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PRUDENTLY WITH POWER



Portrait by Griffith Baily Coale

PRUDENTLY WITH POWER

WILLIAM THOMAS MANNING TENTH BISHOP OF NEW YORK

So he fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power. Psalm LXXVIII, 73

W. D. F. HUGHES

with a Foreword by the Bishop of New York

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FOREWORD

It is now fourteen years since William Thomas Manning, tenth Bishop of New York, entered into life eternal. His name is held in grateful and honored memory by a multitude of churchmen and men of good will who either knew him or knew of him; and yet, so swift is the passage of time, that even within the metropolitan Diocese of New York there is already a new generation of clergy and laity to whom he is but a figure, howbeit distinguished, from the past.

Therefore, it is fitting, that for these, and for those who shall come after, there should be recorded some account of the Bishop's life and work, of his place in the Church and in civic life, and some personal memories, by one who for more than twenty years was associated with him as a priest of the Diocese, a member of the Cathedral staff, and a friend. This has been done with such objectivity as is possible to the writer, in such circumstances.

As we think of Bishop Manning the things which come immediately to mind are his loyalty to the Church, his steadfastness in the faith, his fairness and justice, his moral indignation against wrong or evil, and his courage which extended over the whole of his life; but behind all these things and speaking through them was his deep personal faith.

When he was consecrated in the Cathedral he was asked as every Bishop is asked, certain questions and was given certain charges. These questions he answered, and these charges he accepted, and in their substance and in their implication he followed them.

Bishop Manning was fearless. It never occurred to him to hesitate

in doing or saying what he believed to be right from motives of caution or expediency. He was never afraid to express his opinions even when they ran counter to commonly accepted beliefs.

A powerful friend, Bishop Manning could be as well a redoubtable antagonist. There could be no question of a compromise on matters of principle. He had sometimes to contend with his critics for he was often misunderstood and criticized as every man must be who bears large responsibilities, but criticism did not disturb his spirit or deter him from following truth as he saw it.

As it was said of Bishop Potter, another great Bishop of New York, and it is equally true of Bishop Manning, "He did not shrink from unpopularity—to those who did not know him he seemed at times to court it. But not so—he was built on larger lines and simply aimed to do and say faithfully and fearlessly what he deemed was right, and while ready to listen to reason to show that he was wrong, and frank when convenient to acknowledge and to own it, no mere clamour could swerve him from his course."

The source of this courage was that at the very core of his personality, and the center of his life, was a deep loyalty to Christ and a firm conviction that the Gospel of Christ is the one answer to human needs. This is evident from his first to his last sermons and addresses in the Diocese of New York.

No one could accuse Bishop Manning of petty partisanship. He was the Bishop of the whole Diocese, and ready to uphold truth wherever he saw it. Along with his true comprehensive essence of Anglicanism, he held unfalteringly loyal to the faith and order of the Church as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer and in the Church's own official formularies. Again and again he spoke of the whole Gospel of Christ and His Church, and reiterated the call to "hold fast to the Prayer Book."

How it grieved him to exercise discipline, as it does any Bishop, yet he did not hesitate when it was clearly his duty. He knew, however, that our chief need in the Church is not more discipline but more of the spirit of love for the Church, and for each other in the fellowship of Christ, and that we need not so much new methods, but more simple, more personal faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

It would be impossible to speak of Bishop Manning's life and work without referring to the Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine in which he took such intense interest and to which he gave so largely of his time and strength. He inherited the Cathedral project from his

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predecessors and carried forward this immense undertaking in such a way that it is true to say no Bishop has done more for it.

His interests were not limited to the Church he loved and served so faithfully. Bishop Manning was keenly interested in and concerned with all that was related to the life and welfare of the city and its people and he had the deepest sympathy with the poor and oppressed. His tangible interest in slum clearance and his conviction that all men of whatever race, colour, or station in life, are brothers in Christ bespeak a remarkable relevance to the life of our times. Certainly, the Bishop was a great Patriot. Long before many others he saw clearly what were to him the great issues involved in two world wars, and that he saw these in spiritual terms is indicated by his service as a chaplain.

Bishop Manning did not covet personal honor and tribute, and he has passed beyond these things into the presence of his Lord. But out of gratitude for his Episcopate and for continued encouragement in our work here in the Church on earth, it is right that a book should be written concerning the life and example of one who was not only one of the greatest Bishops of New York, but was in truth "a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ."

+ Horace W. B. Donegan, Bishop of New York

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PRUDENTLY WITH POWER

CHAPTER ONE

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ILLIAM THOMAS MANNING was born in the town and county of Northampton, in the Diocese of Peterborough, in England, on the 12th day of May, 1866, the second child and son of John Manning and Matilda Robinson, his wife. It was the heyday of the Victorian era. The prince consort had died five years before and the queen was in full retirement. The Oxford Movement, of which the infant was to be a lifelong follower and finally a leader in the new world, was firmly established. Mr. Gladstone was serving the last years of his apprenticeship for the office of prime minister under Lord Russell, whom he succeeded in 1868. The other famous Manning-there was no relationship or connection between the two but the younger obviously got his nickname from the older in college days-had made his submission to Rome some fifteen years earlier and was preparing to assume the position of dominance and leadership among English Roman Catholics on the death of Cardinal Wiseman. The gentle Longley was Archbishop of Canterbury, very shortly to be succeeded by the more astringent Tait. In the United States, where the child was to find his home and the field of his labours, the Civil War was over, Lincoln was dead, and the country was living unhappily, not to say shamefully, through the administration of Andrew Johnson.

Events such as these were probably not noted in the simple household at 21 King Street, Northampton, for they were plain people who had little to do with great events. Willie, as he was called in early years, changed before long to Will to match a certain dignity of manner, passed an uneventful and normal childhood and in due course began his schooling with his brothers, John and George, at the North-

ampton Grammar School. There was an interlude of two years when he and his younger brother went to a boarding school, the Moulsoe School in Buckinghamshire. Here he won prizes, usually firsts, every term. The custom of the day was to allow the prize winner to choose his own prize; and on one occasion, when he had recited the Athanasian Creed letter perfect, he chose a bright red wheelbarrow, which he used to tend his garden plot and which was the envy of the rest of the school. Here also he was confirmed on 14 November, 1878, by Bishop Mackarness of Oxford. When he returned to the Northampton School there were courses in agriculture, the results of which were shown in later years by a critical eye for pigs. When driving through the countryside the bishop was apt to spot and call the attention of the family to a notable specimen.

The new baby was baptized in Saint Katherine's Parish Church on the first of July, but the family attended Saint Peter's, and went on occasion to the new Saint Lawrence, a pioneer parish of the Oxford Movement. In 1944 the bishop recorded of himself

His early religious life was greatly influenced by his father who as a layman was identified with the Oxford tractarian Movement and was active in local undertakings representing that Movement.

At the time of the bishop's retirement from the Diocese of New York there were one or two older parishioners of Saint Lawrence who remembered his coming there as a boy. There are few tales to tell of his childhood. He was faithful in his duties and grew up without intellectual or religious difficulties or struggles. The path of duty seemed always sufficiently plain and the yoke of obedience was borne cheerfully and as a matter of course. His decision to enter the ministry was made at the age of ten and was never altered.

In 1882, when Will was sixteen, the family—there were two girls besides the three boys—came to America and went to live on a farm in Nebraska. There they remained for four years until a devastating hailstom swept a path two miles wide across the state, laying waste their farm and driving them farther west to California where they settled outside San Diego. Will was a faithful worker on the farm and had a way with the animals. There was one muley cow of an uncertain temper, which would let no one but Will milk her. It is significant that he inspired confidence in the dumb beast because he continued to inspire the confidence of people throughout his life. The bishops under whom he served—old Bishop Whitaker in Pennsylvania, Bishop Gailor in Tennessee, Bishop Potter and Bishop Greer in New York—all addressed him with a sort of eager confidence that

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his judgment was good and that they could depend upon him. In his later years a nurse in Saint Luke's Hospital said of him, when asked about his visit to a very sick patient, that it had been all right for him to come. She had often nursed patients visited by the bishop, and it was always all right, "because Bishop Manning knows how to behave in a sick room."

The boy's success with the muley cow would seem to have come rather from an acceptance of the present circumstances of life than from the absolute need for animal companionship which possesses some. When he was a small boy he had a dog to which he was so close that the dog was inconsolable when his young master went away to boarding school until given an old coat of Willie's to sleep on. But in later life, because Mrs. Manning did not like pets, he was quite content not to have one. While he was milking the cow and doing the chores on the farm in Nebraska he always carried a prayer book in his pocket. He did well the work given him to do and made no complaint that the task laid upon him was not the one for which he was fitted. It is doubtful whether he even felt an inward dissatisfaction at his lot. But in a curious way he moved on rather swiftly until he found his proper niche. In the first thirteen years of his ministry he held seven different posts. Then in 1903 he went to New York and staved for the rest of his life, because there was where he belonged.

In the first years of retirement the bishop began to collect materials for an autobiography and prepared a few notes. He writes of those early days,

I should like to write a volume covering my experiences in my first parish, Trinity Church, Redlands, California [but before this he had been briefly at Calvary Church, Memphis, and Saint Matthews, National City, California]; at Sewanee, with Dr. Bose, as Professor of Dogmatic Theology; in Cincinnati at Trinity Mission; at Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, as Rector of Saint John's Church; and in Nashville, Tennessee, as Rector of the grand old Mother Parish of Christ Church. I can only say here that for each of these experiences, I still feel grateful and that after more than fifty years I still hear from some of the noble people of those parishes. I have always been glad that before coming to work in New York City it was my lot to live and work in four other different states—California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee.

But the outline for his work indicates that he intended to deal chiefly with his life in New York, and indeed he planned to call it, "My Forty-Four Years in New York City."

Dr. Morgan Dix chose the young Manning to prepare to succeed him at Trinity as Dr. Berrian had chosen the young Dix years before. Manning had not been two years at St. Agnes' Chapel when he was elected Bishop of Harrisburg. Dr. Dix commanded his vestry to elect Manning assistant to the rector in order to hold him at Trinity.¹ He took four days to consider the matter and remained in Trinity Parish. Or perhaps not so much in Trinity as in New York. He was elected Bishop of Western New York in 1917. He was strongly urged to stand for election in other dioceses, notably Pennsylvania, where he was almost certainly assured of election if he did. But he was working where he knew he belonged and he did not consider these calls compelling.

