunion. The best known example is the Church of England's relations with the then newly formed Church of South India. At the time of the Intercommunion Commission report, limited intercommunion existed between the two Churches based on the Anglican decision that the Church of South India included "many ministers who have not been episcopally ordained and many communicants who have not

⁵⁹ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 31.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

been episcopally confirmed"⁶¹ the report observes.⁶² The report concludes this section by stating that it is "the lack of episcopal ordination," as observed from the various Anglican proposals, which constitutes a fundamental obstacle to intercommunion. Nevertheless, a little further on, the report observes: "even these Churches which make the most exclusive claims for episcopal order do [...] allow for certain exceptions in the administration of the sacraments in cases of emergency."⁶³

⁶¹ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 32.

⁶² On July 5th 1955 both Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York passed resolutions concerning the status of the Church of England and the Church of South India. It was unanimously agreed that the bishops, priests and deacons who had received orders since the inauguration of the Church of South India were true bishops, priests and deacons in the Church of God (Bell 1948-57, p. 192). With this settled, reciprocal intercelebration and communion were then established, within the terms of agreement, with all Churches of the Anglican Communion who so desired. If this writer has not misinterpreted the evidence, the change of mind on the part of the two Houses was based not on the matter and form of the Ordinal, but rather on the "intention" in the Church of South India. It was now clearly evident that the Church intended to "validly" confer orders. It appears the Church of England was not so concerned with the meaning of ordination as it was with the fact of ordination. By the 1958 Lambeth Conference five autonomous Anglican Churches had a similar pattern of intercommunion with the Church of South India. The Conference said that this "must therefore be reckoned as a fact of great importance for the whole Communion" (The Lambeth Conference 1958, Part II, p. 27).

⁶³ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 33.

Finally, the report duly acknowledges that if this perspective "is taken and maintained with complete logical rigidity, the very possibility of intercommunion between the Churches maintaining it and the non-episcopal Churches is excluded at the outset,"⁶⁴ for, as the report previously observed, "the sacraments administered in those Churches [non-episcopal] would not be sacraments in the true sense at all."⁶⁵

There is a third perspective which, the Intercommunion report observes, "would not allow the question of 'valid orders,' any more than that of such Eucharistic doctrine, to be isolated in this way."⁶⁶ The question of orders should be considered in the entire complex of Church life, and particularly mentioned in this complex are "the problems of forms of liturgy, and of liturgical practice, and the conception of the meaning of common worship."⁶⁷ The report continues:

apostolic succession is not regarded as the decisive point which constitutes a "Church", but as one indispensable element among a variety of others, which together make up the essential pattern of the "Church"; and non-episcopal Churches are regarded as

⁶⁴ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 33.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

defective in not exhibiting the full outline of the pattern, and not, by Anglicans at least, as "no-Churches". The belief in "valid orders" is not, then, a "position" demanding to be maintained with "logical rigidity", nor is it primarily a matter of Church law; it is intimately bound up with the whole complex fact of the Church's life of faith and worship.⁶⁸

There is a variation of this position which appears to be more rigid. Where the stress here has been more on the difference of the liturgical life as an obstacle to intercommunion, there are other Anglo-Catholics who would hold that the very fact of the separation of Churches from each other in their whole church life, "living in schism from each other" when they ought to be One Body, makes a custom of intercommunion "a false anodyne."⁶⁹ "Further," the report states "it is sometimes urged from the same point of view that since Holy Communion is not an individual act, but an act of the Church as One Body, it cannot properly be celebrated as a joint act of bodies which in their church life are separated from each other."⁷⁰

As indicated there are numerous other factors which must be accounted for in examining the problem of intercommunion in the Anglican Church. It is my feeling that the

⁶⁸ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 33.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Faith and Order Commission's report has justly presented the Anglican perspectives on intercommunion to the Faith and Order Movement. The other factors do not appear to have substantially influenced the positions Anglicans have presented to Faith and Order.

C. Intercommunion in Lund Conference

The members of intercommunion section at Lund, with the Intercommunion report and the volume Intercommunion issued by the Faith and Order Commission as their sources, had adequate material to cope with the various Anglican attitudes. However, the final Lund Report on intercommunion is nowhere as detailed on the Anglican positions as the Intercommunion Commission's report. It was not expected to be, as the Lund section on intercommunion was faced with a different task than the Commission's. The Lund Conference was looking for common ground underlying the various positions taken by the member Churches of the World Council. Nevertheless, buried in this general consensus can be found the various Anglican attitudes.

It would not be inaccurate to place Anglican Evangelicals with the majority who view joint participation at the Lord's Table as justifiable based on the fundamental unity which already exists among the member Churches of the

World Council.⁷¹ On the other hand, we have already observed⁷² that considerable discussion occurred within the Conference about section III, sub-section B, where the delegates were concerned with disagreements among the member Churches of the World Council. The Lund Report's final draft includes a reference to the fact that many Anglicans held that intercommunion should be the goal and not the means to the restoration of unity. The Report continues:

they [Anglicans] should always in these matters so act to bear witness to the principle that the proper minister of the Sacrament is a priest episcopally ordained.⁷³

Although the Lund Conference Report does not specify, it would again not seem inaccurate to identify Anglo-Catholics with the statement:

there are those for whom the very word "Intercommunion" raises difficulties. In their view the observance of Holy Communion is an act of the Church as one Body. It cannot properly be celebrated as a joint act of bodies which in their Church life and doctrine are separated from each other.⁷⁴

Finally, the Lund Report does not expressly mention the Anglican positions, except the above cited Anglo-Catholic view, toward communion at ecumenical conferences.

71 Cf. Lund, p. 54.

72 Cf. supra, p. 145-147.

73 Lund, p. 55.

74 Ibid., p. 49.

Undoubtedly, Anglican views on this question were aired.⁷⁵ Inference can be drawn where the Report considers this issue, and possibly particular inference is found where the Report recommends that "Churches which require episcopal ordination as the test of a valid sacrament should carefully re-examine their practice in the light of exceptions which are already customary by way of Limited Open Communion."⁷⁶ On the other hand, I feel some Anglicans would desire more clarification of Lund's statement that "a conference, gathered together in the name of Christ [...] may be regarded as a temporary and local expression of the Church."⁷⁷ The ecclesiological nature of an ecumenical gathering has many implications which the Lund Conference has not answered for some Anglicans. Possibly, only the Churches themselves will be able to work out these implications, but unquestionably they are in part related to the fact of membership in the World Council, which in itself has implications that are as yet not thoroughly worked out by the member Churches. In any case, for some Anglicans, "intercommunion" at an ecumenical gathering implies that Churches involved are committed to an organic unity. It is not always apparent that such is the case at ecumenical conferences.

75 Cf. supra, p. 150-152.

76 Lund, p. 56.

77 Ibid., p. 57.

D. Conclusions

Many Anglicans have not relinquished the view that Episcopal ordination is to be considered a part of intercommunion negotiations. This appears to be the position, according to Faith and Order documents, which the Church of England has officially adopted.⁷⁸ It would thus be a mistaken attitude for member Churches of the World Council to think otherwise, even though many of the same Anglicans who prize episcopacy and make no apologies for its retention would favor reciprocal open communion at ecumenical gatherings.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, it is difficult to know exactly what the significance of intercommunion means for the Anglican Church. That some Anglicans would accept the Intercommunion report statement: "if complete intercommunion and intercelebration could be achieved between the several Churches, this is all the reunion that is required"⁸⁰ seems evident. On the other hand, it is just as evident that some Anglicans would not accept such arrangements as the final word in reunion efforts. The Intercommunion report, in reference to

⁷⁸ Cf. "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 31-32.

⁷⁹ Cf. Leonard Hodgson, "Anglicanism and Intercommunion," ibid., p. 255-261.

⁸⁰ "The Report of the Commission," ibid., p. 25.

such arrangements, states: "These are anticipations or, rather, partial realisations, of actual organic union."⁸¹ Thus for some Anglicans ultimate reunion is more organic than what intercommunion realizes. For them, the stress is not on the word "communion" applied in the restricted sense of the Lord's Supper,⁸² but on the word "communion" as denoting the "unity of fellowship in the whole life of the Church."⁸³ I would suggest that no member Church in the World Council has shown more evidence of the commitment of some of its members to a greater vision of unity than the Anglican Church. The formation of the Church of South India is ample evidence of the vision that some Anglicans have.

Finally, as regards ecumenical gatherings, the position of the Anglican Communion seems incongruous to many member Churches of World Council, as well as to many Anglicans. Apparently many Anglicans feel that when the Anglican Communion allows individuals to receive Holy Communion outside of ecumenical gatherings there is all the more reason for doing so on such occasions for the promotion of unity. On the other hand, many Anglicans feel that this individual

⁸¹ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 24.

⁸² Cf. Y Congar, "Amica Contestatis," ibid., p. 141-142, for brief remarks on the etymology of the word "Communion."

⁸³ Lund, p. 51.

liberty is not the sanction of its Church, and to approach non-episcopal ministers at such gatherings would be disloyal to its Church. At the same time it is also apparent that even if the Anglican Church sanctioned reciprocal open communion services at such gatherings, some Anglicans would feel that this would be a compromise to the principle of orders. It would seem that the present policy, although unsatisfactory to some, is still the one which satisfies the majority of Anglicans, and at the same time is not a compromise with the general Anglican acceptance of episcopacy.

Yet, the divergence of opinion within the Anglican Communion itself, and the continually expressed view within Faith and Order of the need of visibly manifesting the growing unity of the member Churches in the World Council, may together press the Anglican Church to change its "official" policy toward communion services at ecumenical gatherings.

CHAPTER SEVEN
ORTHODOXY AND INTERCOMMUNION

Article I
Introduction

It is well known that the Orthodox Churches have had a different approach to the ecumenical movement than Protestants or Anglicans. Even within the Orthodox world, a difference of opinion on the nature of this approach can be easily discerned.¹ As the Lund Conference drew near, an Encyclical Letter, from his Holiness, Athenagoras, addressed to the Patriarchs and Heads of the Orthodox autocephalous Churches, suggested clearly what the aims of the Orthodox Churches should be in participating in the World Council of Churches. The Letter reads in part:

the principal aim of our Orthodox Church in participating so far in this pan-Christian movement has been to make known and to impart to the heterodox the riches of her faith, worship and order, and of her spiritual and ascetic experience, as conceptions of Church life and activity.²

As regards the Faith and Order commission in the World Council, the Letter states: "We consider that the Orthodox

1 Cf. *supra*, p. 29; also see "Ecumenical Chronicle: The Orthodox Churches," in *The Ecumenical Review*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1949, p. 434-443.

2 *Bell* 1948-57, p. 39.

Church should by all means abstain from the discussions and working sub-committees of the said commission."³

Whereas it appears the Orthodox have been reluctant to discuss matters of faith and order, they have nevertheless stated their views to the Faith and Order movement on this issue of intercommunion. There were several Orthodox delegates on the Intercommunion Commission, and two Orthodox theologians contributed articles for the Intercommunion volume. Some Orthodox Churches have officially had conversations with the Church of England on the same problem, and even though the Orthodox attitude is considered rigid to many Churches in the World Council, their views demand an understanding respect — because the total question of intercommunion appears far from solved in Faith and Order, and secondly, if only to impede unsavory incidents which might occur at ecumenical gatherings.⁴

Rev. Georges Florovsky, writing in the volume Intercommunion, has succinctly expressed what I feel is the general Orthodox attitude. His words are a simple reminder of the reality of the division between the East and West, but undoubtedly for an Orthodox they are particularly a recollection of the reality of division existing among the

³ Bell 1948-57, p. 40.

⁴ Cf. L. Zander, "Intercommunion and Co-Celebration," in Intercommunion, p. 352, for a particular incident.

Eastern Churches since the Council of Chalcedon.⁵ He wrote:

"It is indeed a dreadful thing that Christians cannot join together at one and the same altar. But it is exactly what should have been expected. For they are really divided."⁶

For Florovsky, intercommunion is not to be expected whenever and wherever Christians are divided.

Again, similar to the Protestant and Anglican Church, Orthodox "Churches" consider Christians to be divided on the very nature of the "Church" and its sacraments. More than any other group of the World Council, the Orthodox view the problem of intercommunion as one of "strict" ecclesiology and sacramental theology, and to some extent as a canonical issue. For the Orthodox, what a person thinks and believes about his Church and the sacraments, and particularly the Eucharist, has a great deal to do with how he is united to Christ and to each other. "Intercommunion" for an Orthodox implies "agreement" in these areas.

Fortunately, due to the Orthodox contact with other "Churches" in Faith and Order, the Orthodox have seen the necessity, occasionally in Faith and Order Conferences and

5 Cf. Vardapet K. Sarkissian, "The Ecumenical Problem in Eastern Christendom," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XII, No. 4, 1960, p. 436-454, for some views of an Armenian theologian on the particular ecumenical problem in the East.

6 Georges Florovsky, "Confessional Loyalty in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 198.

publications, of expressing their views on the nature of the Church and the sacraments they profess. As with the other "Churches," a sample of these views should help somewhat the understanding of the Orthodox attitude toward intercommunion in Faith and Order. However, one should not conclude that these expressions are necessarily the voice of the Orthodox Church. In the case of Faith and Order Conferences or publications, an individual may represent his Church, but, if I have understood the evidence correctly, he would feel totally inadequate to "explain" Orthodoxy. The words of Serge Boulgakoff are his: "Come and see: one can know the Church only by experience, by grace, and by sharing in her life."⁷ For the writers specifically outside of Faith and Order, their ideas represent an even more personal viewpoint, however much they compliment what is said in Faith and Order.

Article II

Nature of the Church in Orthodoxy

A. Observations on the Unity of the Church

Prof. Hamilcar Alivisatos, in the volume The Nature of the Church prepared for the Lund Conference, observed:

⁷ Serge Boulgakoff, L'Orthodoxie, Paris, Alcan, 1932, p. 4.

Like other doctrines, the doctrine of the nature of the Church is never fully defined. Leading Greek Orthodox theologians, both Greek and Russian, have often attempted definition but not very successfully.⁸

Proceeding to give a rather "rough sketch" of the nature of the Church, Professor Alivisatos makes some observations on the note of the unity of the Church. He says:

Out of the twofold nature [divine and human] of the Church and the final purpose of her mission follows almost naturally the oneness of the Church. The Church is and must be one. One and unique is Christ her founder. One and unique is His truth revealed to the Church.⁹

Furthermore, he remarks:

The Greek Orthodox Church holds the conviction that the Church as a divine foundation, as God's work, can neither disappear nor be broken or divided into pieces.