It was recognized by others that Manning belonged in a position of leadership in New York. George W. Wickersham, a leading citizen and layman, attorney general under President Taft, and a vestryman at Saint George's, Stuyvesant Square, wrote to him in June, 1917, after he had announced his refusal of Western New York,

I am very glad that you have decided to remain in New York. I ventured to telegraph you as I did because I thought the view of an outsider might contribute something towards your decision; that is, it might help you to realize that outside of your own parish, there was a deep appreciation of your sturdy patriotism and a recognition of its value in inspiring and directing public sentiment at this critical time in our country's history. The influence of the Church is a matter of vital importance at such a time. If her ministers do not lead public thought in the right way now, how can she hope to retain her place and widen her influence later? From the very first you have been one of the few-a very few-who recognized where our national duty lay and what gospel should be preached to the people. You were one of the first to point out the truth that there are times when to follow Christ means to fight evil with all forces of human combatants-to wield the scourge even as He did when He drove the money changers from the Temple. You-your faith, your courage, your uncompromising vigor are needed in this cosmopolitan city, where despite flags, and pageants and contributions of money, few as yet realize what war means, what sacrifices must be made by everybody before victory can be won.

So I am sincerely glad that you have decided to remain here. I do not think you will regret it. Thank you for writing me.

¹ The charter of Trinity Church provides for the office of assistant to the rector, or assistant rector. This officer has the right to preside at meetings of the vestry in the absence of the rector and no action can be taken by the vestry without the presence of either the rector or assistant. The assistant does not automatically succeed to the rectorship but in fact always has been elected.

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The Southern Churchman, in an editorial just at the end of the First World War, said of him

... the work and influence of the Rev. Dr. Manning, both in the camps and in New York, have been beyond all praise. When some others were weak-kneed, notably one or two denominational ministers of national prominence located in New York, the Rector of Trinity lifted his voice to utter some of the soundest patriotic statements language can frame. Almost more than any other person he changed the tone of New York's thinking on the war. He did so, not because Rector of Trinity, but because of his personality and the opportune time he took to say what he said. He was a leader when a leader was needed. Through him the Church made a contribution to winning the war that ought always to stand, and always to be known. From the war camps there come high appreciation, but working in the war camps and occasionally speaking in New York, his greatest work in this war has been outside of camps, even outside of Trinity itself, and it is work that influenced all New York and the entire nation.

* * *

It is not to be supposed that Manning was indifferent to the implication and possibilities of his position or his work, or was unambitious. Moral fervour was his chief characteristic. He spent an enormous amount of energy on any matter he regarded as important—and there was never a time when there was not at least one important matter in hand. He had a habit of standing on his toes, his heels just a little off the ground, when he preached or spoke in public and while his manner of delivery was far from fiery it was very earnest; those near him could hear the sharp intake of his breath which denoted intensity of physical effort. Mr. Grenville Kleiser, formerly instructor of public speaking at Yale Divinity School, published an article in the New York Herald for Sunday, 28 January, 1912, on the prominent preachers of New York City. He writes of Manning,

It was said of Pitt that he no sooner rose than he carried away every hearer and kept the attention fixed and unflagging until it pleased him to let it go. A like tribute can be paid to the preaching style of the Rev. William T. Manning of Trinity Episcopal Church. His power of compelling attention, however, is not due to an unbroken flow of words, but to an unusual deliberateness of utterance punctuated by many eloquent and significant pauses.

As he stands to preach he looks at his congregation for some moments before he utters a single sound. Then, with measured precision he announces his text and again pauses long. Having now secured the attention of all his hearers he proceeds with his discourse in a manner at once

simple, direct and deliberate. Although the message itself may be simple, the clean cut diction and reserve force of the speaker invest it with a peculiar charm and power.

Dr. Manning's delivery is a study in the fine art of pausing. It is easy to see that he has accustomed himself to explain and prove, to clear away objections and to apply what he says to the practical, everyday needs of men. His entire manner of speaking, indeed, is that of an earnest man speaking to other men. The style is wholly extempore, which enables him constantly to look into the eyes of his hearers. The marked deliberateness of delivery and the long but judicious pauses come at last to fascinate the hearer's attention. The speaker is natural from the beginning to the end of his sermon, with not the slightest attempt at oratorical effect.

Dr. Manning uses very little gesture, but what he does use is significant and unobtrusive. He is particularly fond of a right hand movement, a turning at the wrist, which serves to emphasize and illustrate some special point. All of his gestures are very deliberate, in keeping with the movement of his mind and voice.

Manning had always the reputation of being a driver, both of himself and of others. He was a relentless worker; he had no hesitation in calling on others to assist him, and he was peculiarly successful in making others work for him. But his method was one of calm and cool concentration rather than hot haste. When he gave his attention to a matter he was unconscious of all else and he could not be drawn away from a subject until he himself was entirely through with it. He was capable of working of an evening in the midst of the family circle, quite undisturbed by the conversation going on around him, until he was ready to lay aside his pad and pencil and join in; then he might recite the Bab Ballads, or tell stories on himself, or describe the incidental absurdities of the service or meeting or committee he had attended during the day. His ability to give his attention and energy to the subject he regarded as important was apparently unlimited. He seemed almost never to know fatigue. But in matters which he considered unimportant it was quite impossible to tempt him into even formal interest.

The work of building the cathedral illustrates this. He was a trustee of the cathedral from the time he became Rector of Trinity but the cathedral was not important in the rector's work and he gave no attention to it, his record of attendance at meetings being probably the lowest of any trustee in its history except that of Franklin Roosevelt after his election as President. When he became bishop the responsibility was his. He neither sought it nor wanted it. But he gave

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himself to it in a way which produced results such as few bishops in history have attained. This devotion gave rise to a popular misconception that the cathedral was his own project and to the unjust and entirely untrue criticism that it was all he cared about.

Annoyances to the life of the church which he felt he could remedy he would pursue with entire relentlessness until they were removed. Of personal annoyances which were unimportant he seemed unaware even while they occurred. His conduct in the Torok case illustrates his attitude toward matters of principle. The Revd. John Torok, who in 1914 had received his orders probably as a uniat (i.e., a Christian of the Eastern Rite who adheres to the Bishop of Rome instead of the Patriarch of Constantinople), was received in 1921 into the Anglican obedience by the Bishop of Maryland, Dr. Murray, later presiding bishop. In 1923 he was consecrated a bishop, under very peculiar circumstances, by two Orthodox bishops. In 1934 he was elected Suffragan Bishop of the very small Diocese of Eau Claire, but with the hope that he would work chiefly among Christians of Eastern European origin in New York, Pittsburgh, Erie, and other cities. The election was to be reported to General Convention of 1934 for ratification but in the spring of that year Dr. Torok called upon the Bishop of New York to ask his permission to begin preliminary work in that diocese immediately. Manning had at that time never heard of Torok and knew nothing of his background or history but he had no hesitation in stating at once that he would give no consent to any work or status in his diocese until General Convention should have completed its action. He then began to inform himself of the case and soon became convinced that the election should not be ratified for many reasons but chiefly because the Episcopal Church ought not to accept Torok as a bishop. It soon became apparent that the Bishop of Eau Claire was determined to secure ratification and Manning believed that the professed neutrality of the presiding bishop in the matter was in fact giving dangerous encouragement to the campaign of the Bishop of Eau Claire. Very little was known of the case by the church at large but, together with the Bishops of Erie and Pittsburgh, Manning continued firmly in opposition for over two years. As a result the election never was ratified; and a change was made in the canons requiring that a diocese must receive permission from the church at large before proceeding to the election of a suffragan bishop.

One purpose which the Bishop of Eau Claire had in mind was the organizing and building up of a new work which would bring Christians of Orthodox tradition, coming from Eastern Europe to this country, into contact with the Episcopal Church. This might have become an important development and it was the kind of thing in which Manning believed and for which his support could have been expected. In his annual convention address as bishop in 1923 he had made reference to a project for giving Episcopal Ordination to ministers of the Hungarian Reformed Church in this country and bringing Hungarian congregations into formal affiliation with the Episcopal Church. He presented it as "of special interest in its relation to the question of Christian unity" and asked for the appropriation of funds for the purpose. But, believing that no sound structure could be built on the foundation proposed in the case of Torok, he had no hesitation in pursuing the matter to the bitter end, quite unperturbed by what the Bishop of Eau Claire and others said of him. But once the controversy was over Manning forgot it. In 1939 he brought Bishop Wilson to address the Diocesan Clergy Conference and from 1940 on they worked together closely in the matter of the proposed union with Presbyterians as well as in other legislation before General Convention.

On the other hand there was an occasion when a certain archbishop was most inconsiderately and astonishingly rude to the bishop. They had met very casually at the Lausanne Conference in 1927 and Manning offered to entertain the archbishop when he came to New York. The archbishop sent his son instead for a week's stay. It then developed that the archbishop was in fact to be in New York later. Manning went out of his way to try to entertain the archbishop, if only at a meal. Time did not allow and an arrangement was finally made to breakfast together at an early hour in the Pennsylvania Station. Manning stood waiting with his chaplain for nearly two hours at the appointed meeting place only to find that the archbishop had gone directly to the dining room and finished his own breakfast without so much as looking for his would-be host. But it caused the bishop no concern whatever, and as the archbishop trudged off to his train the bishop addressed himself to his oatmeal and the coming events of the day, having forgotten the archbishop's very existence. When reminded of the episode later he merely remarked that it had been "a most foolish business."

The Detroit Free Press described him in 1919, when he was in attendance at General Convention for the last time as a member of the House of Deputies, as a

dapper, smooth-faced, precise little man with a polish of manner and a

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perfection of diction that are striking and unusual. Nothing ruffles his good humor, or disturbs his unfailing politeness.

Physically Manning was a very small man and remained thin throughout his life. The Matriculation Book of the University of the South records that he was five feet four and a half inches in height and weighed one hundred and thirty pounds. He probably never exceeded that by ten pounds. He had a jaunty appearance and walked with a curious combination of a springing step and a long stride even into quite old age. He was apt to be thought of or seen with his coat tails flying. But he combined with it a certain serious and stiff dignity of demeanour. At college he was obviously nicknamed "Cardinal Manning" and as a young priest in Philadelphia he was known as "the bantam." As bishop he was referred to by both his friends and enemies as "the little man." Picayune people said that he wore high heels and a top hat to make himself look taller and that he would not have tall men attached to his staff. He would greatly have enjoyed such stories, if he had heard them, for he never tired of anecdotes which belittled him or made him absurd. But the evidence does not support the belittlers. His use of the top hat followed the usual pattern of New York clergy in the early twentieth century. His clothing, including his shoes, was entirely conventional. As for his insistence on having small people around him; it was a matter like Mark Twain's death, "greatly exaggerated." I was master of ceremonies at the cathedral for fourteen years and during that time it never was suggested that size had anything to do with the matter of placing people near the bishop. Indeed one of the memorable scenes which occurred each year was the entrance to the cathedral at evensong on Easter Day. As the choir and clergy went to their stalls, a long line of acolytes needed for the solemn procession which followed the office, some of them often young giants, passed up the choir to the sanctuary with the bishop, last and smallest but by no means least in fact or in appearance, bringing up the rear.

The bishop was always the most impressive figure for all his slightness at any gathering. But not quite always. There was a scene in 1931, at which he laughed afterwards, when the bishop received from Archbishop Athenagoras, who had just arrived in New York as Archbishop of North and South America and also personal representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople, and who himself now occupies that office, an icon of Saint John the Divine and a fragment of stone from Mars Hill in Athens as gifts from the

patriarch to the cathedral and to the bishop. A simple ceremony was arranged on a weekday after evensong in the cathedral. Athenagoras is a man of huge frame, six feet, two, in height, and strikingly handsome. A very long, dark beard and a rich sonorous voice contribute to produce a majestic appearance. The icon was placed on an easel and the stone on a table in front of it. The archbishop stood on one side, the bishop on the other. The archbishop made his presentation in greek. The bishop accepted and returned thanks in english. The bishop then held out his hand to the archbishop to conclude the formality. But it was one of the rare occasions when the bishop did not have control of the proceedings. The archbishop followed the oriental custom and, advancing on the bishop, took hold of him and kissed him on each cheek. The bishop seemed not so much to be kissed as to be completely swallowed up in the depths of the archbishop's beard and the folds of his vestments. It was generally agreed that this was an occasion when the bishop had come off second best. Canon Pascal Harrower of Staten Island, for many years Senior Presbyter of the Diocese of New York, was present at the ceremony. He too had a beard, a fact which led the bishop to greet him on occasion, to his huge delight, as the Archimandrite of Staten Island. Some time later he told the bishop that an otherwise notable and auspicious ceremony had been somewhat marred by one thing lacking. "What was that?" asked the bishop. "The fact, bishop, that you did not have a beard." "Next time, Canon Harrower," the bishop replied, "I will borrow yours." Manning and Athenagoras were closely associated in the years that followed and the Bishop of New York was able to be of real use in some of the problems which the archbishop had to face. In his farewell address as he left to ascend the Ecumenical Throne the stately Athenagoras referred to the little bishop as "my protector," and the bishop remarked to friends, "There is a man I can look up to."

Manning always held an exalted opinion of his office. He regarded Trinity Parish and the office of rector in that parish as of the utmost importance. No man could be doing anything more important in the church. When he became Bishop of New York he transferred the same feeling to the new office. He considered his election not so much as a promotion but as a shift of responsibility and loyalty which he of course would accept even though he did not seek it. His feeling toward Trinity was shown in his refusal to consider the transfer of Channing Lefebvre, the choirmaster of Trinity, to the cathedral, for

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which he was the obvious choice, in 1930. He felt it wrong to disturb the arrangements of the mother parish and assumed that the choirmaster of Trinity would not consider anything else anyway. And in later years he was utterly astonished that a dean of the cathedral would leave that office for a bishopric. But in his personal affairs he was an entirely modest and almost completely unself-conscious person. He spoke of himself as a shy man. He was certainly quite simple. He concentrated on his work but he was unaware of himself. He had no hesitation however in pressing his point even in matters where he made no claim to be an expert, if this seemed necessary. The greatest care was taken over the stained glass to be installed in the nave of the cathedral as it was building. The bishop made many trips to look at glass; experts were consulted at length. Finally the decision was made to invite five glassmakers to divide the work among them and the rose window in the west front was assigned to Charles J. Connick of Boston. It was agreed that the window was to be blue in tone. The making of the window took some time. Part of it was brought and installed temporarily in order to try the effect. Modification was then made and the whole was finally completed. With pride and satisfaction Mr. Cram, the architect, and Mr. Connick brought the bishop in to see the masterpiece, which indeed it was. But the bishop pointed out that the effect of the window was purple rather than blue. The experts assured him that it was just what was called for but the bishop remained firm. A blue window had been decided on and he was disappointed that it was not blue. The bishop did not press the matter but Cram and Connick were left with an uncomfortable feeling. After some weeks Connick came down from Boston with his men and went to work on the window. Connick sat at a table at the east end of the nave with a chart of the window before him, examining the window with field glasses. Instructions were telephoned to the men on the scaffolding and, piece by piece, portions of the window were modified. The chief cause of trouble lay in the great height of the window above the ground which caused the light coming through red and blue bits of glass to fuse into purple by the time it reached the eye. By the end of the summer a great change was evident and the window was indeed blue. Those who admire it may be grateful to the artists who conceived and executed it and also to the bishop who was not willing to be overpersuaded by experts and who knew that the ultimate responsibility for the cathedral rested with him.

* * *

Manning was not the kind of person to whom people were indifferent. He had warm and strong supporters, often among those who did not wholly agree with his principles and policies; and he had opponents who seemed sometimes to be aroused almost to frenzy by him. He was not of a demonstrative nature but he was never moved to dislike of those whom he opposed, no matter how prolonged or firm the opposition was. Those who were won to his support became unwavering in their loyalty. At the time of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of his episcopate the Revd. Percy Silver, Rector of the Church of the Incarnation, was chosen to head the diocesan committee of arrangements. It was decided to raise a sum of money for a presentation to the bishop. Dr. Silver, while not himself known as an opponent of the bishop, was on close terms with clergy who were notorious in that respect. In the course of inviting subscriptions from the clergy and others he came to feel, from refusals and from comments made, that much of the opposition was petty and spiteful and he let it be known very plainly that he would not be a party to the attitude and behaviour of some of his friends. On the day of Dr. Silver's funeral, 18 December, 1934, the bishop noted in his diary

At eleven officiated at funeral of Percy Silver at the Ch. of the Incarnation. A great congregation—eight Bishops, including our own three, and many clergy present. Dr. Silver's death is a great loss to the Diocese and to me personally. Although not so at first he has in the last four years been one of my truest friends and helpers and in many ways a great strength and support.

And a business man who had expressed dislike of the bishop reported in later years that he had changed his mind and had come to admire him because he had found that Bishop Manning was the kind of person who would never shirk or leave to someone else a difficult or unpleasant task.

Billy Sunday, the noted evangelist and revival preacher, shortly before his death in 1935, said that Bishop Manning was the member of the Episcopal Church whom he most admired. And Joseph Fort Newton wrote in his diary

... The election of Dr. Manning, rector of Trinity Church, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, reminds me of a scene. After a Sunday evening service in the City Temple in London, a number of people were waiting to speak to me. The Verger weeded out those whom he regarded as curiosity-seekers, or autograph-hunters, but he would never turn down an American. "Doctor, there is a lady giving her name as 'Mrs. Mississippi' who very much wants to see you. Maybe that means something to you, but

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it is beyond me," he added. "By all means, show her in," I told him; I knew that she was a Southern woman, with gray hair and flashing black eyes. The story she told me was pitiful. She had married a brilliant man and lived in New York City; they had two little girls. Then suddenly her husband was smitten with a strange mental affliction. She loved him too much to have him put away—she could not bear it. "I could not have gone through it if it had not been for that little man of God at Trinity Church. He is a priest of the Most High, if ever there was one. He stood by me to the bitter end." After her husband died she went to London to live. Since I heard that story I have always loved Bishop Manning, even when I did not agree with him.²

A few years later, when he had become an Anglican, Dr. Newton was able to express his love in a concrete way by support of the bishop in a matter in which he was able to agree strongly. In 1930 the clergy of Saint James' Church, Philadelphia, of whom Newton was one, associated themselves

most earnestly and without qualification, with the Bishop of New York in his stand against the sinister attack upon the sanctity and stability of the home, which calls itself 'Companionate Marriage,'

by republishing for circulation in their own parish the bishop's sermon denouncing companionate marriage and its most vocal advocate, Judge Ben B. Lindsey. This action displayed both courage and judgment for some of Dr. Newton's close friends among the clergy in New York, blinded by the passion of their opposition to their bishop, had got into the egregious strategical blunder of giving support to Lindsey and his doctrine. They were far from pleased to be deserted by so prominent a friend as Newton.

On the whole however it may be said that the opposition to Manning, even at its strongest, was the work of a small group. It never represented anything like a division in the diocese. The clergy for the most part were proud of their bishop, glad of his bold leadership, content to be guided and ruled by him. The Revd. John Rathbone Oliver wrote him in March, 1932, only a little over a year after the Lindsey affair,

I am taking back to Baltimore many very happy memories of your Diocese. There seems to be a spirit of happiness and of content among your clergy that one doesn't find in other parts of the country.

Mayor La Guardia, who was himself a man of taste and sensitivity as well as a successful politician, described Bishop Manning as "a priestly man, a manly priest."

² River of Years, 1946, p. 223.

SEWANEE III

HAT brought Manning to Sewanee? There is significance in his making his final preparation for the ministry there, but no clear indication exists as to how and why the choice was made. The boy had been only six years in this country, four in Nebraska and two in California, where with his family he was a member of Saint Paul's Parish, San Diego. John Manning was superintendent of the Sunday school and his son, William, was his assistant. Dr. Restarick, later Missionary Bishop of Hawaii, was his rector. Bishop Kip of California admitted him a postulant. Neither of these had any connection with the University of the South, eighteen hundred miles away. It is an interesting speculation that Bishop Quintard may have had a part in drawing the boy to Sewanee. Charles Todd Quintard was Bishop of Tennessee and Vice Chancellor of the University of the South when he attended the first Pan-Anglican, or Lambeth, Conference in 1867. The bishop was determined to revive and rebuild the university after the devastation of the Civil War. He remained in England through the winter following the conference and went about raising money for the project. He was greatly respected and widely received. Cambridge gave him an honorary degree, and a vice chancellor's robe to wear in the new world. He made a second visit to England, again to raise money, in 1872. Is it possible that he was the guest on one of these two trips of Bishop Magee of Peterborough (afterwards Archbishop of York) 1 and

¹ Manning delighted in later years to recite a poem of Bishop Magee on the subject of the "north end," a fierce ceremonial controversy of the day.

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that he made one of his very effective appeals at Northampton and was heard by the elder Manning, who later remembered when he came to the new world the unusual name of the bishop, and the unusual name of the seat of his university? Bishop Quintard's diary gives no support for this speculation. But whatever the cause of his coming Sewanee was in a special way the right place for Manning.