A little further on, he says: "The one Church as created by Jesus exists even now intact and is preserved undivided and whole, unchanged and uncorrupt."¹⁰ Finally, admitting that the Greek Orthodox Church is a federation of independent Churches, Professor Alivisatos maintains: "The unbroken continuity of the Greek Orthodox Church with the undivided Church [...] entitles her to be the one Church."¹¹

⁸ Hamilcar Alivisatos, "The Holy Greek Orthodox Church," in The Nature of the Church, p. 41.

⁹ Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 44.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 51.

Reverend Georges Florovsky, in an article for The Ecumenical Review around the same period of time that Professor Alivisatos' essay appeared, maintained that "the doctrine of the Church is still in its pre-theological phase."¹² Nevertheless, he observed that there are some "sign-posts" for our guidance. He remarked:

The Church is one. Unity is her very being and nature. It was for the sake of unity that she was established by the Lord. Unity and the union of men are her main aim and purpose: ut omnes unum sint.¹³

Florovsky admits that Christians are divided, yet the Church is not divided. He observed:

Most of these separations were motivated by the claims that the empirical Church had somehow ceased to be the true Church. From the Orthodox point of view, this is the very thing that could never have happened. The Church of God can never lose her identity. The Church is infallible and essentially indivisible. So far all Orthodox will agree: this is their reason for being and remaining Orthodox.¹⁴

In an essay, for the volume Intercommunion, exploring the nature of unity before Christians were divided, Florovsky concludes: "this unity was, in the last resort, not so much a unity of administration, as a unity of Faith (or Orthodoxia)." Quite clearly he does not imply that

¹² Georges Florovsky, "The Doctrine of the Church and the Ecumenical Problem," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. II, No. 2, 1950, p. 161.

¹³ Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 157.

"Orders" — the historic episcopate in Apostolic Succession — is not included in this Orthodoxia, for, he had stated just previously:

the main prerequisite of communion would be the validity of orders, i.e. ultimately an unbroken Apostolic Succession. It was the main guarantee of the good standing of a particular local Church itself.¹⁵

Jean Meyendorff, writing on the same subject of unity maintains clearly:

the Orthodox Church, which possesses no permanently infallible criterion of truth, no monolithic structure, [...] sees Unity in a common faith which the Church herself — or better the Spirit, always present in the Church — is the sole critic. The Spirit of Truth dwells in the community of believers who are united in the bond of love, and, if it is expressed normally by the mouth of those who possess a teaching charism — the Bishops — it properly belongs to the Church as a Body.¹⁶

Finally, this unity is so indestructible that the fullness of the Church of God is possessed by each local Church, that is, wherever the Eucharist is correctly celebrated. According to Meyendorff:

For the East, the Church, above all was a community where God was sacramentally present: the sacrament is, in fact, the way in which the death and resurrection of the Saviour are "commemorated" and the way in which his second Coming is announced and anticipated. Hence, the plenitude of this truth — thus, also, the plenitude of truth and teaching

¹⁵ Georges Florovsky, "Terms of Communion in the Undivided Church," in Intercommunion, p. 49.

¹⁶ Jean Meyendorff, L'Eglise Orthodoxe hier et aujourd'hui, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1960, p. 192-193.

authority — is found present in each local church, in every Christian community gathered around the eucharistic table, and having as its head a bishop, successor of Peter and the other Apostles. The local Churches are not mere isolated entities, one from the other: they are united by the identity of their faith and their witness.¹⁷

B. Observations on the Visibility of the Church

Unhesitatingly, there is a different approach to the Church in Orthodoxy than to what the Western Christian is accustomed. The Orthodox, the Russians predominantly, tend to speak of the Church in spiritual — mystical — language, which perhaps comes about from the fact that Orthodox theologians appear to describe the Church from an existential rather than from what we might call a "reflective" or "abstractive" experience. For example, Metropolitan Seraphim, a Russian Orthodox, describes the Orthodox Christian as one who "directs his heart and eyes on the heavenly Jerusalem, already contemplated in the present. All time is suppressed. There is neither past nor future; there is only the present, which embraces the past and the future."¹⁸ Another Russian theologian, Paul Evdokimov, recently wrote:

¹⁷ Jean Meyendorff, L'Eglise Orthodoxe hier et aujourd'hui, p. 182-183.

¹⁸ Metropolitte Seraphim, L'Eglise Orthodoxe, Paris, Payot, 1952, p. 160.

The Confession of the Orthodox faith puts the beginning of the Church in paradise. In fact, God "came in the cool of evening" (Gen. 3,8) to converse with man: the essential of the Church is expressed thus in the communion between God and man; prefigured in the Edenic state.¹⁹

Thus, the Church, according to some Orthodox theologians, is seen today as the place on earth where the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of Christ is realized; where Christians are in communion with God in Christ and with each other.

Nevertheless, Orthodox theology does not hesitate to speak about the visible nature of the Church. Archbishop Germanos, speaking for the Orthodox delegates, made a statement at the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order, in which he clearly stated his Church's views. He said:

We consider the Church and not the "Word" (i.e. the written and preached Word) as primary in the work of our salvation [...]. Further, we must point out with reference to the discussions about an "invisible" Church that the Orthodox Church believes that by its essential characteristic, the Church on earth is visible and that only one true Church can be visible and exist on earth.²⁰

In truth, this statement does not answer all the questions one might ask about the visibility of the Church — particularly the very meaning of visibility. Nevertheless, it is evident from this statement at Edinburgh that for some Orthodox the "earthly" Church is a visible entity, essentially so, and only one such Church can be in existence.

¹⁹ Paul Evdokimov, L'Orthodoxie, Paris, Neuchatel, Delachaux et Niestlé S.A., 1959, p. 124.

²⁰ Edinburgh, p. 155.

Professor Alivisatos, in his essay for The Nature of the Church, develops further and more explicitly what for him is the Orthodox understanding of the visibility of the Church. According to him:

The visible Church [...] is the starting point of Church experience in general and the invisible Church is utterly inconceivable without the existence of the visible part of it. This visible Church is the true subject of human apprehension and experience.²¹

Thus the Church visible is not a subject of faith as such, as she can be humanly apprehended. God does not need to point out his Church, for the Church points to herself by her visibility. Further on, Professor Alivisatos observes:

It is therefore evident that the establishing of an order in the visible Church through specially delegated men, to maintain the continuity of the governing body, is of vital importance for the very existence of the Church.²²

There is no question here of discussing whether the ministry is of the esse of the Church, as it appears clear that for Professor Alivisatos the very existence of the Church hinges vitally on these specially delegated men.²³ Paul Evdokimov eloquently describes even in more explicit terms the meaning of this vital connection between the ministry and the objective presence of the Church. He writes:

²¹ Hamilear Alivisatos, "The Holy Greek Orthodox Church," in The Nature of the Church, p. 45.

²² Ibid., p. 46.

²³ Cf. supra, p. 85.

For orthodoxy, the Church is objectively there where the incorporated apostolic ministry is functioning, she is there where the Bishop, by his apostolic power celebrates the Eucharist, verifies its authenticity and integrates in himself reunited men, in a liturgical thanksgiving, in the Body of Christ.²⁴

True, Orthodoxy does not question the visible structure and ministry of the Church. Yet, it is not always clear in Orthodoxy what relation exists between the visible and invisible nature of the Church. Is the visible and invisible nature of the Church organically one? Some Orthodox theologians often speak in terms that betray an organic union between the two: for example, to this writer a Lutheran should have no difficulty in accepting Metropolitan Seraphim's comments on the dichotomous nature of the Church. He writes:

Theology distinguishes the visible Church from the invisible Church. The Church is invisible because she perpetuates the divine-human life in believers, invisible by essence. The Church is also invisible as the mystical body of Christ [...]. On the other hand, the Church is visible in so far as it is a terrestrial organization.²⁵

As regards the role of the ministry, some Orthodox theologians describe the office of the hierarchy as purely functionary — and often restrictive. For instance, Nicholas Zernov, commenting on the Bishop's power of orders, writes:

24 Paul Evdokimov, L'Orthodoxie, p. 126.

25 Metropolitan Seraphim, L'Eglise Orthodoxe, p. 51.

Ordination administered by a properly ordained Bishop, but without participation of the congregation, is null and void; this is because the power to ordain belongs not to the Bishop, but to the Holy Spirit, who acts and speaks through the unanimous voice and prayer of the redeemed congregation.²⁶

In respect to the teaching authority of the Church, Orthodox theologians likewise speak of Episcopacy as a functional office often dependent on the rest of the "organization" for its validity. For instance, Professor Alivisatos, commenting on the authority of the Church, appears to make the hierarchy at most the voice of the Church — by themselves not infallible. He writes in the same article quoted before:

The authority of the Church rests on this fullness [those who govern and those governed, if a valid distinction] because, based on the revealed truth as kept by the governing body and expressed through the right interpretation of the same (Holy Tradition) it is chiefly expressed by the conscience of the Church, i.e. the common mind both of clergy and laymen.²⁷

Even "eucharistic" power is often described in the same restrictive terms — priests are functionaries of the people. Professor Nikos Missiotis unhesitatingly uses such language in describing the "eucharistic" power of priests. He writes:

²⁶ Nicholas Zernov, The Church of the Eastern Christians, London, SPCK, 1942, p. 48.

²⁷ Hamilcar Alivisatos, "The Holy Greek Orthodox Church," in The Nature of the Church, p. 48.

The Eucharist is the manifestation of the People of God called to be priests as they gather to offer the eucharistic sacrifice, with their leitourgos in their midst represented by the person specially elected by the community of believers for this function, to voice this invocation (always in the first person plural). It is, therefore, impossible for one priest to celebrate alone a service of Holy Communion as "his mass" and no Communion service can be valid with one communicant.²⁸

How representative these past three views are is difficult to say, but they are seen more and more being expressed by all schools of Orthodoxy.

Finally, it seems to me that Jean Meyendorff's following statement eloquently and adequately describes the Orthodox attitude toward many of these problems. He writes:

The Christian is essentially free, free with a true liberty which permits him to accept the Truth which God reveals to him; he is thus responsible for this truth; he finds and preserves it in the Church, in communion with the Spirit, in a reasonable obedience to teaching authority, in the unity of love with his brothers.²⁹

C. Conclusions

To this writer, there is evidence to show that contemporary Orthodoxy, although not denying the visibility of the Church, places great stress on the interior communion of

²⁸ Nikos A. Nissiotis, "Worship Eucharist and Intercommunion: An Orthodox Reflection," in Many Churches, One Table, One Church, edited by Rod French, World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1962, p. 45-46.

²⁹ Jean Meyendorff, L'Eglise Orthodoxe hier et aujourd'hui, p. 192-193.

the Church almost to the exclusion of the visible. True, the Orthodox attest the necessity of episcopacy in the structure of the Church, and also its requirement for the preservation of Church unity. At Evanston, the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, in 1954, the Orthodox delegates stated: "The unity of the Church is preserved through the unity of the Episcopate."³⁰ Nevertheless, the hierarchy does not appear to play the role of visible bond in the Church as it does in Roman Catholicism. In spite of retaining Episcopacy, and proclaiming to the ecumenical movement its importance, a great deal less value, in orders, in teaching authority, is given to it than in Roman Catholicism. The Conciliar approach to truth appears eminently impractical, under the present circumstances. However the Orthodox conceive this Church on earth, they do not admit that the unity of this Church "precisely of the 'visible' and historical church, has ever been broken or lost, so as to be now a problem of search and discovery,"³¹ as stated by the Orthodox at the Oberlin North American Faith and Order Study Conference in 1957.

In this respect, the Orthodox are in agreement with the Intercommunion Commission report that the "question of

30 Bell 1948-57, p. 42-43.

31 Quoted from "Contribution of Eastern Orthodoxy to Ecumenical Movement," by Archbishop Iakovos, in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XI, No. 4, 1959, p. 401.

intercommunion between Churches cannot be separated from the question of the outward and visible unity of the Church."³² On the other hand, in retrospect it would seem evident that the Orthodox could not agree with the further statement of the report: "it is not yet clear what kind and degree of corporate [*italics mine*] unity of organisation or organism is the ultimate desideratum for the Church of Christ on earth."³³ For the Orthodox to accept intercommunion as a means of furthering this "unknown" reunion of Churches would seem highly precarious if not contradictory to their own ecclesiology.

Article III

Nature of Sacraments in Orthodoxy

A. Introduction

As already observed,³⁴ the Sacraments, particularly the Eucharist, are of vital importance for Orthodox ecclesiology. The Church is often described as a sacramental body. In fact the Orthodox speak of "Eucharistic ecclesiology" as being that which is proper to Orthodoxy, while an ecclesiology based on the idea of a universal Church remains proper

³² "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 23.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Cf. supra, p. 266.

to Roman Catholicism. Yet, — the distinction remaining — it appears historically difficult to deny the labor that the Roman Catholic Church has given in the defense of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and of the value of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, once one realizes the theology included in St. Thomas' treatise of the Eucharist, the implications of the Council of Trent, and more recently the insistence of valid orders for Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Whereas it is true that the present liturgical movement within the Church recalls Catholics to the corporate nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and points to unity as the "res" of this Sacrament, nevertheless, it appears historically true to say with Dom Strotmann that:

the Oriental Church, in spite of everything, knew how to better preserve certain primordial values in this domain (eucharistic ecclesiology), notably the characteristic of unity in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, expressed among other ways by the single altar, on which there is only one daily celebration; by the absence almost of Low Mass, except in special cases; and by the possibility of con-celebration.³⁵

It would seem also that one might add the use of the spoken language in the celebration of the liturgy has been a great factor in retaining the "corporate" sense of the Eucharist,³⁶ in the Oriental Church. However, how much the common

³⁵ D.T. Strotmann, "L'Evêque dans la Tradition orientale," in Irenikon, Vol. 34, 1961, p. 158.

³⁶ Cf. Jean Meyendorff, L'Eglise Orthodoxe hier et aujourd'hui, p. 63.

visible bond among Orthodox Churches has suffered as the result of this stress on eucharistic ecclesiology at the expense of an ecclesiology based on the universal Church is only now being assessed by the Orthodox themselves.³⁷

B. Observation on Sacraments in General

The Orthodox accept seven sacraments as instituted by Christ. Interestingly, they call a sacrament a mystery (*mysterion*), and appropriately so, although the Latin term sacramentum does not lose its significance. One monk of the Eastern Church describes the significance of the term *mystery*:

[The Orthodox Church] is somewhat reticent concerning her intimate treasures. She keeps in the word "*mysterion*" its meaning of "*secret*". She fears familiarity. She veils and covers what the Latin Church lays open and exhibits. She feels reluctant [...] to utter too detailed statements on the nature of such or such a mystery (e.g. on the Eucharistic Presence). She avoids giving officially too many strict definitions. This indefiniteness has a very simple explanation. The Orthodox Church wants a *mystery* to remain a "*mystery*", and not to become a theorem, or a juridical institution.³⁸

³⁷ Cf. John F. Long, S.J., "A Catholic Appreciation of the Pan-Orthodox Conference at Rhodes," in Unitas (English), Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1961, p. 280-293.

³⁸ Orthodox Spirituality, by A Monk of the Eastern Church, London, SPCK, 1945, p. 31.

How true this is can be seen by witnessing the sacred liturgy of an Eastern Church.³⁹

Nevertheless, even though the term "mystery" with its mystical implications is used by the Orthodox, the Orthodox Church adopts a realist attitude toward the sacraments. She believes that the sacraments are not mere symbols, but that a divine gift of a spiritual reality is attached to the sense perceptible sign. This gift is objectively bestowed by Christ, and is fruitful in a grown-up recipient when properly prepared. By the power of the Holy Spirit, the sacraments transform man and create a new being, and a new life in God.⁴⁰ Man is divinized by the "grace" the sacraments confer. One Orthodox theologian, Vladimir Lossky, describes this divinization almost as a new "Incarnation" of the Word. He writes: "In the Church, through the sacraments, our nature becomes united with the divine nature in the person of the Son, the Head of the Mystical Body."⁴¹ On the other hand, Paul Evdokimov insists that when one speaks of the Church as a sacramental community it should

³⁹ For a clear but brief exposition of this idea, see Nicolas Zernov's book The Church of the Eastern Christians, p. 34-38. He describes the Eucharist "as a gradual revelation of the divine presence" (ibid., p. 35).

⁴⁰ Cf. Metropolitte Seraphim, L'Eglise Orthodoxe, p. 54.

⁴¹ Vladimir Lossky, Théologie mystique de l'Eglise d'Orient, Aubier, Editions Montaigne, 1944, p. 179.

be understood that the Church is not "organized grace." He writes:

[The Church] is not an organization, she is not organized human life, she is not even, and perhaps above all, "organized grace", but a theandric organism, the life of God in man, which immediately determines her structure: a sacramental community.⁴²

Moreover, it is in the Eucharist that this new life unfolds and becomes full, and where an Orthodox believer is more conscious of his unity with all the members of the Church, both living and dead.

C. Observations on the Eucharist

1. Eucharist as "mystery"

According to the belief of the Orthodox Church, the Body and Blood of Christ are present in the Eucharist.

The whole ritual of the orthodox divine liturgy rests on this belief in the real presence of the true body and blood of Christ, not just in a spiritual or symbolic sense, but literally,⁴³

says Metropolitan Seraphim. L. Zander, in the volume Intercommunion, commenting on John 6, verses 53-56 (except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, etc.), maintains:

Words of which our Lord Himself has said that "they are spirit, and they are life" do not admit of misinterpretation. The Orthodox accept them as a revealed truth, as the most important dogma of the

⁴² Paul Evdokimov, L'Orthodoxie, p. 127.

⁴³ Metropolitte Seraphim, L'Eglise Orthodoxe, p. 60.

Church, and the basis of the eucharistic mystery; any other interpretation of them (such as the theory of impanation, or of the bread and wine being a sign, etc.) is in our view a deviation from the true Eucharist, a distortion of the Gospel commandment and an attempt to adapt the "hard saying" (John 6, 60) of the Saviour to the demands and frailties of human reason.⁴⁴

Thus, although the Orthodox Church may be reluctant to elaborate a theory explaining the Eucharist, her conception appears definitely realistic. The rich patristic tradition of the Eastern Churches allows no other interpretation, to say nothing of the ritual itself.

It has already been indirectly pointed out what the ends or purposes of this Sacrament are, and there appears to be no reason for extensive elaboration. With Metropolitan Seraphim: "the Charism par excellence of the Eucharist is a vivifying communion with Jesus Christ the Saviour and the Holy Spirit."⁴⁵ Continuing this idea he says: "That which crowns all these charismatic gifts of the Holy Eucharist, is the divinisation of man." The Metropolitan then adds:

Further, the Holy Eucharist possesses an ecumenical power of redemption and sanctification. This is verified when one notices the priest, after the transformation of the holy species, prays not only for the faithful and those communicants present at the liturgy, but he also invokes the most holy

⁴⁴ L. Zander, "Intercommunion and Co-Celebration," in Intercommunion, p. 353.

⁴⁵ Metropolitte Seraphim, L'Eglise Orthodoxe, p. 62.

mother of God and all the saints of the old and new alliance, for all the dead, for the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church.⁴⁶

For the Orthodox this is the Church. As Paul Evdokimov says: "Since Pentecost, the Church is there where the eucharistic koinonia is actualized."⁴⁷

To the Orthodox, the Sacrament of the Eucharist is the sacrament of unity, as koinonia for an Orthodox implies more than just a gathering of Christians in the celebration of the Eucharist. It implies, in the words of Zander: "Concord in thought, that is, unity of faith; concord in life, that is, unity of love."⁴⁸ Continuing this thought, he says:

If there is no such concord, the sacrament of unity may prove to be merely a symbol of unity, a sign with no reality behind it, a form without content, a collection of letters that do not spell a word. [...] a sacrament is faith in actu, a crystallisation, as it were, of the Church's life and thought.⁴⁹

Rev. Georges Florovsky, in the same volume Intercommunion, includes more explicitly Holy Orders as part of the concord of faith. He says:

⁴⁶ Metropolitan Seraphim, L'Eglise Orthodoxe, p. 63.

⁴⁷ Paul Evdokimov, L'Orthodoxie, p. 129.

⁴⁸ L. Zander, "Intercommunion and Co-Celebration," in Intercommunion, p. 351.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

For the "Catholic", the point is not merely the restoration of an episcopal order, but the recognition of the sacramental character of the priesthood.⁵⁰

Finally, he remarks: "A 'Catholic' cannot divorce order from faith, a very definite [italics mine] Church order is for him an article of his integral Christian faith or dogma."⁵¹

2. Eucharist as Sacrifice

Nicolas Zernov observes: "The Eastern service takes the form of a corporate action by which the whole life of Christ is re-enacted by the Congregation."⁵² The life of Christ is set before the congregation in symbolic gestures and utterances. Florovsky says, in the volume Ways of Worship, that these gestures are "not merely an impressionistic reminder of the remote events, but a true 're-presentation' — a 'making present' again."⁵³ Continuing, he says:

The mystery (i.e. the "sacrament") is one and ever the same, even as the sacrifice is one, and the table ever one. Christ Jesus is present, both as the Minister of the Sacrament, and as the Victim — "who offers and is offered" — He is the ultimate and perennial Minister of the Church, the true High-Priest of the New Testament, "in His blood".⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Georges Florovsky, "Confessional Loyalty in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 201.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Nicolas Zernov, The Church of the Eastern Christians, p. 35.

⁵³ Georges Florovsky, "The Elements of Liturgy: Orthodox," in Ways of Worship, p. 59.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 59-60.

Further on, he observes:

It is most significant that all eucharistic prayers are composed in the plural, including the prayer of consecration (anaphora), which is recited by the celebrant alone, but obviously in the name and on behalf of the faithful.⁵⁵

As regards this liturgical plural, Florovsky remarks:

It points to the universal fullness and unity of the Church. For every liturgy is celebrated in communion with the whole Church Catholic and universal, and in the name of the whole Church. [...] In this sense the Eucharist is the mystery of the Church, or, to be quite accurate, the mystery of the whole Christ.⁵⁶

What is the nature of this sacrificial offering in the Eucharists of the Orthodox Churches? Chrestos Androutsas answers:

The Eucharist is not a new act of immolation of Jesus Christ different from the immolation of Golgotha as to its content and its power, but a new representation before God of that sacrifice made once for all and a new mystical reiteration of it.⁵⁷

"Our present Eucharists are offerings, actualisations, applications of this one all-sufficient Sacrifice,"⁵⁸ says an Eastern monk. The priest then, united with Christ and with the faithful offers a real sacrifice, the one sacrifice of

⁵⁵ Georges Florovsky, "The Elements of Liturgy: Orthodox," in Ways of Worship, p. 60.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 61.

⁵⁷ Quoted from "The Inner Meaning of Word and Sacrament" by Leo Gillet, in Ways of Worship, p. 187.

⁵⁸ Orthodox Spirituality, by A Monk of the Eastern Church, p. 86.

Calvary, but in symbols or in the "mystery," to be more accurate. How essential is a priest to this action? At the Edinburgh World Conference of Faith and Order, the Orthodox added a rider to the section on validity of ministry. It reads in part:

According to Orthodox doctrine valid sacraments are only those which are (1) administered by a canonically ordained and instituted minister, and (2) rightly performed according to the sacramental order of the Church.⁵⁹

D. Conclusions

The Orthodox Church sees in the Eucharist the realization of the Church. Although Orthodoxy is reluctant to describe the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, she would not more dare deny his real presence there than she would his real presence in the Church. Just as the whole Church is regarded as one, through bonds of common faith and love, so too those who approach the Eucharist must be one in faith and love. The unity of the Church is not to be interpreted eschatologically, no more than the unity of Christ and his members in the Eucharistic Communion. The Eucharist, for the Orthodox, breaches all time and space. He is reminded of Adam's friendship with God, restored by Christ, enjoyed eminently by Mary, and already started in his own communion.

⁵⁹ Edinburgh, p. 156.

The Orthodox also believes that this great gift of the Eucharist was "purchased" at a great price — the life of the Son of God, which is re-enacted each time the Eucharist is celebrated. For him the mass is a sacrifice. It is a sacred rite of common worship. Orthodoxy adheres to the belief that a human minister, "in the name and in behalf of the faithful," canonically ordained, is required for this Sacrifice. L. Zander, realistically appraising the proposals of intercommunion, comments:

If, approaching the chalice, I receive it directly from the hands of Christ, what have the minister, the parish, the order of the service, etc., to do with it? Why can I not receive Christ in my own home, in my own family, and perform my own Eucharist quite independently of any ecclesiastical ordinances and the theology and the rules implied by them?⁶⁰

Thus, Orthodox sacramental theology is sometimes quite mystical, but on the final evidence the judgment is for a realist theology. "Sacramental fellowship" with non-Orthodox would require this same realist approach to sacraments for the majority of Orthodox.

⁶⁰ L. Zander, "Intercommunion and Co-Celebration," in Intercommunion, p. 354.

Article IV

Orthodoxy and Intercommunion in Faith and Order

A. Orthodox Perspective on Intercommunion

At the Lausanne Conference, Archbishop Germanos, on behalf of the Eastern Orthodox Church, made a declaration to the full session of the World Conference. From the beginning, the Orthodox position was clear and definite: "in matters of faith and conscience there is room for no compromise."⁶¹ The declaration then went on to explore the zone of no compromise, summarized by stating:

the mind of the Orthodox Church is that reunion can take place only on the basis of common faith and confession of the ancient, undivided Church of the seven Oecumenical Councils and of the first eight centuries.⁶²

A little further on, the declaration reads:

This being so, we cannot entertain the idea of a reunion which is confined to a few common points of verbal statement; for according to the Orthodox Church where the totality of the faith is absent there can be no communio in sacris.⁶³

Thus, at the very first Faith and Order Conference, the Orthodox declared that "sacramental fellowship" for them was to be considered in the perspective of the "undivided"

⁶¹ Lausanne, p. 384.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 385.

Church, and not in the light of the "divided" Church of the twentieth century. What was demanded in the undivided Church in order for Christians to meet at the Lord's Table?

According to Rev. Georges Florovsky, two things closely connected were required in the undivided Church for the Eucharist to be shared in by Christians. He observed in his article "Terms of Communion in the Undivided Church" in the Intercommunion volume:

First, consensus was regarded as a prerequisite of communion, and therefore communion could be kept or practised as long as there was a justifiable hope of an ultimate consensus; on the other hand, every reasonable suspicion of a real dissension in essentials would justify, in the then situation, an (at least provisional) break of communion (as it were, by precaution). [...] Secondly, the main prerequisite of communion would be the validity of orders, i.e. ultimately an unbroken Apostolic Succession. It was the main guarantee of the good standing of a particular local Church itself. "Abstract" consecrations were prohibited and disavowed, and no titular or nominal bishops were allowed to function as such.⁶⁴

Florovsky concludes:

Finally both conditions were closely correlated: strictly speaking, no valid continuity could be recognized or admitted outside of a Catholic consensus. The ultimate reason for that was deeply grounded in an organic conception of the Church. Unanimity (in essentials) was just the formative factor of the Church (as far as its human aspect was concerned). Were this unanimity broken, the unity itself was broken, and no room for communion left. [...]

In brief, there was no problem of intercommunion (in the modern sense of the term) in the undivided

⁶⁴ Georges Florovsky, "Terms of Communion in the Undivided Church," in Intercommunion, p. 49.