Sewanee was small, of humble origin, but had lofty ideals and a wide vision. Sewanee took itself seriously though by no means blind to its smallness, and had no intention of being discouraged or of giving, up until its aims and ideals were realized. Manning's life followed a similar pattern. His origin was simple, his early life was quiet and remote from the main current of affairs in church or state. By keeping a high ideal of the life and work of the church always before him he came deliberately but fairly rapidly to the fore and soon achieved high place. His success is due not so much to ambition as to faithful hard work and unswerving purpose. Sewanee in its corporate life has not yet achieved the prominence which Manning and many another graduate have reached. But the university taught the young man both method and objective.

At Sewanee Manning lived in Saint Luke's Hall, the theological school. This was presided over by the Revd. William Porcher Du-Bose, D.D., who lived in one of the entries of the hall with his wife

"By the piper that played before Moses." This sentence is hard to explain. And "before" is a difficult word, It's true meaning, how shall we gain? In days antecedent to Moses, Was it then he delighted the throng, Tubal Cain's most promising pupil, First class both in music and song? Or marched he preceding the prophet, As they walked in processional line? Did he stand face to face with the master And gaze on his features divine? Alas, how we err when we guess. Why not to authority bend? Sure the piper that played before Moses Was piping at Moses' north end.

The "Life of Archbishop Magee" by his life-long friend, Canon MacDonnell, reveals an outlook and attitude towards the church and the responsibility of the episcopal office on the part of the older which bear curious resemblance to those of the younger bishop, granted the difference of fifty years. They probably never met, certainly there could have been no close contact. One amusing minor trait they shared—fondness for reciting poetry to the children of the household. And each made a special hit with the same selection, Thackeray's ballad, "Little Billee."

and his two daughters, Susie and Mae. The system at Sewanee was for the students to live in comparatively small, family groups where the feminine influence of the wife of the head of the group would be felt and a homelike atmosphere maintained. Meals were at the family table, the mistress adding a few boys to her usual household. Manning took a normal part in the life of the theological school and the university. He did not go in for games but he was heard in the debating hall. He was respected in the college community but not a leader. His work was his main concern but he published articles in the magazine of the University of the South in 1890 on "Socialism" and "Wordsworth's Ideal of Woman," subjects representing a certain catholicity of interest, not to say boldness, on the part of a new deacon in that era. A few months after coming to Sewanee he assumed the care of the chapel at Roark's Cove, a hamlet in one of the little valleys running into the side of the mountain on which Sewanee stood. He would walk down on Saturday afternoon, sleep in the tiny frame chapel, clean it out in time to read the service and a sermon on Sunday morning, and climb back up the mountain in the afternoon. The prayer book in the Nebraska farm boy's pocket was now being put to public use.

One of his undergraduate friendships is of interest because of the events of later years. William Norman Guthrie also resided in Saint Luke's Hall. He was as lively as Manning was quiet, an amusing, talkative, clever, ardent, and not entirely balanced, young man. Guthrie's career at Saint Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie seems to justify this description. Perhaps an earlier indication is to be found in a letter he wrote to Manning in 1898.

Hurrah for you. I am glad you will be at Christ Church, Nashville. When you want an ideal assistant there look up Melish [John Howard Melish, later Rector of Holy Trinity, Brooklyn] at Cincinnati. Just the man for you. . . . It is a great pleasure to me,—greater than if the promotion were mine. Your head will never be turned. You'll always be the same true steady noble fellow you have been in the past. No wonder your friends want to see you at the top. Hurrah for 'Cardinal Manning.' With love, your friend as ever.

The entirely different personalities of the two set up a field of magnetic attraction and they were often engaged in friendly, and noisy, undergraduate controversy. The word "Guthing" became a part of the Sewanee vocabulary for a time to describe one given to much argument.

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The most important feature of Manning's life at Sewanee was the close friendship which grew up at once with his teacher, DuBose. They were drawn together by a sort of awareness of the complementary qualities which they had for each other. The young man became an intimate and intensely beloved member of the doctor's household. Manning's time at Sewanee as undergraduate and as teacher was very brief, less than four years in all, but these years were invaluable to both and their friendship continued, chiefly by close and affectionate correspondence, until the doctor's death. DuBose writes him in January, 1892,

... your comment on Mosley opens up a very serious and deep train of thought. I regard it not so much a criticism of him as of a state of things which he represents. That is the actual Church as it has come to be. The real Church as it ought to be—which is the Universe, the World, humanity in Christ; the Church which you and Phillips Brooks see from very opposite standpoints of churchmanship; the Church which includes every man in spite of himself—in one sense; and in another sense only excludes him who will not be included (all men are saved by grace—tho through faith they may not, & may never, be saved)—that Church which is & in which men are, whether they know it or not, we will, or you will, have your hands full with making men see as a fact again. I wish there were a thousand like you to proclaim & restore it. If you are right in saying that I have given you your point of view, or made you what you are in this respect—I am more grateful for having provided you than my book....

DuBose is an outstanding figure of Anglicanism, though better known and more generally studied outside his own country than at home. Manning, writing of DuBose in 1949, shortly before his own death, calls him "the greatest Thinker and Theologian of the Episcopal Church and one of the greatest of our modern era." J. O. F. Murray, of Cambridge University, writes of him that he

was not only a thinker, who because he thought for himself naturally stimulates thought in others, he was a prophet. His thinking is always in touch with spiritual reality. He speaks at first hand of God and from God. He is one of the few 'voices' in the world, not one of the many 'echoes.'

Again Manning says of him,

Dr. DuBose was in very truth an Apostle of Reality. To him Religion meant Reality. His method was to explore Reality no matter what the results might be. No man ever held more sincerely that Truth must be followed wherever it may lead, and that Truth can be trusted to vindicate

itself to those who truly seek it. There are some who imagine that honest and fearless thinking must necessarily lead away from full belief in Christ, but it was not so with this truly great thinker. His complete loyalty to Truth, and his depth of thought, led him to ever deeper understanding of —and ever deeper belief in—the whole Truth Revealed in Christ and declared in the Creed of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.

With his passion for Reality, and his absolute loyalty to Truth, Dr. DuBose's teaching is startlingly 'modern.' . . . I have been much struck by the correspondence between the thought of Dr. DuBose and the thought of that most modern representative of Science, Lecompte du Noüy, in his great recent book *Human Destiny*. du Noüy does not, of course, pretend to deal with the theological aspects of the subject with the depth and completeness with which Dr. DuBose does but from the strictly scientific standpoint he sees the same truth as to man's spiritual and moral destiny, and declares the same reconciliation between the Scientific view and the Religious view of the Universe, and between the Divine Transcendence and the Divine Immanence, which Dr. DuBose saw, and so greatly teaches.²

The quotation is given at length because it describes something of the pupil as well as the master. And the description of DuBose is as he came to be, not as he was generally regarded in 1888.³ When Manning matriculated at Sewanee Dr. DuBose was a theological professor in a tiny remote school of learning, faithfully teaching his pupils the faith, beloved and respected, by those associated with him but scarcely recognized beyond the limits of the Dioceses of Tennessee and one or two others with which he was connected, an entirely unknown name in the Anglican world. DuBose gave Manning the theology which was the sufficient basis of his life and work and Manning introduced DuBose to the world outside. This is how it happened.

² From the introduction to *The Theology of Dr. DuBose—The Word was Made Flesh* by John S. Marshall, the University Press, at the University of the South, 1949. For further material on Dr. DuBose, including a bibliography, see "William Porcher DuBose, Unity in the Faith," Seabury Press, 1957.

³ Another former pupil of "the doctor," William Alexander Percy, gives a charming description of him in *Lanterns on the Levee*, Knopf, New York, 1948. In chapter IX, "Sewanee," he writes

^{...} and the other great course of those days was Dr. DuBose's Ethics. He was a tiny silver saint who lived elsewhere, being more conversant with the tongues of angels than of men. Sometimes sitting on the edge of his desk in his black gown, talking haltingly of Aristotle, he would suspend, rapt, in some mid-air beyond our ken, murmuring: "The starry heavens—" followed by indefinite silence. We, with a glimpse of things, would tiptoe out of the classroom, feeling luminous, and never knowing when he returned to time and space.

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The young man, whose schooling had been meager though earnestly pursued up to this point, now came into contact with a great mind and with the great reservoir of belief which the Anglican Communion has received from the source of the apostolic springs. DuBose is representative of that central stream of Anglican theology which reaches back through the Tractarians-and Bishop Hobart of New York-to the Caroline divines, to Laud, to Hooker, to the ecumenical councils, to the fathers, to the apostles, to the ultimate reality of the gospel. This is the theology and the faith which teachers are being continually called upon to express anew and with renewed appeal but which remains always old. Manning's theological position did not change in essentials during the rest of his life because it was a sufficient, complete, catholic, and apostolic, position in the beginning. He seized with glee upon Bishop Hobart's war cry "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order" when he got to New York and, as bishop, he seemed to get not only joy but renewed strength from frequent proclamation of it in a voice which, very quiet and softly modulated in ordinary conversation, became almost stentorian, and certainly authoritarian, in the pulpit or on the platform. He was not himself given to pioneering in the matter of rephrasing or re-defining the faith but he was always alert to encourage others who did, provided it was really the apostolic faith which was being rephrased or re-defined. And he was both penetrating and persistent in discovering and warning when it was not.

The young Manning plunged eagerly into the riches of this treasury and drank deep of this reservoir. He was the kind of pupil to delight the heart of an earnest teacher; he won his way straight to that of DuBose. Saint Luke's was really just an extension of the DuBose household. But Manning became specially intimate. He fell in love with Susie, and was teased by Mae, and the doctor soon came to depend upon him almost entirely.

DuBose had been urged for years to publish his teaching but had never brought himself to the point of serious writing. It is not certain whether Manning took the lead in the effort to persuade DuBose to write or whether DuBose, being convinced that he should write but aware of his own lack of drive, recognized in his pupil the dynamic force needed to start him. It is the fact that DuBose repeatedly told Manning that he felt that Manning could make him write and invited him to do so. Manning was made a deacon on Thursday, 12

December, 1889, by Bishop Quintard.⁴ He had been only twenty months at Sewanee. The service was in Saint Luke's oratory and the candidate was presented by DuBose, the sermon being preached by Dr. Telfair Hodgson, the Dean of the Seminary. Manning went for a time in 1890 to be curate at Calvary Church, Memphis. But during the long winter vacation (then the rule at Sewanee) of 1890-91 he went with the DuBose family to their usual winter home at Melbourne, Florida, to begin the task of making the doctor write.