Church. [...] There was simply the question of "full communion", i.e. of membership in the Church. And there were identical terms of this membership for all, or at least identifiable or equivalent terms, if we consider the variety of actual language used in the Church.⁶⁵

The first question which comes to mind: what does Florovsky mean by "the undivided Church"? He answers: "the state of the Church militant before the canonical split between the East and the West, finally consummated in the eleventh century."⁶⁶ The next question: was the Church really undivided? He answers:

There was a sense in which the Church at this epoch could still be described as undivided. There was still a very considerable and traditional "consensus" in essentials. It is so obvious when we compare the scope of dissensions then with "the unhappy divisions" of modern times. Ecumenical Councils were possible at this epoch, even in the periods of the most bitter strife [...]. The controversy itself was possible at all because there was some common ground. In no case had the Apostolic Succession been broken [...] [which] was regarded unanimously as a token and a guarantee of unity [...]. The terms of unity were under discussion throughout the whole period, and the terms of unity were the terms of Communion.⁶⁷

What Florovsky is saying is that there were heresies and schisms in that period but there was still, in spite of them, considerable consensus in faith and order. He says:

⁶⁵ Georges Florovsky, "Terms of Communion in the Undivided Church," in Intercommunion, p. 49-50.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 47.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 47-48.

"of course there was no question of intercommunion with heretics and schismatics. Heresy had to be abrogated first and schism cured."⁶⁸ However, a new question or issue arose in that period: what was the status of those heretical and schismatical Christians vis à vis the Catholic Church? Florovsky concludes that theologically there was no synthesis of opinion. More particularly, it became thorny when such a Christian returned to the Catholic Church, whether a layman or a priest. Florovsky remarks that St. Basil "hesitated to admit that a separated minister openly outside of the communion with the Catholic Church could act, as it were, on behalf of the Church in which he had no status whatever and whose communion he had deliberately avoided."⁶⁹ Florovsky adds that as late as the twelfth century a great Byzantine Canonist, Theodore Balsamon, "hesitated to recognize any orders conferred outside the Catholic communion of the Orthodox Church."⁷⁰ Nevertheless, according to Florovsky, the discipline of the Eastern Catholic Church between St. Basil and the twelfth century was relatively mild in the reception of heretics and schismatics back into the Church — based on charity. Florovsky remarks: "it is difficult to

⁶⁸ Georges Florovsky, "Terms of Communion in the Undivided Church," in Intercommunion, p. 52.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 56.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

see how charity in the Church can be totally detached from the rule of Faith."⁷¹ To be sure, the Fathers of the Church were concerned with the Christian Faith no less than charity, but apparently the reality of communion was their first concern.⁷²

Finally, Father Florovsky justly concludes:

A Catholic communion (and no other could be allowed) was visualized only on the basis of an integral unity in faith. On the other hand, the actual communion (or communication) was of vital importance, for the very reason that Christianity is not just a doctrine but the Body.⁷³

Furthermore, he says:

Even when a distinction had been admitted between a strictly canonical boundary and an ultimate charismatic or sacramental limit, it was never regarded as permissible to transgress the canonical limit: whatever the real status of "separated (Christian) bodies", no communion could go beyond the canonical limit, simply because this limit indicated the absence of unity. Communion and an integral unity were exact correlatives.⁷⁴

How faithful Rev. Georges Florovsky has been to the Orthodox attitude toward intercommunion will be seen by a closer examination of the Intercommunion report and the Lund Conference Report.

⁷¹ Georges Florovsky, "Terms of Communion in the Undivided Church," in Intercommunion, p. 53.

⁷² Ibid., p. 55.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 57.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

B. Intercommunion Prior to Lund Conference

At the Edinburgh Conference, Archbishop Germanos, speaking once again for the Orthodox delegation, declared that for the Orthodox intercommunion "must be considered as the crowning act of a real and true reunion which has already been fully achieved by fundamental agreement in the realm of Faith and Order and is not to be regarded as an instrument for reunion."⁷⁵ Just before this statement, the Archbishop reminded the Conference of the great importance which the Orthodox Church attaches to the Sacrament of Orders upon which "depends, of necessity, the valid rendering of all other sacraments," the declaration reads.

The Archbishop also reminded the Conference of what the Orthodox had declared at Lausanne, namely, that the Orthodox Church would view with satisfaction the union of Churches with similar features. This was evidently no afterthought. As the delegation said: "In such a way the gradual drawing together of the Christian Churches may be helped and promoted."⁷⁶ No mention is made as to whether the Orthodox themselves would consider entering such a union, as v.g. with Anglicans, or certain Lutheran Churches, or ultimately with Roman Catholicism.

⁷⁵ Edinburgh, p. 156.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 157.

As we have seen, the problem of intercommunion was viewed at this Edinburgh Conference related to the general problem of the reunion of Churches.⁷⁷ The Edinburgh Continuation Committee on Faith and Order saw the need of establishing a special Commission to study this problem of intercommunion. The Orthodox had four members on the Faith and Order Intercommunion Commission, one of whom was from the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar. Prof. Hamilcar Alivisatos, of the Orthodox Church of Greece, served as Vice-Chairman of the Commission.

The Intercommunion report recognized the unique position of the Orthodox in the World Council, and at the same time the different position the Orthodox adopt toward intercommunion. The report, adopting a statement of Dr. Leonard Hodgson, suggested: "The word inter-communion presupposes different Churches, which may or may not be in communion with one another." The report then states very clearly:

Here the Orthodox Eastern Church is in a different position from the other Churches adhering to the World Council. It does not regard itself as one Church among others, but as alone confessing that fullness of Christian truth which makes the Church fully to be the Church. An Orthodox cannot conceive of sacramental fellowship in distinction from the full fellowship of Church life. Hence, [...] neither in the Slavonic languages nor in Greek is there any word which accurately translates "intercommunion".⁷⁸

77 Cf. supra, p. 75-76.

78 "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 18.

Thus it appears that irrespective of what other Churches in the Faith and Order movement believe about themselves or others, the Orthodox do not think of themselves as a Church or as a denomination of the Church,⁷⁹ but as the Church.⁸⁰ For this basic reason "sacramental fellowship" or intercommunion is for the Orthodox impossible.

The report suggests that the term "intercommunion," restricted to the idea of common fellowship at the Lord's Table, is much too narrow for Orthodoxy. As the report declares: "An Eastern Orthodox [...] would find it difficult to separate unity of fellowship in the Eucharist from unity of fellowship in all the sacraments and indeed in the whole life of the Church."⁸¹ A little further on, the report points out that for the Orthodox the Greek word Koinonia (communion) "is not used at all as a specific designation of what in the West is called the Sacrament of Holy Communion,

⁷⁹ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 21.

⁸⁰ At the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Illinois, in 1954, as regards other Churches the Orthodox declared: "We would not pass judgment upon those of the separated communions. However, it is our conviction that in these communions certain basic elements are lacking which constitute the reality of the fulness of the Church" (Bell 1948-57, p. 43).

⁸¹ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 19.

but only in the wider sense which covers the whole of Church fellowship."⁸²

Yet, as the report declares, it is not easy to determine what degree of actual "corporate union" is required to justify sacramental fellowship. To illustrate this statement, the report mentions as one example the full communion which autonomous Orthodox Churches,⁸³ without any unity of government or jurisdiction, have with each other, and in some cases jurisdiction even overlapping in the same territory. The report remarks that obviously the distinction here "is, of course, not one of doctrine or order."⁸⁴

It is evident in the report that doctrinal differences, particularly about the nature of Eucharist and ministry, prevent "sacramental fellowship" of Orthodox Churches

⁸² "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 19.

⁸³ The meaning here of autonomous Orthodox Churches is specified in the report as those Orthodox Churches "which together make up what we sometimes call the Orthodox Church" (Intercommunion, p. 24). The "monophysite" and "Nestorian" Eastern Churches are quite obviously not in communion with "those" Orthodox Churches, and from what information is available there is a variety of customs and rules among themselves. Some of these Churches adapt an attitude similar to the Orthodox, namely, no "sacramental fellowship" without reunion in Church life, while others, not only have "sacramental fellowship" among themselves, but also with Churches of a "non-monophysite" or "Nestorian" background (cf. Intercommunion, p. 385).

⁸⁴ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 24.

with other "Churches." The report specifically calls attention to the negotiations which have taken place between certain Orthodox Churches and the Church of England,⁸⁵ as an illustration of this statement. On the other hand, it is clear that for some Orthodox these very important truths are to be discussed only as part of the essential pattern of the Church.⁸⁶

Finally, as regards the problem of Communion Services at ecumenical gatherings, where the Intercommunion report discusses the second possible method, that of

⁸⁵ Discussions were held between Anglicans and Orthodox at Lambeth Palace in July of 1930, just prior to the meeting of the 1930 Lambeth Conference. A resume of the discussions was reported at the Lambeth Conference, and then published along with the other proceedings of the Conference. The Orthodox delegation with regard to the Eucharist, stated the following: "pending a formal decision by the whole Orthodox Church, and therefore without giving the practice official sanction, for which it has no authority, it is of opinion that the practice of the Orthodox receiving Holy Communion from Anglican priests in case of need and where no Orthodox priest was available, might continue, provided that an Orthodox authority did not prohibit such a practice" (The Lambeth Conference 1930, p. 140).

The Lambeth 1930 Conference agreed that such discussions should continue. The next one was held in October of 1931, at which there were representatives from eight Orthodox Churches. The Orthodox agreed to submit to their synods the results of the Conference but particularly they would submit for their consideration the agreement the Anglicans had had with old Catholics. No further negotiations have transpired between the Church of England and Orthodox Churches, although some interesting resolutions concerning Anglican Orders have been passed by various Orthodox Synods and Conferences (cf. Bell 1948-57, p. 36-37).

⁸⁶ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 33.

non-simultaneous Services of different traditions, it is clearly pointed out that the celebrant of an Orthodox Service cannot, according to the discipline of his own Church, issue a general invitation to partake of Communion. Nevertheless, the report adds, "in all cases [...] it is possible for those who cannot communicate to be invited to attend the service and share spiritually⁸⁷ in the worship."⁸⁸ However, the report makes it evident to Orthodox Churches that this "spiritual communion" is profoundly unsatisfactory for some to the degree that the report declares: "They would therefore feel bound to absent themselves from any service [not just Orthodox] at which they were forbidden by Church regulations to partake of the elements."⁸⁹

C. Intercommunion in Lund Conference

As already noticed, the Orthodox made it clear to the Faith and Order delegates at Lund that the problem "of intercommunion as ordinarily understood does not exist"⁹⁰ for them. The Lund Report simply states: "Our discussions have naturally been mainly concerned with the views of those

⁸⁷ Cf. supra, p. 116-117.

⁸⁸ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 37.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 38.

⁹⁰ Lund, p. 49.

Churches which are able to envisage sacramental fellowship without complete organic union."⁹¹ Thus the Orthodox have been mainly divorced from the discussion of intercommunion in Faith and Order up to the Lund Conference. In two brief sentences prior to this last statement of the Report, the basis for the Orthodox abstention is succinctly stated:

In their view the observance of Holy Communion is an act of the Church as One Body. It cannot properly be celebrated as a joint act of bodies which in their church life and doctrine are separated from each other.⁹²

Hence, the Orthodox can neither invite non-Orthodox to partake of its Eucharist,⁹³ nor can they participate in a Eucharist which would be the joint act of bodies separated in church life and doctrine.

Perhaps the key word in these Lund statements is the term "mainly." Although some might tend to dismiss the Orthodox from the "discussion" at the very outset of the Report, and although the Report mentions no Church by name where it states that all the Churches "are profoundly concerned about the problems connected with intercommunion,"⁹⁴ the Intercommunion report, however, specifically observes:

91 Lund, p. 49.

92 Ibid.

93 The Lund Report called attention to the fact that the Greek Orthodox Church was the only member of World Council of Churches to deny the Eucharist to members of other Churches even in cases of urgent need (cf. Lund, p. 55).

94 Lund, p. 56.

it is a very notable fact that Orthodox [...] Churchmen, who might be expected to dismiss the whole idea of intercommunion as unpractical, are very far from taking that attitude; indeed some⁹⁵ of them show a quite special concern about the problem and pursue it with special eagerness.⁹⁶

How true this statement was at the time has been proven even more since then. Statements on intercommunion and reunion made at Evanston, New Delhi, and articles in The Ecumenical Review along with the Report Many Churches, One Table, One Church show the Orthodox interest in the issue of intercommunion.

Finally, although the Orthodox position appears to be briefly dismissed at Lund, its similarity is so close to some Anglo-Catholic views (the Intercommunion report at times speaks of them together) that its influence is probably much stronger than at first suspected. Only time can tell what effect the Orthodox view has had on Faith and Order. The Lund Report does in fact admit that intercommunion must have some solid basis on which to stand and it also

⁹⁵ The very presence of Orthodox on the Intercommunion Commission and the contributions to the Intercommunion volume attest that the Orthodox have seen the "practicality" of this thorny problem in the ecumenical movement. In retrospect, as an invited guest to the Fourth World Council of Faith and Order at Montreal, this writer had the feeling that Orthodox sentiments on intercommunion are not treated indifferently by some in Faith and Order. Particularly noticeable was the outmost fairness of Dr. Ernest Payne, the former chairman of the Intercommunion Section at Lund.

⁹⁶ "The Report of the Commission," in Intercommunion, p. 34-35.

admits: "The achievement of full sacramental fellowship depends, in part at least, upon fuller agreement in these [nature of Church and sacraments] matters."⁹⁷

D. Conclusions

The Orthodox Church has no official intercommunion with any Church. Unofficially, there is evidence to show that the Orthodox Church has a "tacit" agreement with the Church of England for the reception of Holy Communion from Anglican priests in special circumstances. How many Orthodox Church members would actually participate in these circumstances is difficult to say. It is likewise not unknown for an Orthodox to approach the Sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁸

As regards ecumenical conferences, the Orthodox have traditionally had their own beautiful services, to which an invitation to non-Orthodox to attend but not to participate in the Eucharist is usually offered. In respect to Orthodox participating in the services of non-Orthodox, they do join in prayer, in Scripture reading, in sermons but not in sacraments. In the Encyclical Letter of 1952 from the

⁹⁷ Lund, p. 51.

⁹⁸ Cf. Ignatius Szal, The Communication of Catholics with Schismatics; an Historical Synopsis and Commentary, Washington, The Catholic University of America Press, 1948, p. 13; also, see The Tablet, Nov. 11, 1939, p. 548-549.

Ecumenical Patriarch, concerning Meetings of the World Council of Churches, Orthodox delegates are reminded that they "should be as careful as possible about services of worship in which they join with the heterodox."⁹⁹ Yet, it is not unknown for an Orthodox to receive the communion of non-Orthodox Churches at ecumenical gatherings.