The household there was a very simple one. No servants were taken and the girls did the cooking. The doctor and Manning worked each in his own room during the morning and there was a teasing period at noon when Manning would stand in the doorway between the kitchen and dining room explaining to Susie, at the stove, the morning's work, while Mae kept pushing him out of her way as she carried dishes to the table, and complaining that his talk was delaying the meal. In the afternoon there were expeditions by rowboat on Indian River and in the evening discussions with the doctor about the book. An important part of the establishment was a small flock of chickens whose overlord, a long-legged cockerel, went by the name of William Thomas. Manning made a drawing of the cockerel with a learic

William Thomas here ventures to say, 'Many happy returns of the day'. But he finds, to his cost,
The politeness is lost
On that hard-hearted chicken, Miss Mae.

to give to Mae at the teasing period on her birthday and the following year the doctor wrote news of William Thomas to his patron, now presiding over the parish at Redlands in California.

The book, The Soteriology of the New Testament, was written in the course of the ninety days of the winter vacation in Florida. The DuBose family returned to Sewanee. Young Manning, still a deacon, graduated from the theological department and then took the manuscript to New York where he arranged for publication. Here he had incidentally his first contact with Dr. Huntington of Grace Church, a contact which was to grow into a warm friendship based on mutual respect in spite of different churchmanship. He attended the General Theological Seminary for a few months as a special student. In the

⁴ Bishop Quintard's diary records that this ordination was on the second Sunday in Advent, the 8th.

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autumn he returned to California where he was in charge of Saint Matthew's Mission, National City, for a time and after his ordination to the priesthood on Saturday, 12 December, 1891, Rector of Trinity Church, Redlands.

DuBose kept up a steady agitation to bring Manning back to Sewanee to teach. He wrote him frequently on the subject, referring to the steps he was taking at Sewanee to this end. The trustees in 1892 authorized

the Vice-Chancellor, in consultation with the Professor of the Theological Department . . . to employ Rev. W. T. Manning, or some other competent person, as instructor in Old Testament Language and Interpretation at a salary not to exceed \$400; provided that no part of this salary be paid out of the Treasury of the University.

Nothing came of this but in 1893, at their annual meeting in June, the trustees elected him to the chair of Systematic Divinity (changed the next year to Dogmatic Theology), and in the autumn he came into residence and began to teach. The proviso about the salary in the resolution of the previous year was carefully carried out. It was not only not paid out of the university treasury, it was not paid at all. In 1901 Manning was a trustee of the university and the minutes of the annual meeting record that at the meeting of the theological committee, of which he was a member, the Rector of Christ Church, Nashville, remitted the debt of the unpaid salary of earlier days.

The list of books for his courses is revealing as to Manning's position in the main stream of Anglicanism.

Pearson on the Creed

Mason, "Faith of the Gospel"
Bishop Forbes on the Nicene Creed
Browne, Burnet, Forbes; on the Articles
Waterland, "Critical History of the Athanasian Creed" and "Treatise on the Doctrine of the Eucharist"
Hagenbach, "History of Doctrine"
Liddon's Bampton Lectures ("The Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ")
Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer
Wilberforce on the Incarnation
Gore, "The Incarnation of the Son of God"
Sadler, "Emanuel"
Moberly, "Administration of the Holy Spirit"
Liddon, "Some elements of Religion"
Lee on Inspiration

Lucock, "Studies in the Prayer Book" Mozley, "Eight Lectures on Miracles" (Bampton Lectures) Maurice, "Kingdom of Christ"

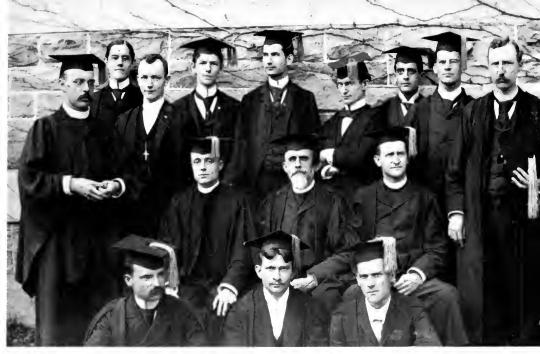
But the Sewanee life was not to be for long. He went to Cincinnati after the first term of teaching to visit the family of some friends and parishioners in California. There he met Florence Van Antwerp. Their courtship was brief and without notable event. Manning returned to Sewanee after the long winter holiday but in the autumn of 1894 he ended his brief teaching career and, leaving behind him on the mountain a grieving but always affectionate mentor and friend and also, it is reported, three disappointed damsels, he took up work at a small mission, Trinity Church in Cincinnati. On 23 April, 1895, William Thomas Manning and Florence Van Antwerp were united in holy matrimony.



Riding his first hobby

At Sewance, an expedition to "wet cave"





The theology school at Sewance. W.T.M. and Dr. DuBose, middle of the second row



The young rector at Lansdowne, with his daughter Frances



The new rector at Trinity

The 1912 trip on behalf of the World Conference on faith and order. W.T.M. with the bishops of Chicago (Anderson), Vermont (Hall), and Southern Ohio (Vincent)





The War chaplain



The new bishop

Faithfully and affectionately your Bishop,

William J. Manning

W.T.M. (signature)

At Lausanne, 1927. Prof. Cosby Bell, Revd. Floyd Tompkins, Jr., F. C. Morehouse, Prof. Francis Hall, Revd. Geo. Craig Stewart, T. H. Ringrose, Bp. Brent, Dean Washburn, W.T.M., Revd. Alexander Zabriskie, (above) Pres. Kenneth Sills, Revd. Talbot Rogers, Revd. Ridgely Lytle





A group of notables, Judge Samuel Seabury, Thos. E. Dewey, Alfred E. Smith, Thos. W. Watson, James W. Gerard, W.T.M.



The temporary altar in the nave at the





The nave of the cathedral, 1942

With children at St. Barnabas House, city mission



At Saint Sava's Cathedral (the former Trinity Chapel)



Associated Press
BISHOP WILLIAM T. MANNING
The vestry took heed.

The "fighting bishop"

and the Roosevelts were linked by tradition and sentiment. On Nov. 14, the Roosevelt-less vestry of ivy-covered St. James' met at a Poughkeepsie hotel to fill three vacancies. For one they chose a Roosevelt, the late President's second son, Elliott.

Last week New York's thin-lipped, aging Bishop William Thomas Manning aimed an episcopal thunderbolt at unwary St. James' and its new vestrymanelect. In an action that he admitted was "unusual" he decreed that thrice-married Elliott "is not in good standing with the Church and therefore is not eligible for the office of vestryman and cannot serve in that capacity."

Canon law forbids remarriage of divorced persons except in case of infidelity. The "innocent party" may remarry, but only with the approval of his bishop. Elli-

TIME, DECEMBER 3, 1945



With my love to you all - now and always 1946. William J. Manning.

At the time of his retirement, 1946



With the bishop of Oxford at Somesville, 1949

The author and his subject in the eastern way, Mt. Desert Island



CHAPTER THREE

BEGINNINGS



. HE FAMILY LIFE which now began flowed on evenly and undisturbed by difficulties or disagreements for fifty-four years and a half. And yet in some ways the two principals seemed strangely matched. Florence was so much taller than William. She was by origin and outlook a patrician, somewhat aloof and inflexible. She was always very proud of her William but the rough and tumble of public life and controversy were distasteful to her. He throve on them. In her private opinions she was an unashamed partisan and chafed at the opposition and rebellion which were the inevitable lot of one who took as firm and clear a stand on as many matters as William did. She was not a "co-worker" with her husband and avoided rather than sought public appearances. But she adored him, supported him vehemently in the intimacy of her home, and was entirely content in her life with him. In the preparation of this biography I owe an incalculable debt to her work over the years. She saved great quantities of material about William and his work-letters, clippings, pamphlets-and during considerable periods pasted them all carefully in great scrapbooks, preserving with equal care the pleasant and commendatory and the unfavourable and recriminatory. Such disagreements as they had were over trifles, a normal part of a happy family life. Toward the end of their life together she said to one of the clergy of the diocese, "My husband is a great man. If he had not married he would have been a greater one." The latter statement is certainly untrue and the whole reflects as much credit on Florence as on William. But it fairly describes an unselfish devotion, justly earned and duly received. They were rarely apart during their married life. The few letters which he



wrote her reveal simply but clearly that he was deeply in love with her. William was apt to discuss most matters of public import in his life and work with her though it is doubtful whether he was influenced by her.¹ In all domestic arrangements he was quite content that her wishes should be supreme. He undoubtedly enjoyed his multitude of public contacts for in spite of his shyness he liked people generally. He had many friends to whom he was warmly attached but he had undoubtedly the minimum of personal dislikes. People did not bother him at all. But his relaxation was taken in his own family circle. Two daughters were born to them. Frances, the elder, remained always at home. Elizabeth went into business soon after her father became bishop and later (18 May, 1933) married Griffith Baily Coale, the painter. His portrait of the bishop is one of those successful studies, neither glorifying nor belittling, which are difficult of achievement by one who is bound to his subject by personal ties.

The sojourn in Cincinnati was brief. In the spring of 1896 he was called by the Bishop of Pennsylvania, Dr. Whitaker, to Saint John the Evangelist in Lansdowne. This mission had been torn apart by controversy over matters of ceremonial and the bishop had removed a difficult incumbent. Manning made it plain that he would not take sides or identify himself with either faction; that he had come to minister to the flock as a whole; and that he "purposed doing it as the exigencies of the situation demanded." He soon won the support of all the congregation, including those who had been fearful that a "persecuting" bishop was imposing a "low" churchman on them, and within six months brought Saint John's to the status of an independent parish. This was not accomplished without another minor controversy, in which Manning stood his ground.

In drawing up a charter for the new parish, provision was made that to be eligible for the vestry one must be a "registered communicant." Among those who were wanted for a strong vestry was a prominent layman, the president of a Philadelphia bank. He had been in attendance at Saint John's for some time but had never transferred his membership from a neighbouring parish where he had been confirmed. In January, while the charter was being drawn up, he expressed special approval of the provision.

¹ But for an example of his complete confidence in her judgment see pp. 84-85.
² From a letter of the bishop to Manning. The bishop commented "you stated the true principle, the neglect of which rendered your coming there necessary." In 1907 the bishop wrote him "of the valuable help you gave me by your coming into the diocese, solving one of the most troublesome problems which I have had to face."

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The suggestion that a necessary qualification of a member of the Vestry should be that he be a registered communicant of St. John's Parish, seems to me wise in the light of personal experience, which at times has not been entirely pleasant.

But in May, after he had been serving for some time on the vestry, he changed his tune and stated categorically that he could not transfer because of personal affection for the rector of his former parish. He was nevertheless quite determined to keep his place on the vestry of Saint John's, implied that the proviso of "registry" was merely the personal wish or interpretation of Manning, professed to be unaware that there had been a proposal of the requirement, and even attempted to repudiate the meaning of his original letter. There was no quarrel but Manning continued to stress the facts that the matter of eligibility lay entirely within the discretion of the individual and that the charter was clear and had been deliberately adopted. Finally the vestryman resigned in preference to qualifying.

The incident is unimportant in itself but it is notable as illustrating Manning's principles and his manner of upholding them. The provision which the vestryman found a barrier had been openly proposed, fully discussed, and deliberately adopted. It must then, so long as it remained,—and Manning gave no hint of wishing to remove it—be upheld, even at the cost of losing an important and useful member of the vestry. "The bantam" certainly did not crow over the matter but he was not overawed.

He was barely two years at Lansdowne but the expressions of regret at his leaving, in the parish and in Philadelphia, were extraordinarily warm and moving. The Bishops of Louisiana and Tennessee were both determined to have him and Bishop Gailor was successful. Manning came into residence as Rector of Christ Church, Nashville, in October of 1898. Dr. DuBose at Sewanee was ecstatic in his joy at getting his darling back into the orbit of the university. Some of the vestry hesitated for fear he might be too "high" church for them—the reverse of the fear at Lansdowne!—but were content to be unanimous in their call and more than content after he arrived.

Manning threw himself with tremendous vigour into the work. The parish had been weakly administered under his predecessor and was not in strong shape. It was large and fashionable and somewhat contented. A debt of \$25,000 had been carried for some time rather complacently. Manning proceeded to drive himself and drive his people. He at once began to make plans for a preaching mission in which all the parishes of the city would unite. This took place just before lent

in 1900. The missioner chosen by Manning was Dr. Rainsford of Saint George's, Stuyvesant Square, New York. As an aftermath of the mission, Manning received, in a series of confidential letters from Silas McBee, the editor of *The Churchman* and a former fellow pupil of Dr. DuBose at Sewanee, indignant protest that Manning not only allowed, but approved, the suggestion by Rainsford, for those who had attended the mission, of reading matter of quite inadequate orthodoxy. In view of the constant public criticism of the bishop by *The Churchman* in later years—at times ill-tempered and unreasonable—the earlier, private, criticism from a point of view diametrically opposed is not without humor.

His preaching may be illustrated by a sermon of 20 January, 1901, on the text, "and both Jesus was called and his disciples to the marriage." (St. John, II, 2) He makes three points. The miracle shows our Lord's blessing on society and social activity, provided it is the right kind. Second,

That scene suggests the humanness of Jesus, his realness and nearness to us, . . . We do not yet believe that Christianity stands for all that is strong and robust and healthy and sound and virile, . . . We think of religion as a yoke to burden life instead of as a crown to gladden and glorify it.

Yokes are to help man bear burdens.

Life is the burden from which no man may escape and religion is to help him bear it with ease and comfort, and so far as may be with joy and gladness.

Third, the miracle is a denunciation of the theory of prohibition and the essential evil of alcohol. He commends voluntary abstinence,

but that is a different thing from saying that every man who touches wine is a sinner, or that "a moderate drinker is as bad as a drunkard."

He organized or revived mission stations of the parish in different parts of the city under a band of lay readers. And he attacked the long standing debt. This was paid off by Easter of 1902, the final stage taking place in a dramatic manner. Almost from the time of his arrival in Nashville, Manning had been receiving calls, sometimes pressing and appealing ones, to go elsewhere. By the end of 1901 there were two such calls to which he felt he should give serious consideration. News of the calls became public in Nashville. The parish was in an agony of suspense. The vestry wrote him a letter pressing the claims of Christ Church upon him. He soon announced his refusal of

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both calls and a committee was formed to give concrete signs of the relief and gratitude of the parish. Within a fortnight the amount necessary to clear the debt had been raised or pledged. The full amount was presented in the offering on Easter Day, and the church was consecrated by the bishop on Low Sunday. The Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Dr. Winchester Donald, wrote him

It would give me peculiar pleasure to be present with you next Sunday morning, and to add my feeble voice to the hearty congratulations you will receive; and justly, for I take it that this consecration means the removal of debt. Is this the explanation of your declination of your call to New York? If it is, and I strongly suspect it, it does you honor; to stand by your church until it could stand alone, is noble.

At the same time Manning gave aggressive support to the missionary work of the church and had the loyal assistance of his layman in this. Priest and delegates of Christ Church, one of the largest parishes of the diocese, stood firmly in the Diocesan Convention of 1901 against reduction of missionary assesments, for which there was a general clamor, even though this involved for Christ Church an increase of fifty percent in two years.3 His record in the matter of financial support of the missionary work remained the same throughout his ministry even when in later years as bishop he was outspoken at times in his criticism of methods and policies. The Diocese of New York, the largest and richest in the church, has on occasion failed to pay its full missionary quota. But this has not been from lack of earnest and effective leadership on the part of its bishop. Manning was always very clear that support of missionary work was helped, not hindered, by aggressive fund raising for local projects. A favourite criticism of the great drive for the building of the cathedral was that it was hurting, or would hurt, the missionary giving. In his convention address of 1931 Manning commented on this.

It is worthy of note that during the period of our campaign for the Building of the Cathedral our contributions for the Missionary Work, both General and Diocesan, have been larger than they ever were before, and that our gifts for Missionary Work reached their highest point in 1926

³ A delegate to the convention, one of his lay readers, writing him to thank him for the stand the parish had taken, referred to another of the problems of the parochial ministry, "I hope you will soon get a chance to see Dr. and Mrs. H... The former is very recalcitrant, but I have great hope of Mrs... The Doctor does not like the idea of 'The' Church, and his Baptist preacher has informed him that no man or woman can get a license for a saloon or bawdy house in England unless he or she first becomes a communicant of the Church of England!"

when the Cathedral Campaign was at its height. This should I think fully answer the questions of any who feared, as some honestly did, that the gifts for the Cathedral would conflict with and lessen the gifts for other causes. The figures show the exact opposite of this, as we believed they would. The gifts for the Cathedral have stimulated and increased our giving for other purposes.

In another matter his work at Nashville foreshadowed in a curious way the pattern of his future life. It was at a diocesan convention held at Christ Church during his rectorship that the opening service was for the first time for the whole convention and not divided as previously into two services, one for white and one for black. For Tennessee at the beginning of this century this was a great step forward. Manning's forthright behaviour at one moment helped to make the step secure. As he came into the parish hall for the meal following the service he saw a negro priest standing alone at one of the tables. The rector at once went forward and took his place beside him. There was an understandable hesitation on the part of the ladies in the pantry waiting to serve the meal. It was resolved by one of them, a northerner by birth, who took her tray and came forward to her rector and his colleague. In somewhat the same understanding way he remained close to his negro brethren throughout his ministry. He was glad to boast as bishop that the Diocese of New York had more negro communicants than any other diocese in the country and his support of the negro work was always firm, warm, courageous, and farsighted.

In 1901, being thirty-five years of age and only two years in the diocese, he was elected at the top of the poll Deputy to General Convention from Tennessee. He took no active public part in his first convention but he made and renewed many friendships which were of importance in later years. The convention met in San Francisco and Dr. Huntington of Grace Church, New York, invited him to be one of the company on the trip home in a private car which Mr. E. H. Harriman, a vestryman of Grace Church, had put at his disposal. No man commanded greater respect in the church, not only in New York but throughout the country, than Dr. Huntington and the company traveling across the country was a distinguished one, the conversation at times certainly dealing with matters of moment to the church. Dr. Huntington was specially impressed with his young friend. He set to work to bring him to New York and went to the extent of sending an urgent telegram to Nashville exhorting Manning not to decide about a certain call to Philadelphia until a call from New York which he knew was coming should be before him. The call was being delayed

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because of complications about the vacancy arising from the insanity of the rector!

Dr. Huntington's regard for Manning's judgement and ability continued. In 1906 a younger priest consulted Dr. Huntington as to what position he should take in view of his agreement with Dr. Crapsey in denying the virgin birth and the resurrection. Dr. Huntington submitted his very carefully considered reply to only two people for their criticism, one of these being Manning. He writes,

What I would especially like you to do for me if you will, is to criticize with the utmost freedom and frankness the answer which I propose to send . . . I have already received the criticism of one clergyman, representing a distinct "school of thought," and I should also greatly like to have yours before I despatch my letter. These two criticisms are the only ones that I shall seek.

Manning's reply was free and frank in its criticism as had been requested.4

My feeling in reading your reply is, first of all, one of most heartfelt thankfulness that you in your position of leadership should feel able to write as you do. Such a letter as this cannot but have weight most of all because it is written by yourself with your known openmindedness and freedom from the bias of mere ecclesiasticism. The letter is as admirable in spirit as it is clear and strong in argument.

With every word that you say I most cordially agree except that I should not feel able at certain points to concede quite so much as you do. [He proceeds at length to specify.] These points upon which I have expressed myself, do not, however, affect my feeling as to the strength of the main positions taken in your letter or as to the great wisdom of the advice which you give, with which I again express my most whole souled agreement.

The young high-churchman and the old broad-churchman had indeed come very close together. But there were other ties also and in the end it was another leader of the church, and another parish, which drew him to New York. In the spring of 1903 he came at the summons of the Rector of Trinity, Dr. Dix, to be Vicar of Saint Agnes' Chapel. The rector's letter shows not only the typical urgency of one who has become accustomed to command and to receive obedience, but also what he intended the future should bring.

You will meet a very cordial & warm reception, not only in Trinity Parish,

⁴I have dealt at length with this correspondence in the Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church for September, 1956.

but outside of it, for you have many friends & admirers in this great phase. In addition to this, it will be an inexpressible help & aid to me to know that we have at St. Agnes' one whom I can trust, with many years before him for consecrated work in the Master's field. You must not hesitate to come to us. I hope it is not selfish to say that I need you personally, as my own strength declines, and hope that God has guided me aright in thus unreservedly asking it of you.

The impact of Manning's ministry in Nashville may perhaps be indicated by a note his curate, Holly Wells, wrote after Manning's last Sunday there.

People often tell me how fortunate I have been in my association with you—what a valuable training in parochial methods I have had, and how much it ought to help me in after life. It is all quite true; I realize that it is; But I also know that my debt to you is far greater than can possibly be measured by any mere knowledge of parochial machinery. It is a debt of personal character. I am a better man for having known you. This I believe to be true and I see no good reason why I should not say it.