In the face of these facts and that of the conviction of those who favor intercommunion in Faith and Order, this writer thinks that Orthodoxy can only hope to continue steadfastly in its present official position if it perseveringly returns to the theology of the undivided Church, to continue to bear witness to unbroken Orthodox tradition. Unless appeals to charity by their non-Orthodox brothers wear them down, the Orthodox will continue to have their own services at ecumenical conferences.

As regards other "Churches" in the World Council, the Orthodox insistence on no compromise in doctrine appears to strengthen the position of certain Anglicans, and secondly, as the Anglican experiment in the Church of South India grows older, and as other unions with Anglicans are brought to fruition, Orthodoxy will have an opportunity to see the faith of the Church of England as if in a laboratory, and they might find room for more successful conversations.

⁹⁹ Bell 1948-57, p. 41.

The Church of England should recognize by now that the Orthodox are not just interested in Apostolic Succession. Other matters of faith are equally involved in the issue of intercommunion. Already the Orthodox and Anglican Churches share much in common. They are both influenced by the Greek Fathers; they both, even though one is more mystical and the other pragmatist, are reluctant to define;¹⁰⁰ they both appeal to a personal liberty in the Holy Spirit, to a personal illumination of truth, crystallized outwardly in some sort of conciliar agreement; they both have a similar episcopal structure, with much local autonomy; they both reject Roman claims to the primacy of Peter; to be brief, the pietas Orthodoxa and the pietas Anglicana are not so dissimilar that it would not surprise this writer if they could join in some form of union.

In respect to "Reformed" Churches in the World Council, they should be alert to the unique position which Orthodoxy claims. They see their participation in the World Council of Churches as an uncompromising witness to the universal Christian truth, which they believe to possess. The Roman Catholic will qualify this universality of truth but

¹⁰⁰ A good example of this in Orthodoxy is in the belief of sacraments, v.g. at Edinburgh, the Orthodox insisted on valid orders for the validity of sacraments, but nowhere interpreted the meaning of "validity" in any specific way (cf. supra, p. 290).

he certainly must appreciate the Orthodox witness to our Christian brothers. The Orthodox attention to the signification of apostolicity, unity, and holiness in the Church is inestimable to the cause of reunion. Their sense of the sacramental ministry of the Church and particularly their Eucharistic centredness must be an eye-opener to their Reformed brothers in the World Council of Churches. Their belief in reunion through truth and not in equivocal statements — as the Anglican G.L. Prestige says: "it is not possible to convert men to an equivocal formula"¹⁰¹ — is unchangeable.

On the other hand, the Orthodox have likewise received a great deal from their Reformed brothers. The principal "gift" is that they have been brought out of their isolationism — resulting in a greater consciousness of the divided state of Christendom. Unfortunately, in their relations with other Christians, Orthodoxy has two temptations to overcome, claims Professor Boris Bobrinskoy. First, he says: "the temptation of sterile polemics" and secondly "the temptation to call the separated brethren to return — to return to the first eight centuries."¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ G.L. Prestige, "An Anglican View of Ecumenical Relations," in 1054-1954 L'Eglise et les Eglises, Chevetogne, Editions de Chevetogne, 1954, Vol. II, p. 418.

¹⁰² Boris Bobrinskoy, "Orthodoxy in the Ecumenical Movement," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1962, p. 327-328.

There is evidence that both these temptations are being overcome. Prof. Nikos Nissiotis in a paper delivered at the Third Assembly of World Council at New Delhi, in 1961, appealed for something new in Orthodoxy: "Orthodoxy must give up its defensive, confessional-apologetic attitude" on the grounds, he says, that "the Orthodox witness as service to unity can, by self-sacrifice, put all separations in their right place within the One Undivided Church."¹⁰³ As regards the second temptation, Prof. Bobrinskoy himself says:

The time of history is irreversible and the life of the Church is no exception. Orthodoxy does not invite Christians simply to return to the stage of the formulations of the ecumenical councils, but much more than that, she calls upon them humbly to unfold their convictions and their experience in the fullness of Truth and Light.¹⁰⁴

Thus, it is an understanding of what Orthodoxy means by the return to the first eight centuries. If I have not read too much into this passage, I feel Prof. Bobrinskoy is urging not only his fellow Orthodox but also other members of World Council to see in the "undivided" Church not the "stage of the formulations of the ecumenical councils" but rather "the fullness of Truth and Light" as pertinent to the twentieth century "divided" Church.

¹⁰³ Nikos A. Nissiotis, "The Witness and the Service of Eastern Orthodoxy to the One Undivided Church," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1962, p. 199.

¹⁰⁴ Boris Bobrinskoy, "Orthodoxy in the Ecumenical Movement," in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1962, p. 328.

Finally, the words of Rev. Georges Florovsky, in the light of our previous conclusions, appear particularly apt as a closing statement on the Orthodox attitude toward intercommunion in Faith and Order. He says:

The Ecumenical Movement is primarily a fellowship in search. It is a venture or an adventure, not an achievement. It is a way, not a goal, and therefore an open communion would compromise the whole endeavor. It would be to pretend falsely that Christendom has already been reunited. We know only too well that it has not. Tension remains, compelling us to move on. For that reason we still have only an Ecumenical Movement and not a reunited Christendom.¹⁰⁵

Until such time as Christendom is "reunited" there can be no "sacramental fellowship" between Orthodoxy and other Christians, appears to be the conclusion, on what evidence we have seen in Faith and Order, that we must draw for the great majority of Orthodox.

¹⁰⁵ Georges Florovsky, "Confessional Loyalty in the Ecumenical Movement," in Intercommunion, p. 202.

CHAPTER EIGHT
ROMAN CATHOLIC PERSPECTIVES ON INTERCOMMUNION

Article I
Introduction

Historically, Catholic tradition has been that the sacraments are instruments and signs of full union in the Body of Christ. That this is the perennial teaching of the Catholic Church is clear, though in practice, up to the present liturgical reform, it was too little recognized in the consciousness of Catholics. The sacraments are the sacraments of the Church and in her "alone do they produce their full effect."¹ The Sacrament par excellence of full union in the Body of Christ is the Eucharist, so much so, that it can be said that there is a normal Eucharist only where there is unity.

From earliest times, individuals or local Churches were in "communion" on the presumption of the orthodoxy of their faith and charity, visibly manifested under the leadership of a Bishop in Apostolic Succession. Merach, paraphrasing a text² of St. Ignatius, observes:

¹ Henri DeLubac, Catholicism, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1958, p. 37.

² Philadelphians, 4.

The faithful must pray together, round the same altar, breaking the same bread, professing the same beliefs, remaining in concord, and above all by submitting to the same head, in order that they may be united with the Lord. This last is the most essential.³

In a word, the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church is: "the sacramental life of the community and the visible unity of the Church are centered in the bishop."⁴

The present canonical position of the Catholic Church on communicatio in sacris is clearly based on this above conviction.⁵ Whenever or wherever faith or charity⁶ have been essentially attacked, "communion" is denied. The de facto legislation forbids Roman Catholic participation in the liturgical celebrations of non-catholics except in certain cases which almost always appear connected with the danger of death.⁷ The assumption is that there is some

3 Emile Mersch, The Whole Christ, London, Dobson, 1962, p. 218.

4 Ibid., p. 219.

5 Although it is true that there was no canon law in the earliest days of the Church, one must not be misled into thinking that there were no regulations on communicatio in sacris.

6 The term Charity here implies more than a strictly interior habit, but also its visible manifestation, and in this sense schism is against charity as visibly rendering the Body of Christ (cf. St. Thomas, II-II, q. 39, a. 1).

7 Congar reminds us that "exceptional facts do not prescribe against the law, and that one cannot formulate a theory of the normal with the product of particular circumstances" (Intercommunion, p. 148).

necessary connection between the sacraments and faith — sacramenta fidei — and the sacraments and the Church — sacramenta Ecclesiae. Unity in both is required for communion.

Although this traditional teaching of the Church is still the universally accepted position, nevertheless the ecumenical movement has fermented new thinking on this question of communicatio in sacris. The very meaning of union in the Church is now being seen by some Roman Catholics in a new light which at the time of the drafting of the Code of Canon Law was certainly not so evident. The Second Vatican Council's preoccupation with the nature of the Church, and recent pronouncements by theologians within and outside the Secretariate for Promoting Christian Unity prompt theologians to explore more thoroughly the exact relation between Catholics and other Christians in the Body of Christ. The consequences of the distinction between formal and material heresy or schism are now more readily accepted.⁸ The recognition of certain authentic Christian elements in "dissident" Churches, and the recognition of the good faith of the members of these Churches is also more readily given.⁹ An even more significant development is the present questioning of

⁸ Cf. Charles Journet, Théologie de l'Eglise, Desclée de Brouwer, 1958, p. 345-353.

⁹ Cf. the addresses of Cardinal Bea in The Unity of Christians, New York, Herder and Herder, 1963.

whether this prohibition of "communion" with non-catholic Christians in good faith is in-all-cases of divine law. Provided the Church could change her regulation, to what extent could participation be ratified without condoning error? Anyone interested in the possibility that there might be a change in the official position of the Catholic Church as regards "intercommunion" must certainly consider these questions. This chapter attempts to highlight these questions and briefly to indicate the direction that some Catholics are now taking on the issue of intercommunion, and to relate these and personal observations to the present Faith and Order perspective on intercommunion.

Article II

Dissident Christians and Catholic Heritage

A. The Church and Her Members

1. Terminological Clarification

One of the more delicate questions facing the Church today is the religious situation of many Christians vis-à-vis the Catholic Church.¹⁰ Historically, the Church has always rejected any heretical or schismatic factions that have arisen. Today, we speak of "separated brethren," of those

¹⁰ Cf. Augustin Cardinal Bea, The Unity of Christians, p. 19-37.

Christians who believe in Christ as God and Saviour, but "guiltlessly" do not recognize the Catholic Church as the true Church of Christ.¹¹ That this manner of speaking about separated Christians is not only prudent but also in accordance with sound doctrine is becoming more evident to many theologians.¹² Gregory Baum has shown sufficient evidence that Papal Documents, when referring to "separated brethren," cannot mean schismatics or heretics.¹³ He has also obviously shown that these same documents indicate "that it is the personal conviction of the popes that the multitude of Protestants in our day must be considered as separated from the Church without personal fault."¹⁴ As to the separated Eastern communions, the official documents of the Popes often refer to them as Ecclesiae.¹⁵ In Pope Paul's pilgrimage to the Holy Land we have evidence of recent Papal

11 Augustin Cardinal See, The Unity of Christians, p. 81.

12 Journet claims any other terminology would regard such Christian Churches as in truth heretical or schismatic. How more so for the members of these Churches! He writes: "Le seul mot qui paraîtra théologiquement exact sera celui d'Eglises dissidentes, ou d'Eglises séparées, ou plus généralement d'Eglises non Catholiques" (Théologie de l'Eglise, p. 350).

13 Gregory Baum, That They May Be One, London, Bloomsbury Publishing Co., Ltd., 1958, p. 45.

14 Ibid.

15 Yves Congar, in an Appendix to Divided Christendom, drew early attention to this question of terminology. Cf. infra, note 23, for further clarification on this point.

terminology that is in conformity with the past. At the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem, the Holy Father, in reference to non-Catholic Christian communions present, said:

We salute with great reverence and affection the illustrious and venerated heads of other Churches¹⁶ here present, [...] we honor them for the measure of the authentic treasure of Christian tradition which they possess, [...] and we send to all the pastors, priests, religious and faithful of their Churches¹⁷ our good wishes for peace and well being.¹⁸

Thus, non-catholic Christians are not to be considered on the same plane as the non-baptized in this question of intercommunion. Heresy and schism are terms attributed to those who profess formally, consciously and with full knowledge and liberty of decision the errors thereby implied.¹⁹ In agreement with this, Roman Catholics are bringing their thinking more up to date with the facts. As Cardinal Bea has said:

16 Italics mine.

17 Italics mine.

18 "Nous saluons avec beaucoup de respect et d'affection les illustres et vénérés chefs des Eglises distinctes de la Nôtre, réunis ici; [...] Nous rendons hommage à la part qu'ils possèdent de l'authentique trésor de la tradition chrétienne [...] et] Nous envoyons nos vœux de paix et de prospérité à tous les pasteurs, prêtres, religieux et fidèles de ces mêmes Eglises" ("Le Message adressé de Bethléem aux chrétiens et au monde," in La Documentation Catholique, Vol. LXI, No. 1417, 1964, col. 180).

19 Cf. St. Thomas, II-II, q. 5, a. 3; II-II, q. 39, a. 1.

The demands of Christian justice and charity and the necessity for a realistic [*italics mine*] approach are better satisfied, [...], by admitting their [separated Christians] good faith, leaving the judgement of each case to God alone, and making no attempt to draw up neat little lists and statistics.²⁰

Recent allocutions and encyclical Letters clearly point out that our separated brethren fundamentally belong, even if not fully, to the Church. They are her children, even though they do not recognize this fact. By reason of their baptism, separated Christians are members of the Church, of the family of God. The non-recognition of this fact by our separated brethren, differences in our faith, in sacraments, and in regard to the authority of the Church and the See of Peter, all these "do not destroy nor take away that kind of fundamental belonging to Christ and to his mystical Body and the Church."²¹ Thus having been baptized, and remaining in the good faith in which they were born and educated, separated Christians are organically united with Christ and his mystical Body the Church. Separated Christians are therefore truly our brothers in Christ and "share" a common patrimony of his Church.

On the other hand, it seems also quite clear that Roman Catholics cannot say the same as regards the "Church" to which separated Christians explicitly adhere. "Separated

²⁰ Augustin Cardinal Bea, The Unity of Christians, p. 31.

²¹ Ibid., p. 83.

Churches" are not members or branches of the Catholic Church, seems a conclusion of Catholic faith. As Abbot Butler has pointed out: "a collection of separated communions is not a community, any more than a collection of sovereign states is a state."²² On a more theological basis, these "separated Churches" harbor elements which are in contradiction to the nature of the unity of the Church. Even in the case of an Eastern Orthodox Church, which may have preserved almost the entire Christian heritage, their breach with the Apostolic See of Peter disrupts their perfect membership as a local "Church" in the Universal Church of Christ.²³

Nevertheless, these dissident Churches, in so far as they retain an authentic Christian heritage, are the means by which their members are materially united with the Catholic Church. To consider each member as if he or she belonged through desire to the Church of Christ independently of the dissident Church would be blinding ourselves to the

22 B.C. Butler, The Church and Infallibility, London, Sheed and Ward, 1954, p. 40-41.

23 Gregory Baum points out: "It is clear, moreover, that when the Roman documents ascribe to them (Eastern Orthodox Churches) a similarity to a Church, the comparison is made not with respect to the Church universal — which is numerically one and has no sisters — but with respect to a particular Church (such as the Church of Lyons) or to a group of Churches (such as the Church of France)" (That They May Be One, p. 69).

truth of the heritage these Churches retain.²⁴ Even supposing such a Church existed in an area where the Catholic Church is absent or reduced in practice to little influence, it seems evident that it is through this dissident Church that souls are sanctified and brought to growth in Christ. In such a case, this Church is, rather than a communion juxtaposed to the Roman Catholic Church as a legitimate branch of the Church of Christ, a tendency to be identified with the Roman Communion herself.²⁵ The greater the plenitude of Christian heritage, the greater becomes the orientation of self-identity with the Catholic Church. Thus the task of the Catholic ecumenist is not strictly the "return" of dissident Churches, nor is it a reunion of separate Churches contributing what each has retained to an eventual unity to be realized, but to discover the relation of dissident Churches to the One Catholic Church and enable dissident Churches to orientate themselves to complete self-identity with this one Church as Churches.

²⁴ Cf. La Documentation Catholique, Vol. LX, No. 1411, 1963, col. 1448, note 2, for pertinent remarks on this point by Archbishop Baudoux of St. Boniface, Canada, in an interview with a reporter given at the time of the discussion on the schema De Ecclesia at the second session of Vatican Council II.

²⁵ Cf. Charles Journet, Théologie de l'Eglise, p. 351-352.

2. Catholic Heritage of Dissident Churches

Protestants receive the Word of God directly from the Bible from within their Churches.²⁶ It is this Word which generates and nourishes their faith, under the inspiration of God. "Nobody can come to me without being attracted towards me by the Father who sent me" (John VI.44). Even though they receive this Christian faith in a situation which continually threatens its fullness, they are ready to accept the whole Gospel, and in the words of Gregory Baum we may say:

without fear of self-contradiction, that the faith of a Protestant is implicitly Catholic, that he receives the Word of God in obedience in spite of the spurious opinions which he adds to it, that his is an undeveloped Catholic faith hidden in an obscuring formula.²⁷

It is true that the environment of this faith, as far as Roman Catholics are concerned, is not normal. Yet, Roman Catholics must likewise admit that it is not the same as faith in pagans or even in Old Testament times.²⁸ Thus Catholics must do their best to remove whatever obstacles prevent the full flowering of this faith, while remaining uncompromising in their own essential unity of faith.

²⁶ Although this thesis accepts the distinction between Anglicanism and Protestantism, for the sake of brevity the two are considered usually as a unit in this division.

²⁷ Gregory Baum, That They May Be One, p. 58.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 59.

Secondly, in the words of Cardinal Bea, many Protestant Churches "have preserved precious elements of Catholic [...] worship."²⁹ Most have retained the sacrament of Baptism. It is the belief of the Catholic Church that a true and valid Baptism exists whenever the matter and form are present and administered with the intention of doing what the Church does. As a consequence, even though a Protestant Church may not recognize it, the marriage between such baptized persons is a valid sacrament in the belief of the Catholic Church.³⁰ As such these sacraments are instruments of grace, by which the Holy Spirit works in souls for the full development of the Christian life. Further, because of the unity with the Catholic Church in virtue of baptism, Cardinal Bea points out that Catholics "must strive to let him share [...] especially in the sacraments, and above all in the great sacrifice of the Holy Mass and of Holy Communion."³¹ Unfortunately the Cardinal has not made his thinking more explicit on this point, except to point out that Roman Catholics ought to imbue themselves with great esteem and veneration for all the sacraments as an example of their salutary effects to separated Christians.

29 Augustin Cardinal Bea, The Unity of Christians, p. 27.

30 Canon 1099, par. 2 exempts non-catholics from the "form" of marriage demanded for Catholics.

31 Augustin Cardinal Bea, op. cit., p. 81

Faith and Order documents indicate that most Protestants also accept another sacrament as of Gospel testimony, namely the Lord's Supper.³² This present pre-occupation of Protestantism with sacred Liturgy gladdens Roman Catholics. Nevertheless, the Protestant and Anglican understanding of this sacrament and its realization still presents formidable obstacles to Roman Catholicism. Most Roman Catholics are aware that their Church believes there is a difference between an Orthodox and a Protestant Eucharistic service. They have also been aware of their Church's view about Anglican Orders. Specifically, is a Protestant "Eucharist" a valid heritage of Catholic faith?

In some sense one can speak of Protestant Eucharistic worship as a vestigium Ecclesiae, yet it is different from the ordinary idea of a vestigium,³³ v.g. Baptism. From the sacramental point of view it is true that what assures the reality of the sacrament is absent, namely the valid orders of the minister.³⁴ On the other hand, it seems an

32 Cf. Bell 1920-30, p. 170-171.

33 Cf. Bernard Leeming, The Churches and the Church, p. 254-259.

34 Leeming suggests the term validity be dropped in the Anglican and Free Church dialogue over sacraments. The fundamental concept of a sacrament differs in both participants. "The radical difficulty, which few have faced is that the concept of 'validity' of sacraments cannot logically fit into the system of justification by faith alone. For if the sacrament arouses faith in the recipient, it fulfills its entire function; and if it does not arouse faith, it utterly fails of its function and is useless" (Leeming, Principles of Sacramental Theology, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1955, p. 277).

unrealistic appraisal to admit such worship has only psychological value.³⁵ It is from these rites that Protestants elicit acts of faith, hope and charity. They do hear and listen to God's Word, participate in a ritual commemorating the death of Christ (pronouncing His very words), give thanks for gifts (Salvation through Christ) received, joyously anticipate the Second Coming of Christ, and sincerely believe to be in communion with Him at this Eucharistic service. It is likewise true that no amount of desire will effectively bring about the Eucharistic presence of Christ, yet we must admit that a high degree of spiritual communion may exist. Our attention should focus to include not only the rites but also the subjects performing them.

Protestants believe that they are adoring God in their Eucharistic worship and doing so at His command within His Church. Certainly these acts do contain some positive goodness in so far as they are specified by an object which is good, adoration. Who is to say that these occasions, to which the subject is well disposed by faith and charity, cannot be used by God to give grace? As Archbishop Baudoux of St. Boniface, Canada, is reported to have said at the Second Vatican Council:

³⁵ Cf. Jérôme Hamer, "Le Baptême et l'Eglise," in Irénikon, Vol. 25, 1952, p. 149-150.

if God is pleased to save and sanctify men through them (Christian Communions) and is ready to accept their worship, then the Catholic Church must not hesitate to acknowledge these instruments of divine mercy in the world.³⁶

In a recent issue of The Ecumenist Gregory Baum discusses this same question. He concludes that Catholics must not judge other Churches by the lack of faith of its members but by the teaching they proclaim and the liturgy they celebrate. He writes:

They (separated Christian Communions) preach the Gospel, they celebrate holy baptism, and they declare the Eucharistic signs in the midst of their congregations. There can be no doubt that they are instruments — in various degrees, defective instruments — through which God saves and sanctifies those whom he has chosen.³⁷

Thus Catholics ought to acknowledge with joy and gratitude God's saving grace flowing in the worship of Anglican and Protestant worship, "confident that this divine action, far from harming, will help the spiritual growth of the Church."³⁸

Finally, as regards the Orthodox Bodies, our task is much easier. Cardinal Bea succinctly described their Catholic heritage:

³⁶ Gregory Baum, "New Spirit at the Council," in The Commonweal, Vol. LXXIX, No. 5, Oct. 25, 1963, p. 128.

³⁷ Gregory Baum, "What Are Other Churches?" in The Ecumenist, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1963, p. 3.

³⁸ Ibid.

The Oriental Church still preserves unbroken the succession of their bishops from the apostles and, along with that, valid sacraments, above all the Holy Eucharist. The liturgy of the Mass is the centre of their religious life, is considered "the true sacrifice atoning for the living and the dead", and is celebrated with great solemnity. In doctrine the Orientals retain the ancient apostolic and patristic tradition, and differ from the faith of the Latin Church only in a few points [...].³⁹

Gregory Baum does not hesitate to say:

Some Orthodox may indeed possess in re all the elements making up the Church's unity save one, communion with the See of Peter, which they possess only in voto.⁴⁰

Charles Journet candidly declares:

the seven forms of sacramental grace are to be found in these Churches, and this unites them in profound fellowship with the one true Church, the sole Bride of Christ.⁴¹

Not only are the sacraments found in Orthodoxy, but indirectly, according to Journet, the teaching authority of the Church.⁴² Yves Congar expresses it even more dramatically:

The Churches of the East and the West have an affinity between them that goes much deeper than their estrangement. The Orthodox are well aware of it, and some of them, not the least eminent in their Church, have told us that in their ecumenical conferences they felt they were also speaking for the Catholic Church. [...] We repeat: dogmatically and

³⁹ Augustin Cardinal Bea, The Unity of Christians, p. 27.

⁴⁰ Gregory Baum, That They May Be One, p. 37.

⁴¹ Charles Journet, The Church of the Word Incarnate, London and New York, Sheed and Ward, Vol. I, 1955, p. 509.

⁴² Ibid., p. 509-510.

canonically, the main factor in the Oriental schism is the refusal to submit to the primacy of the Roman See.⁴³

The Catholic Church thus recognizes authentic Christian values in dissident Churches but precisely because she knows them as her own. Whatever dissident Churches retain as heritage it is precisely Catholic because it is formally that of the One Church of Christ. As Congar has pointed out:

Theologically and historically Protestantism takes the Bible from the Church, apart from which no book is recognisable as the Word of God. Thus Protestantism derives from the Church an incomplete but genuine possession of the Word of God.⁴⁴

To the One Church then has been committed the command to teach, to baptize those who believe, and to break bread which is to unite and nourish those in the One Body of Christ. Thus the sacraments belong to the Church even when they are administered materially outside her fold. The Church is the sole explanation for whatever Catholic heritage can be found in dissident Churches, not only in an historical but also theological sense. It is her instrumentality which presently "forms" the authentic Catholic heritage in dissident Churches. According to Journet:

if the Church, which is the pillar and ground of the truth should ever, by impossibility, be wiped out and her perpetual profession of faith be suddenly

⁴³ Yves Congar, After Nine Hundred Years, New York, Fordham University Press, 1959, p. 89.

⁴⁴ Yves Congar, Divided Christendom, p. 243, N. 1.

silenced, we should soon witness the disappearance of all that remains of divine truth in the separated Churches.⁴⁵

Hence this treasure which dissident Churches possess belongs to the Church, and it is through it that they "belong" to her, although not fully, as the Church is not recognized to be what she truly is. The Church is essentially one. Her unity is essential to her being, as her holiness and catholicity. Yet, her unity is not complete and perfect, for in reality she has members unhappily "separated" from her. Thus the Church is not "fully" what she should be nor are her members "fully" hers, but they are hers in so far as they approach the totality of her being, some more while some less hers.⁴⁶

B. The Church and the Churches

While it is true that dissident Churches mediate truth and grace by an inheritance which is not proper to them, nevertheless they do materially mediate between man and Christ. We have seen that it is the belief of the Catholic Church that these bodies are not members or branches of the Church, not even the Eastern bodies which are sometimes called Churches. However, the anomaly is that it is in

⁴⁵ Charles Journet, The Church of the Word Incarnate, Vol. I, p. 510.

⁴⁶ Cf. supra, p. 313-314.

these bodies that fragments or "fibres" of the Church's being is found. As Congar and others have pointed out, "something" of the Church still remains in them, and precisely as bodies is this so. In this respect all dissident Churches are an imperfect image of the True Church in so far as they may lack one or more elements of the True Church. Yet, by accident, these dissident Churches are in formation of becoming "Churches," that is local Churches, and could live within the universal Church, for they as bodies profess and retain these "fragments."

1. The Church and Orthodox Churches

As regards the Orthodox Churches this localization of the Church is much more in evidence. Historically they separated as local Churches from the Roman See, and not as a portion of Christianity.⁴⁷ The attitude of Rome, Gregory Baum has indicated, is to view these Eastern Churches as local Churches, wounded indeed, but still as churches. A reunion here is not an absorption but a fuller expression of the Church's membership in local Churches. "The dissident communities of the East have the structural perfection to become local apostolic Churches by a reconciliation with the See of Rome."⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Yves Congar, After Nine Hundred Years, p. 81-82.

⁴⁸ Gregory Baum, That They May Be One, p. 70.

2. The Church and Protestant Churches

As regards Protestant Churches the attitude of Rome up to the present time has been quite different. Protestant bodies are not called Churches and Rome, according to Baum, has "purposely chosen" other names to avoid calling them Churches.⁴⁹ But a new perspective, undoubtedly because of the recovery of new authentic elements, is now appearing in Catholic ecumenical circles, or at least a new understanding of Protestant Churches.

First, we take for granted that a Protestant belongs to his Church by an act of obedience to his God. Secondly, that the Protestant Churches, in so far as they participate in the ecumenical movement, are sincere about their desire for union of all Christians. Thirdly, that as the Gospel reveals what is essential to the Church, Protestant Churches will accept, in the light of the Gospel, what transformations would be necessary for visible unity.

With these in mind, some Catholic ecumenists do not hesitate to speak of union with Protestant Churches — specifically within the identity of their own framework.⁵⁰ Now obviously there are many Protestant communions with whom at

⁴⁹ Gregory Baum, That They May Be One, p. 69.

⁵⁰ Cf. The Catholic Reporter, Kansas City, Missouri, July 19, 1963, p. 7, for a lengthier exposition of this point of view.

the moment this would be impossible. Nevertheless the principle seems valid for all of them, i.e. they would retain all things which do not hinder or offend the unity of the Church. Of course, in essential things, all would have to agree, but not in things which do not affect the unity of the Church.