Sometimes the warmth of a community's affection for one of its citizens is shown by the absurd tales concerning him. In spite of his youth and the shortness of his stay Manning took his part in the folklore of Nashville. In connection with a state visit to the city by Admiral Schley, a somewhat controversial figure in the war with Spain, the local paper made the following report.

Rear Admiral and Mrs. Winfield S. Schley attended worship at beautiful Christ Church last evening. . . . Dr. W. T. Manning, the rector, occupied the pulpit during the evening, and delivered a powerful and thoughtful sermon.

After a résumé the account concluded

After the services Admiral and Mrs. Schley were again escorted to the hotel and were allowed to take a much needed rest.

Manning recited anecdotes at his own expense with the greatest glee. In after years he told this one probably more often than any other, keeping the old newspaper clipping in a special folder among his papers.

ASSISTANT RECTOR



Manning was elected an assistant minister of Trinity Parish by the vestry on 22 December, 1902, to be Vicar of Saint Agnes' Chapel. He came into residence there on mid-Lent Sunday, 22 March, 1903.1 Saint Agnes was at that time the newest Trinity Chapel, having been first planned in 1888 and formally opened in 1892. It had an imposing edifice, designed in the romanesque style by a brother of Bishop Henry Codman Potter, with a large congregation and staff and a flourishing parochial life. There had already been two vicars in the first ten years of Saint Agnes' history, Dr. Bradley, the first, having died suddenly of a heart attack, and Dr. Olmstead having been elected bishop coad-

¹ The structure of Trinity is somewhat different from that of the typical American parish. It consists of the parish church and its congregation and several chapels in different parts of Manhattan Island-and one on Governor's Island in the harbour-each with its own congregation. When the British took New Amsterdam and made it New York, Trinity Church was built on its present site for English worshippers. The present structure is the third building. The parish was endowed with land by the crown. As the parish grew chapels were built, many of which soon became separate parishes receiving portions of land for their endowment. But some of the chapels remained within the parish and under the control of the one vestry. The vicars of these chapels are assistant ministers of Trinity Parish, the curates are all appointed by the rector. New chapels have been established, old ones closed or moved to new locations, down even to the present time. The older Dutch Reformed Church has a somewhat similar structure in the various congregations and churches which form the Collegiate Church of New York. The endowment of Trinity Parish has at times furnished an irresistible temptation to persons outside the parish. The fact that it was given for the Anglicans of the community has been made the basis of claims that it now belongs to all the Episcopalians of the city or even the diocese, if not the whole state. The controversy has at times been a popular one. Had Trinity not succeeded in resisting the claims the endowment would have been spread so thin that its usefulness would have approached the vanishing point.

jutor of Central New York. The work at Saint Agnes was such as called for exactly the kind of driving, forceful leadership which the new vicar gave it. Saint Agnes became a great church during its brief history of less than sixty years. All went smoothly under its third vicar. The parochial system at Saint Agnes was noted and copied widely throughout the church. A children's missionary play, "The Little Pilgrims and the Book Beloved," which had a great vogue, was written by Mrs. Henry Lee Hobart of the chapel congregation and first performed there.

Manning took a leading part in the early nineteen hundreds in an effort to produce a stronger marriage law in the church by marshalling the suport of Trinity parish. In 1901, when he was a deputy from Tennessee, General Convention almost passed a canon forbidding absolutely the marriage of any person having a divorced partner still living. In 1904 the effort was made again to pass such legislation and again it failed. Manning thereupon arranged a mass meeting in early November at Saint Agnes' Chapel to educate for the strict legislation. Dr. Dix presided and Bishop Greer was one of the speakers. Shortly afterward a statement was issued by the rector and clergy of the parish that none of them would officiate at any marriage of a divorced person whose former partner was still living and that no such marriage would be allowed in any church of the parish.

But just as there was question from the very beginning at Nashville as to how long he was to remain so the matter of Manning's future was raised almost as soon as he got to New York. Eighteen months after his coming to Saint Agnes' he was elected, on Saint Andrew's Day, 30 November, 1904, bishop of the newly created Diocese of Harrisburg. On December 12th the vestry elected him assistant to the rector. On the sixteenth he declined the election to Harrisburg and accepted the added responsibility in Trinity Parish with its implication, but not guarantee, as to the future. It was a dramatic situation in which the aging rector boldly forced a decision on the younger man but the drama is greatly heightened by a knowledge of the relations between the two illustrated by a private incident which could not be publicly known at the time.

Between the rector and his new vicar there existed from the beginning a warm intimacy, but somewhat formal in its expression as befitted the character of the two. A constant stream of notes passed between them, even on minor subjects, from which it is easy to see how great was the affection and respect of each for the other. It was plainly a cause of delight to Dix to realize that he was to pass on the leader-

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ship of the parish in which he had been born and in which he had spent almost the whole of his life, culminating in a rectorship of over forty-five years, to one in whom he had such complete confidence. The admiration was mutual. In later years the bishop quoted Dr. Dix in a way which almost imputed a measure of infallibility to the great rector of the mother parish.

It was against this background that a difficulty arose, in which each stated frankly his position and as a result of which the relationship continued closer than before with no trace of rancour. On the eve of Saint Andrew's Day, Dr. Dix officiated in Saint Agnes' Chapel at the wedding of the daughter of the clerk of the vestry, Colonel Jay. There was nothing extraordinary in this. The Jays worshipped at Trinity but the chapel was more convenient for this ceremony. The vicar was not present at the service, partly through a misunderstanding. On the following day, while the electors in Harrisburg were casting their ballots for him, Manning sat down and wrote the rector a note of remonstrance at what had taken place. It is worth quoting in full.

I am sorry to have to speak of a matter that is not pleasant, but I believe when such things arise it is better to speak frankly of them than to carry them in one's mind and say nothing. The matter to which I refer is the Wedding Ceremony which took place in St. Agnes' Chapel yesterday. I have found myself, as Vicar of the Chapel, in the strange position of hearing, through the newspapers, and indirectly, that a service was to take place here as to which I had not been once, in any way, consulted or even informed. The Sexton of the Chapel, and the Organist, were duly consulted but at no point in the proceedings was the Vicar taken into account at all.

Were this a matter which concerned only my own personal dignity, I should say nothing about it but it so directly affects the influence and usefulness of the Vicar in his work that I do not feel justified in allowing it to pass in silence, and I do not believe you would wish me to let it so pass. It seems to be vitally necessary, if the influence of the Vicar in his own Chapel is to be maintained, that, before any service can take place there, he should be consulted about it.

I feel sure this situation has arisen through some oversight but the principle involved is one of such importance, and I believe so firmly in speaking plainly and frankly to those whom one has a right to trust, that I do not hesitate to lay the matter before you.

Dr. Dix's reply, written the same day, was based on the assumption that what bothered Manning was that he had not been properly invited to be present at the ceremony and he assured the vicar that this had been entirely unintentional and should not have occurred. But that was not the point. On the first of December Manning sent the rector two notes, the first informing him of his election to Harrisburg, the second reiterating the contention that the vicar could not properly administer his chapel if he was not informed officially what was going on there. Immediately the rector replied with a letter which frankly recognized both the point raised and the justice of it, though he did go on to assert the right of the rector to officiate anywhere in the parish without asking anyone's permission (a right Manning had not challenged). He added

If you should ever be the Rector of this Parish, I am convinced that your views of this matter would coincide with mine.

Surely the venerable rector chuckled as he wrote these words to the newcomer whom he was, at that moment, confidently, though still confidentially, planning to put in exactly that position. The decision to remain in New York was crucial to Manning's career, and so to the future history of the parish and the diocese. The least trace of pettiness on either side might well have altered this future completely.

The rector was mistaken however in his prediction that Manning's views about the management of his office would change. It was quite understandable that Dr. Dix, who was born and brought up in Trinity Parish, who seemed almost to personify Trinity Parish, should have become somewhat casual about details of administration. Manning remained throughout his life punctilious in his respect for the responsibilities and prerogatives of subordinates. He probably never in his life forgot to consult, in a rather formally courteous manner, his associates, even those with whom he was on the closest terms, as to matters which concerned their departments. Two instances will illustrate a manner which never changed. Edward Warren, the secretary of the board of trustees of the cathedral, assumed that office in the later years of Manning's episcopate. He recalls being impressed by an occasion when the seal of the cathedral corporation had to be affixed to a somewhat routine document, but without delay. The seal was in the bishop's office. Its custodian was the secretary. The bishop would not allow the document to go out until Mr. Warren had been reached by telephone, out of town, and his permission secured. Again, in 1927 when I first came to the cathedral I was instructed by the bishop and dean to draw up a written standard of ceremonial for the performance of the cathedral services. The matter arose at my suggestion and I was much interested in it. My proposals were discussed at a meeting of the staff, approved by the bishop and dean, and put into practice. ASSISTANT RECTOR 47

Soon afterward I became ill and was absent from the cathedral for nearly three months. During this time some of the clergy became dissatisfied with certain details of this ceremonial and wished to change them. The bishop refused to allow any discussion of the matter in staff meeting in my absence. On my return he informed me privately of the situation and of his own decision that the change called for was necessary. The matter was then raised in the staff meeting and I was formally instructed to make the change.

The importance of the decision about Harrisburg was fully recognized by Manning's family and a host of friends. He was bombarded with advice both to go and to stay. Dr. Dix wrote to say the election had taken him by surprise and, obviously having in mind the action he planned to prevent Manning's departure but hesitant as to its propriety at that moment, urged him not to decide quickly.

There are great interests here, in the Diocese at large as well as in our parish, which you will of course consider. For myself, I should think it beneath your dignity and my own, to take any sudden action intended to influence your decision of a very grave question; but I may and will say that I think you have a great future before you in this city and this Diocese, and that, if you stand fast, time will show that I am no false prophet. Leaving this matter, like all others, in the hands of God, I remain . . .

A female relative in Philadelphia wrote with great scorn of Harrisburg and exhorted him not to bury himself there or to think of being a bishop for at least ten years. Dr. Harry Nichols, of Holy Trinity, Harlem, wrote him a tenderly affectionate letter,

I fear your sense of duty will lead you to accept. You cannot know . . . what your responsive brotherliness has been to us all in New York, how you have given us new light on the possibilities of being friendly even in N. Y. city, how you have shown new avenues for Trinity's activities. Even if you leave us I for one am deeply thankful you have been here . . .