This new perspective might be called "unity and multiformity." The image is not new as it already exists in the Catholic Church in the variety of her rites, of her devotions, of her canon law and of her theological schools. Thus, in this context, the Church would express the fullness of her life in new rites, new devotions, new canon law and new schools of theology. Yet, underlying this multiformity, there is unity in essentials.

The present work of ecumenism, whether Catholic or Protestant, is to discover what is essential to the Church in the light of revelation, i.e. what is essential for unity of doctrine, unity of worship and unity of government, thus not compelling each other to accept non-essential differences.⁵¹ Often, in the discovery of these essentials, an exact clarification of what each side understands will be necessary, and more often, a great deal of give and take will be expected from Catholic and Protestant Christians,

⁵¹ Cf. supra, p. 129, for Lund Conference remarks pertinent to this point.

but above all both will have to be attentively disposed to each other and to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Article III

Catholics and Intercommunion

Until recently, the Catholic Church has considered the issue of intercommunion as a juridical problem, although not exclusively. As indicated,⁵² the theological basis for her canonical restriction lies in her understanding of the nature of Communion. The term "communion" refers not only to the Eucharist but also to matters of faith⁵³ and submission to the authority of Bishops.⁵⁴ The term encompassed the entire life of the Church and not just the Eucharist (as so often in the Faith and Order dialogue). If a new entente is possible, for a Roman Catholic it thus appears it must be based on a more comprehensive view than the one Faith and Order often advocates. Today, with our now clearer understanding of baptism in relation to the Church, and secondly, with our acceptance of non-catholic Christians as being so because of good faith (the exception to be proven), it would seem that this ancient teaching of the Church on intercommunion warranted an updating. That a new perspective on

52 Cf. supra, p. 306-307.

53 Cf. Georges Florovsky, "Terms of Communion in the Undivided Church," in Intercommunion, p. 47-57.

54 Cf. Yves Congar, "Amica Contestatio," in Intercommunion, p. 142-145.

intercommunion is resulting seems clear from a close observation of the present Catholic theological scene.⁵⁵ In this new perspective, Catholics should be aware of the distinctions which exist between the Orthodox, Anglican and Protestant Churches. Faith and Order documents have revealed that each "body" comes to the dialogue with its own historical background. An accurate perspective on intercommunion demands attention to these distinctions.

A. Cooperation with "Separated Brethren"

1. Principle of Cooperation

This new perspective does not imply that the Church is to compromise or become doctrinally indifferent. Some Catholics are disturbed by the scope of intercommunion and the possible practices that could issue forth from our new understanding of unity in the Body of Christ. No doubt the question of intercommunion is dangerous. There are many difficulties involved. The traditional position of the Church — clearly proposed by Congar in the volume Intercommunion — is not to be dismissed as meaningless and irrelevant to the present situation. Nevertheless, the dangers should not be exaggerated. The whole question deserves more

⁵⁵ Cf. Patriarch Maximos IV, Voix de l'Eglise en Orient, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1962, p. 187-189.

attention and the following remarks suggest the challenge such a study would entail.

In respect to indifference, John Courtney Murray, as early as 1943, pointed out that cooperation of itself, from the viewpoint of its idea could well be the destruction of indifferentism. He wrote:

in the long run, [cooperation] can just as well be the destruction of indifferentism. As an exercise of Christian Charity, its real intrinsic finality should be unity, not the dispersion of indifferentism. And when and if it fails of this finality, the fault is not in the idea, but in its concrete embodiment and application, by reason of a lack of realistic intelligence and judgement, a failure to control circumstances, and particularly, mutual misunderstandings, and faults in the necessary initial pedagogical preparation. In other words, the problem is in the practical order, not in the idea.⁵⁶

Although Father Murray was concerned here with cooperation in profanis, it would seem that the principle is valid for cooperation in religiosis and deserves more attention by theologians.

In respect to the possibility of compromise, I would propose an old Faith and Order principle: what we can do in common, let us do, and what we cannot do, let us do separately. In this principle, I suggest the key words "can" and "common" resolve many of our issues. It is true that one is never allowed to formally cooperate in something which is intrinsically wrong. However, what we are concerned with

⁵⁶ J.C. Murray, "Cooperation with Non-Catholics," in Theological Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1943, p. 102.

here is something that may be wrong in certain areas by a law of the Church. Attentive to the distinctions which exist between the Orthodox, Anglican and Protestant communions, the law of the Church changes depending upon whether She considers an initial or well established faction. She is severe in the first instance and more lenient in the latter "for fear", writes Patriarch Maximos IV, "that too great severity will drive the lost sheep still further from her."⁵⁷

This same Patriarch continues:

Moreover, the variation in the discipline of the Church on this point proves that the prohibition of churchly communion with non-catholics in good faith is not divine law but only ecclesiastical law and so capable of evolution in accordance with the prudence of the Church and the changing circumstances of time and place.⁵⁸

That the Patriarch had Orthodox Christians particularly in mind in this statement is clear, yet he hoped equally for a change in climate toward the Reformation Churches.⁵⁹ It is also obvious that the determination of what and when a change of discipline should occur is under the direction of Bishops. Not all Catholics are presently prepared for a relaxation in discipline in these matters. Maximos IV has once again pertinently written:

57 Patriarch Maximos IV, Voix de l'Eglise en Orient, p. 188.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., p. 187.

the pastors of the Church are there to determine, in the concrete circumstances, the degree of mitigation that it is right to grant, and to distinguish between people who could and who could not without danger make religious contact with separated brethren.⁶⁰

As to the term "common," this is discoverable in dialogue with each other.⁶¹ Catholics and non-Catholics must meet to work together as well as separately to understand the spiritual gifts we share in the Body of Christ. Quite obviously both parties must agree on this common ground and here again it is under the direction and guidance of Church leaders. Some indications of the area in which progress has been made has already been noticed.⁶² It is in reference to these (new possibilities depending on new discoveries) that Christians can make overtures of intercommunion.

2. Intercommunion with Orthodox

At the present moment in the history of ecumenical relations the ground between Catholics and Orthodox seems so close that what is not common is a subject of reconciliation rather than conversion. A part to be played in this reconciliation is the psychological preparation on both sides.

⁶⁰ Patriarch Maximos IV, Voix de l'Eglise en Orient, p. 188.

⁶¹ Cf. Augustin Cardinal Bea, The Unity of Christians, particularly Chapter 7, "How University Research and Teaching Can Further Christian Unity," p. 94-110.

⁶² Cf. supra, p. 309-310.

Yves Congar reflectively reminds us that the schism between the West and East is the acceptance of the estrangement itself. He writes:

actually and historically, the schism is the result of a gradual and general estrangement. Not that the schism is of itself the estrangement; rather the schism is the acceptance of the estrangement.⁶³

As a cure of this estrangement, Congar suggests: "a resumption of contacts full of esteem and sympathy — two words that really stand for charity."⁶⁴ Patriarch Maximos IV has also advocated increased contacts between the West and East. He writes:

Now in a family quarrel, where both sides are responsible, is not the best means of reconciliation to increase contacts as much as possible?⁶⁵

It seems clear that preliminary contacts — both of professional theologians, Bishops, laity — must be made before first steps toward intercommunion could even be considered. To approach the Eucharist together in a spirit of schism would be more scandalous than the schism itself! "So when you are presenting your gift at the altar, if you remember that your brother has any grievance against you, leave your gift right there before the altar and go and make up with

63 Yves Congar, After Nine Hundred Years, p. 89.

64 Ibid., p. 88.

65 Patriarch Maximos IV, Voix de l'Eglise en Orient, p. 187.

your brother; then come back and present your gift" (Mt. 5. 23-24).

Perhaps the most important preparation is educational. Oreste Kéramé has said we would have to burn the distorted film of the history of the Church, equally from the Catholic and Orthodox perspectives, otherwise the historical mistrust will continue. Catholics, "be he a prelate or a doctor in theology," must view Orthodoxy for what it truly is. Kéramé writes:

The Eastern Church is a church directly born of the Apostles that has grown up, developed, and conquered whole peoples to Christ; that has constituted her law, established the order of public prayer, of the sacraments, of the sacrifice of the Mass, without Roman intervention. She is simply the Church, under a non-Roman aspect.⁶⁶

On the other hand, Kéramé continues:

This does not mean anti-Roman, necessarily exclusive of all Romanness. Quite the contrary; for the "Eastern Church" has led a truly common life with Latin Christianity, in a unity on a deeper level. The great councils and other facts bear witness to it. And, if you like, a certain sacred osmosis perfumed them (indeed, reciprocally) with a subtle incense, capable of a whiff of the "primatial."⁶⁷

He insists:

No Orthodox can entertain effectively a thought of the Papacy if he has not had beforehand a solid, enduring experience that the apostolicity of the

⁶⁶ Oreste Kéramé, "The Ecumenical Council: Are Catholics and Orthodox Soon To Be Reunited," in The Unity of the Churches of God, Polycarp Sherwood, ed., Baltimore, Helicon, 1963, p. 39.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 39-40.

Christian East — of his Orthodox Catholicism, with all that implies — is a solid, integral, living element of the Roman Catholicism that presents itself as the universal, pan-apostolic Catholicism. The painful impression to the contrary [...] this it is that makes Orthodoxy impervious to any plea in favor of Rome, however weighty the arguments may seem.⁶⁸

It seems clear that Catholics must not entertain the idea that somehow Orthodoxy is to be converted or assimilated into Roman Catholicism. It is also quite certain that a massive educational program would have to be carried out by the Catholic Church if the true nature of Orthodoxy is to be understood. Nowhere does this seem more necessary than in non-Eastern countries.

The recent news that as a result of Pope Paul's meetings with Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople commissions of experts and theologians in their respective Sees would study the procedure of a formal dialogue between them is an encouraging sign of good will on both sides. Il Quotidiano, the organ of the Catholic Action movement, reporting on an interview with the Patriarch after the historic meetings, suggested an agreement to share in the sacraments might be a first step to bring Roman Catholics and Eastern Christians closer.⁶⁹ In fact, it appears to some Catholics that the prohibition of intercommunion between Roman

⁶⁸ Oreste Kéramé, "The Ecumenical Council: Are Catholics and Orthodox Soon To Be Reunited," in The Unity of the Churches of God, p. 41-42.

⁶⁹ Cf. N.Y. Times, New York, Jan., 11, 1964, p. 32.

Catholics and Eastern Christians is itself the scandal. Patriarch Maximos IV has written:

One should remember that the scandal so feared often works the other way around — by which I mean that Catholics as well as Orthodox are scandalized not so much by intercommunion as by its prohibition.⁷⁰

Thus, the discipline between Catholics and Orthodox in this matter of communicatio in sacris (a fortiori, in other religious matters) could, all things above considered, perhaps be mitigated,⁷¹ particularly in Eastern countries. There, at the present moment, Roman Catholics and Orthodox are, according to the voices of many Catholic leaders in the Orient, already prepared for such a move. In other areas of the world, for the moment, more ground work is necessary, though even here, I would suggest that there are occasions when intercommunion might perhaps be available. Some of us know of circumstances where "Eastern Christians" live where they do not have the regular ministry of their priests. It would seem particularly unChristian to deny them the Eucharist or penance!

⁷⁰ Patriarch Maximos IV, Voix de l'Eglise en Orient, p. 168.

⁷¹ Congar gives several references in note 6 to Chapter One of After Nine Hundred Years to instances of communicatio in sacris between Catholics and Eastern Christians since the beginning of schism up to as late as the middle of the Nineteenth Century.

3. Intercommunion with Protestants

In respect to Protestant Christians the present situation does not offer as much common ground as with the Orthodox. The dialogue needs to be greatly intensified in order for Roman Catholics and Protestants to recognize that they radically belong to the same family of God. It is clear that if the dialogue is to be fruitful, Roman Catholicism must present her theological teaching in a way in which it is seen to be in continuity with the word of God.⁷² The recent emphasis on biblical theology in seminaries, Vatican Council II's insistence on more reading of Scripture in "sacred celebrations," and the recommendation that the sermon "should draw its contents mainly from scriptural and liturgical sources" are steps in a direction which our Protestant brethren understand.⁷³

However distant visible union remains, there is even now a sufficient area of agreement which perhaps could allow for a modification of the present discipline on intercommunion between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Although

⁷² M.J. Le Guillou, "The Fulness of Catholicity and Ecumenism," in The Unity of the Churches of God, p. 112-114.

⁷³ Cf. Herder Correspondence, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1964, p. 23, for Professor Kristen Skydsgaard's pertinent remarks on Scripture (on behalf of all the Vatican Council II observers) to the Holy Father, Paul VI, at an informal occasion in the Pope's private study on October 17, 1963.

intercommunion in the Eucharist with Anglicans⁷⁴ and Protestants appears as a far reaching goal compared to the Orthodox, there are other ways of sharing in Christ and expressing our common unity of faith in Christ. It is in these areas of Baptism, Scripture, and devotions that Catholics and Protestants must explore greater expressions of unity in Christ and His Church. It would seem with the great advance being made in our common understanding of the Scriptures, our common possession of the Our Father and the Psalter, and for many, the profession of the Nicene and Apostles' Creed, that a worship service, distinct from the "Eucharist," is already feasible. Such a service would be truly ecumenical and befitting the time we are now in. Liturgical Commissions being set up in Catholic Dioceses might well consider this as a first step to be taken in intercommunion toward the Eucharist. Contacts in prayer are perhaps more necessary than contacts in theology at the moment!

B. Dialogue With Faith and Order

Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox theologians have been confronting each other with this problem of intercommunion within Faith and Order since its foundation. Roman Catholic theology, as this thesis assumes, can learn from

⁷⁴ Cf. supra, p. 232-243, for the Anglican views on the nature of the ministry, admittedly presenting unique problems as regards intercommunion in the Eucharist.

the dialogue within Faith and Order. On the other hand, Roman Catholic theology has a contribution to make to this dialogue.

1. The Eucharist as Cause of Unity

Almost all would agree that sacramental intercommunion comprises the final realization of visible unity. As Congar concluded in his essay for the Intercommunion volume, the aim of the ecumenical movement is to pass from an invisible unity in Christ to a visible unity in the Church.⁷⁵ But, to necessarily conclude that sacramental intercommunion with all non-Catholics is impossible until visible union is accomplished, seems too narrow a perspective for the present ecumenical situation. Such a view excludes the close bond between Catholics and Orthodox and underestimates the Eucharist as a cause of unity in the Church for all her members.

The Roman Catholic position -- no Eucharistic communion, unless full unity -- places the emphasis on the "ecclesial" character of the Eucharist. The Eucharistic banquet is the result of unity. A close reading of Faith and Order documents makes a Catholic realize that this is only one side of the coin. The Eucharist is also the cause of unity. Although this truth is part of Catholic tradition, nevertheless the Faith and Order movement has given it new

75 Cf. Intercommunion, p. 151.

emphasis. For this Catholics should be grateful. Approaching the Eucharist with a "spirit" of division in our hearts or pride for what we have is unquestionably uncharitable. Meanwhile, further study on how the Eucharist is a cause of Unity in the Church seems warranted and then perhaps we shall all understand better the power of the Eucharist in the ecumenical movement.

2. The Eucharist as Effect of Unity

The ecclesial character of the Eucharist severely judges those churches in Faith and Order that practice intercommunion yet seem to be unaware of the very implications which Eucharistic communion assumes. This is true whether one is concerned with ecumenical conventions or on the local level, as there is but one Church of Christ. Should Roman Catholics take seriously Protestant theologians who insist there is but this one Church?⁷⁶ What meaning can a Roman Catholic give to intercommunion practiced by a Presbyterian Church on one city block and a Congregational on another? Are these two distinct organisms? If they agree to unite for the one same visible Eucharist, do they, once they leave, continue to think of each other as divided? Did not the Lund Conference itself specifically ask the same when it stated that such Churches:

⁷⁶ Cf. Lund, p. 157-161.

should also ask themselves whether they could not and should not move on towards a closer relationship of visible unity, in view of the relationship of the Sacrament to the wholeness of the Church.⁷⁷

It seems to me it is here that Roman Catholic theology has much to contribute to the Faith and Order dialogue. However, it is precisely here that the "ghost" of the structure of the Catholic Church — the great monolith — hinders a fruitful dialogue. There are nevertheless signs that such "ghosts" are being exorcised in the Faith and Order dialogue. In no small part, the recent development in the Catholic Church of a theology of communion in the full sense has also contributed to this exorcism.

On the one extreme, Roman Catholic insistence on the visible unity of the Church avoids a quasi-docetic view which often seems close to some views of the Church in Faith and Order. Members of Faith and Order cannot proclaim their unity again and again, and at the same time remain undivided. In a sense this is the critical point. Professor Edmund Schlink, in his introductory address at Lund, made this point eminently obvious to the delegates. He said:

Nor can we comfort ourselves by saying the multiplicity of our Churches represents the organic wealth of the Body of Christ, according to the Pauline statement about the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit. We have no right to equate this multiplicity with the divided Churches today, because the Church as Christ's Body is constituted by communion with the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, and

77 Lund, p. 57.

where there is no sacramental communion there is no true organic diversity, but simply disorder and scandal. [...] Thus we have all been led into a crisis through the very fact that we have recognized our unity. But if we do not make effective progress towards reunion, our repeated proclamations of unity will cease to mean anything for Christendom or for the world.⁷⁸

It is this very organic diversity in the one numerical Church which Roman Catholic theologians offer those of Faith and Order to scrutinize. Vatican Council II, as the world well knows, offers a candid portrait of the diversity of liturgies, theologians, to say little of Papal and Episcopal authority, within the life of the one Church of Christ. Here one sees "intercommunion" in a setting circumscribed by African drums or refined Schola cantorum, but all within the one Church.

Finally, on the other extreme, the reacquired sense of patristic and medieval tradition in Catholic theology has re-emphasized the interior communion of the Church without neglecting the exterior communion in the sacraments, in faith and in the ministry of the Church. Le Guillou proposes three areas of study that have been the theological concern of Faith and Order: Communion and mission; communion and tradition; communion and apostolicity.⁷⁹ Perhaps now

⁷⁸ Lund, p. 160.

⁷⁹ Cf. M.J. Le Guillou, "The Fullness of Catholicity and Ecumenism," in The Unity of the Churches of God, p. 102-121.

Roman Catholic theology can start to present to Orthodox and Protestants an understanding of the nature of the Church such as it appears to Catholics, concludes Le Guillou. In any case, it would seem that Faith and Order cannot afford to overlook this re-emphasis in Catholic theology, as it is in this area that the Faith and Order dialogue has found many of its problems.

C. Conclusions

As indicated, there are many problems and difficulties involved in the practical order of cooperation. How and where we shall meet is in practice given by the direction of Bishops. Already many steps have been made toward cooperation in Scripture studies, theology and history. Catholics are numbered among the observers at meetings of the World Council of Churches and representatives of World Council were invited as official observers to the Second Vatican Council. Centers of ecumenical study are now becoming more numerous throughout the Catholic world. Catholics are anxious to talk to non-Catholics. The Church Unity Catechism is recognized as valid cooperation in prayer. All these evince neither weakness nor compromise on the part of the Catholic Church. "On the contrary," says Patriarch Maximos IV, "it seems [...] that in this effort at rapprochement which draws the Churches to meet one another, the

first step should be taken by the Church which has received the most grace, light and charity, and which feels itself strongest in the Faith."⁸⁰ Although the Patriarch is here concerned more particularly with Orthodox Churches, I do feel that it is not inaccurate to extend his opinion to include Anglicans and Protestants. Such gestures of cooperation, even though intercommunion is excluded, shows that the Catholic Church accepts seriously the consequences of baptism in the lives of her separated children.

Accompanying these gestures, the Church must extend herself in a spirit of penitence and conversion. Häring points out that there is an essential relation of conversion to that great reality which is the Kingdom of God.⁸¹ He writes:

All the sacraments, particularly the two sacraments of conversion, are directed to the Holy Eucharist, which is the efficacious sign of the unity and love of Christ in the Church. It clearly follows that conversion also, by its most intimate nature, must have as its goal love of unity with the Church and all her members, a love which grows increasingly vigorous day by day. Eucharist means unity flowing from sacrificial love. Accordingly conversion, which is directed to the Eucharist, by its essence demands a spirit of sacrifice, increasing constantly.⁸²

⁸⁰ Patriarch Maximos IV, Voix de l'Eglise en Orient, p. 138.

⁸¹ Bernard Häring, The Law of Christ, Cork, The Mercier Press, Vol. I, 1961, p. 412.

⁸² Ibid., p. 414.

Thus Catholics must be imbued with the spirit of conversion as they approach their separated brothers. "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (I John, 1.8). Reconciliation with our brothers must come before we can expect to share "fully" in the sacrifice which the Church offers. With the Psalmist we pray: "We have sinned, we and our fathers; we have committed crimes; we have done wrong" (Ps. 105.6). We pray that God will accept our plea for forgiveness for whatever sins we have committed against Him and our separated brothers so that we may eventually share together the great mystery of love in the Eucharistic meal.

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APPENDIX

Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order

Montreal, 12-26 July, 1963

COMMUNION SERVICES AT ECUMENICAL GATHERINGS

INTRODUCTION

1. The Section has noted the view of the New Delhi Assembly that a reconsideration is needed of the Lund recommendations regarding "Communion Services at Ecumenical Gatherings" and agrees that this is demanded by the developments which have taken place since 1952 and the present situation within the World Council of Churches and the Ecumenical Movement in general.

2. There is deepened and deepening experience of unity among the Churches committed to one another in the WCC. Indeed, we believe that the reality, significance and implications of our KOINONIA within councils of Churches in general and the WCC in particular call urgently for further study. But it should be noted that, on the other hand, there has been an increase in the number of member churches which have difficulty in accepting intercommunion between separated churches as a satisfactory concept or procedure, while on the other hand there has appeared in certain quarters, and particularly among youth, though by no means confined to them, a growing impatience with certain of the

traditional attitudes and hesitations on this matter. It is not apparent that many churches responded to the request from Lund that they give attention to differences of Eucharistic theology and practice and to the new problems arising in this field from association together in the WCC. This is much to be regretted. Churches owe it to themselves to relate their theologies and their disciplines to the current situation.

3. Any substantial change from the intention behind the Lund recommendations would, we believe, be widely regarded as an ecumenical disaster with widespread and unfortunate consequences. It would be a betrayal of the deepening conviction of many in the WCC, and in national and local situations, that "table fellowship" is demanded by "Christian fellowship". Moreover, whatever view is taken of intercommunion in general, the question arises whether ecumenical gatherings do not constitute a special case. In such gatherings we have to find that arrangement of communion services which, while respecting the teaching of the churches and individual consciences, gives the fullest possible expression to the oneness of the Church of Christ which we all confess.

4. Each generation must inform itself about the differences there are in Eucharistic theology and practice and of the changes that are taking place. The Faith and Order Commission might well in the years ahead devote to the

sacrament of Holy Communion the attention recently devoted to Baptism. Such attention would require documentation of the Eucharistic teaching and practice, including the liturgy, of the individual churches and would include careful study of recent suggestions for concelebration and an Agape-meal. We do not feel ready to express an opinion for or against either of these.

5. To assist the study by the churches of the issues involved, we commend a paper on Intercommunion which Frère Max Thurian is preparing (a draft of which we have seen), and the questions addressed to the churches by the consultation held at Bossey in March 1961 (Ecumenical Review Vol. XIII, No. 3, April, 1961).

6. The Report of the Commission on Intercommunion presented to the Lund Conference and commended by it to the churches for their study sets forth clearly the diversity of sacramental doctrine which prevents all the churches from favouring intercommunion. We believe this report and the section on Intercommunion in the report of the Lund Conference are still worthy of attention. The continuing diversity of views was again stated in the report of the Section on Unity of the New Delhi Assembly.

7. Some Christians believe that the degree of ecclesial communion which we have in the Body of Christ, through Baptism and through our fundamental faith, although we are still divided on some points, urges us to celebrate Holy

Communion together and to promote intercommunion between the churches. It is Christ, present in the Eucharist, who invites all Christians to his table: this direct invitation of Christ cannot be thwarted by ecclesiastical discipline. In the communion at the same holy table, divided Christians are committed in a decisive way to make manifest their total, visible and organic unity.

8. Some Christians believe that Eucharistic communion, being an expression of acceptance of the whole Christ, implies full unity in the wholeness of his truth; that there cannot be any "intercommunion" between otherwise separated Christians; that communion in the sacraments therefore implies a pattern of doctrine and ministry, which is indivisible; and that "intercommunion" cannot presume upon the union in faith that we still seek.

9. Between these two views of Holy Communion there are others, some approximating to one side, some to the other. But the sharp difference of conviction indicating two poles within the Council's membership must be recognized. However, as was said at the New Delhi Assembly: "For neither view can there be any final peace so long as others who are known to be in Christ are not with us at the Holy Communion".

RECOMMENDATIONS

Accordingly, with reference to the request of the New Delhi Assembly and in the light of our discussions in Montreal, we recommend to the Central Committee of the WCC and to the member churches that the following procedure, subject to regular review, be applied to meetings of the Assembly, the Central Committee and to other ecumenical gatherings where it seems appropriate that:

1. It be made clear in the printed programme that there are at present within the fellowship of the WCC unresolved differences of Eucharistic theology and practice.

2. Arrangements be made within the programme of the Conference for a Communion Service to be held at which an invitation to participate and partake, is given to members of other churches. Such a service should if possible be at the invitation of one of the local churches (agreed upon after consultation with such of the locally represented churches as are in membership with the WCC), or at the joint invitation of a number of such churches. Churches sending delegates should encourage them to attend such a service and, where church discipline and the individual conscience allow, to partake of the elements.

3. Arrangements be made within the programme of the conference for one service of Holy Communion according to the liturgy of a Church which cannot conscientiously offer

an invitation to members of all other churches to partake of the elements. Such a service should be accompanied by an invitation to all the members to be present. Churches sending delegates should encourage them to attend.

4. There be in the programme a Service of Preparation for Holy Communion at which emphasis shall be laid on (a) the divine mystery of salvation which the Lord's Supper proclaims, (b) our need for Christ and his forgiveness, (c) sorrow for the divisions of Christendom and for their continuance, (d) the unity in Christ given and experiences within the World Council of Churches, and (e) our responsibility to pray and work for a fuller manifestation of this unity.

5. There be an opportunity outside the conference programme for Communion Services at such times as make it possible for every member of the conference to receive Communion without violation of conscience or disloyalty to church tradition. It be recognized as fitting that arrangements be made for those whose normal practice is that of frequent or daily participation in Holy Communion. Such individuals should be invited to give special consideration to the attitude they should take to the Service proposed in paragraph 2, particularly when this is held on a Sunday.

6. Where a conference is held in a place where there is only one member church and this church is unable to issue an open invitation, but is willing to arrange a celebration

of the liturgy at which the members of the conference are invited to be present, such a liturgy be held on the first Sunday of the conference; but the conference authorities be empowered to arrange a service at which an invitation to participate and partake is given in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 7.

7. Should an Assembly, or Central Committee, or Ecumenical Conference be held in a place where no member church is represented locally, it shall be regarded as appropriate that those responsible for the programme, after careful consultation with the churches sending delegates, invite one or more of these churches to make arrangements for services of Holy Communion in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 3.

CORRIGENDA

- p. 10, Section A-7th line-"MOLL" should read "MOTT"
- p. 12, N. 32-"Doublas" should read "Douglas"
- p. 30, N. 13-3rd line-"famour" should read "famous"
- p. 94, 3rd line from bottom-"worship" should read "Worship"
- p. 134, 6 th line from bottom - "shole" should read "whole"
- p. 246, N. 48-"T.P." should read "J.P."
- p. 247, N. 53-"T.P." should read "J.P."
- p. 249, N. 57-"T.P." should read "J.P."
- p. 258, N. 82-"Contestatis" should read "contestatio "
- p, 294, N, 85, 5th line from bottom -"old Catholics" should read "Old Catholics"
- p. 333, N. 72-"M.J." should read "J.M."
- p. 338, N. 79-"M.J." should read "J.M."
- p. 358, (Bibliography)-"Staklin" should read "Stahlin."