Bishop Potter urged him not to go, but only after Manning asked his advice.

The arguments were about equally divided as to where duty lay and where the more important work was. Many who urged him to go later wrote that he had made the wise decision and had assumed the more difficult but more important task. In the end Manning recognized the rector's right to guide his decision. The account in his diary is revealing, especially in the light of the correspondence just quoted, of the strength of the bond which held the two men to one another

and to their common work; and also of the commanding position which Dix occupied in the life of the church.

Saturday 10th (December) Still receiving great numbers of letters-writing and thinking. The call is being pressed very strongly from all over the Diocese. Went this afternoon by appointment to see Dr. Dix who urged me most strongly and affectionately not to leave the parish and said "he believed the future here held greater possibilities for me than the work of the Diocese." Dr. Dix most kindly offered to preach for me tomorrow morning.

Sunday 11th 11.00 Celebrated the Holy Communion, Dr. Dix preached a very strong sermon on "Retribution" quoting from "The Burial of Raymond"—Feeling much weighed down by the great seriousness of the question before me. Vestrymen saying little but want me to continue here -Others here urging me to stay. . . . Mr. Carskaddon came up at night by appointment and told me much about the towns in the Diocese of Harrisburg—His report is very encouraging as to the nature of the country, the character of the people, etc.

Monday 12th Anniversary of my ordination to the Diaconate by Bishop Quintard-acting for Bishop Kip-and to the Priesthood by Bishop Nichols. . . . Writing and thinking about the call to the Bishopric. Beginning to feel that I should accept it. Went tonight to the Dinner of the Pennsylvania Society at the Waldorf Hotel. Invited through Harrisburg men of whom a number were at the Dinner. Mr. Lamberton took especial charge of me. Was announced on list of invited guests as "Bishopelect of Harrisburg." Sat between General McCook and the Hon, Martin Littleton, Mr. Ogden presided—(Robert C.). Harrisburg men all very kind and very urgent that I should accept. General McCook told me much about Harrisburg and all very favourable—as to country—people, etc. Left the dinner more than ever drawn toward accepting and as though question were almost decided. Reached home about one a.m. Found family up and awaiting me-Florence-Grandma-Lizzie and Alice who is staying here. Florence told me that about ten thirty Dr. Dix asked for me over the telephone-As I was not in Dr. Dix gave Florence this message—"Tell Dr. Manning that at the meeting of the Vestry, from which I have just come, on my nomination he was unanimously elected Assistant Rector of Trinity Parish.—I should like to see him tomorrow morning or at any time tomorrow"-

Tuesday 13th. My interview with Dr. Dix was a most touching and memorable one. He told me that he had decided that I must not be allowed to leave the parish and that under the circumstances definite action must be taken-and that he therefore decided to do what had been in his mind & that of the Vestry for a considerable time in nominating me as Assistant Rector. Dr. Dix then told me of the very kind and emphatic expressions of the gentlemen of the Vestry and that my election was ASSISTANT RECTOR 49

unanimous. He said "This does not of course legally involve your succession to the Rectorship but you are elected with that full hope and expectation on our part. There has never been a case in the history of the parish in which the Assistant Rector was not elected to the Rectorship when that office became vacant and that is the intention with which this election has been made both in my mind and in that of the Vestry. The office of Assistant Rector is a charter office and its occupant like the Rector himself is irremovable. "They cannot get rid of us unless we die or resign." Dr. Dix then went on to speak of the duties of the office and to express his strong hope that I should now feel it right to remain both for his sake and for the sake of the parish and its future, as he kindly put it. I expressed as well as I could my deep appreciation of all that he had said and of what had been done—and of my unworthiness of it all and said that it seemed clear to me now that I ought to decline the Bishopric and remain in the parish but that in so grave a matter I felt that I ought to wait for a few days before allowing myself to make a decision. Dr. Dix very heartily agreed and after some more kind words from him I left having first knelt to receive his blessing.

The advancing age of Dr. Dix, combined with his complete confidence in and warm friendship for the new assistant, led to Dr. Manning's being given a good deal of the rector's responsibility. But again he exercised careful discretion and restraint to avoid even the hint of any assumption of authority not formally assigned. One of the clergy, a man both older than Manning and senior in service in the parish, became troubled in his mind over Roman Catholic claims. He betook himself to the rector in his distress and Dr. Dix bade him consult with the assistant rector. Together they wrestled with the problem and in time were able to report to the rector that the troubles were resolved and the difficulties overcome. But later the doubts returned. He wrote to Manning asking for an appointment, but not indicating the subject to be discussed. Manning replied with warm affection but skillfully avoided setting a time by assuming that what was to be discussed was a parish problem which it was not within Manning's province to settle. This brought a reply acknowledging that it was the old trouble and Manning made it clear that he could go into the subject again only with the knowledge, and at the direction, of the rector. In the end the priest was reassured and laboured happily in the parish until his retirement, dying finally at a ripe age, full of good works and greatly beloved. Both the rector and the colleague were given reason to feel complete confidence in Manning's judgement, loyalty, and discretion.

Dr. Dix died on Wednesday, 29 April, 1908, after a short illness. His

funeral took place in the parish church on Saturday morning and on Monday, 4 May, the vestry of Trinity Church elected as their tenth rector William Thomas Manning. On the following day he was inducted into the rectorship of the parish by the ancient ceremony of receiving the keys to the church and chapels from the senior warden in the church porch. The warden reads a formal statement, the door is unlocked, and the keys turned over to the various sextons of the parish church and chapels. The vestry of Trinity Parish acts with dispatch in the matter of filling the rectorship when there is an assistant rector. Dr. Dix was assistant rector at the time of Dr. Berrian's death; the vestry met in the evening of the day of the funeral and elected him rector. The delay in the case of Dr. Manning was due to the fact that Dr. Dix was buried on Saturday. This procedure scarcely seems to allow time for the notification to the bishop and his reply, for which the canon provides; but the charter of Trinity Church is much older than the canon. In any case Manning sent Bishop Potter a note after the vestry meeting informing him of his election, and the bishop's reply, the same evening, expresses his joy but gives no hint that he felt there had been any irregularity in the proceedings.

The letter of the coadjutor, Bishop Greer, the next day indicates the relationship between two men who differed greatly in churchmanship and in other ways and illustrates how the rectorship of Trinity Parish was regarded.

It has all turned out as I had hoped and felt sure it would, and I need not tell you how delighted I am to know that you are now the head of Trinity Parish. It is in my judgment the most important position in the American Church, not excepting the Bishopric of this or any other Diocese; and I pray God that you may be spared many years to develop all the potentialities for usefulness in this great and important trust which has been put into your hands, and in connection with which you may always confidently count upon my cordial cooperation.

CHAPTER FIVE RECTOR 1

. HE simple ceremony of the delivery of the keys, performed with no fanfare and with only a casual group of spectators, was to mark an important new beginning both in the life of the little man and of the great parish. He was succeeding a rector who had been born in the parish and who was by ancestry a New Yorker; he himself had been just five years in the parish and was of foreign birth. Manning was often twitted with being an Englishman; he might as well have been accused of jingo Americanism. So sure was he of his whole hearted loyalty to his adopted land, where along with multitudes of his fellows he was a naturalized citizen, that he had no hesitation in giving outspoken support to pro-British causes when occasion served and felt no embarrassment in supporting Anglo-American friendship. He was elected a member of the Pilgrims soon after he became rector and made a notable address at the tenth anniversary banquet held by the English branch in London in June, 1912, speaking as an American rather than as a Britisher returned home. He had no trace of accent. British or southern.

In one respect he had an advantage over Dr. Dix in assuming the rectorship. Dr. Berrian brought the young Dix back to Trinity to succeed him. This was resented by many of the Trinity clergy and the resentment was openly shown. Manning quickly won the confidence of the vicars of all the chapels after he was elected assistant rector and was regarded and treated, without reserve, as the rector-to-be.

¹ The great history of Trinity Parish has been continued by the Revd. C. T. Bridgeman with a volume on the Manning period. The reader is referred to that for fuller treatment than is given here.

The administration of Trinity Parish, particularly as regards the management of the extensive property which forms its endowment, was very much in a rut when Dr. Dix died—just as some matters of diocesan administration were in a rut at the end of Manning's twenty-five years as bishop. The situation is almost inevitable. In the first place Dr. Dix rather took the position that the rector attended to the spiritual affairs of the parish and left the management of the property to the lay members of the vestry. There is danger in this that business policies may have spiritual implications to which wellmeaning, but elderly and conservative, vestrymen and rector are not sufficiently awake. Then there was no publicity about the details of management of the property. Trinity Parish, like any church, is a private, not a public, corporation. Its affairs do not concern outsiders and indeed are not easily understood by many of those who are members of the parish itself. That point of view was acceptable in the nineteenth century but not in the twentieth. Dr. Dix and the vestry of his day resisted rather than welcomed the theory that all their official acts are the concern of the general public. This was becoming increasingly impolitic. Thirdly, the system of management of the Trinity property was one which made the church vulnerable to attack in a muck-raking era and which it was impossible to change rapidly. Trinity leased its land for long terms to people who then built buildings upon the land. Long leases are necessary. No one wants to build on land which he cannot count on having for the useful life of his building. The part of the city where Trinity owned land went through rapid and drastic changes at the end of the nineteenth century. Restrictions made on the original leases did not, and could not, take account of new conditions. With regard to much of its land Trinity was quite powerless to make changes until the leases ran out.

The chief trouble was that Trinity was rich, supposedly very rich. The possession of riches in 1908 was not yet considered as gross a sin as it came to be but it was regarded as justifying the asking of questions and the raising of difficulties. Theodore Roosevelt's phrase, "malefactors of great wealth," carried the implication that where wealth is there is inevitably evil and one is justified in going to almost any length to prove the point. So argue those who wish to ask questions.

Trinity has at various times during its history been a fascinating object of attack not merely by outsiders but by fellow churchmen. Assertions are made which are either not based on facts or which are unreasonable or untrue conclusions from the facts. Efforts to give

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reasonable answers on behalf of the parish seem to give very little satisfaction and the parish authorities have often felt forced to the conclusion that it is better to batten down the hatches and sit tight until the wind stops blowing. On 7 April, 1906, the *Evening Post* newspaper printed a letter of rather shallow, but bitter, criticism of Trinity with the following footnote:

The above letter was shown to the Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix. After reading it, he said it did not interest him, and that he saw no reason to comment on it.

ED. EVENING POST.

Manning was fully aware of what lay before him and took up matters at once. He published full financial reports of the property the year he became rector. He began the process of improving the property and its management by appointing a committee of the vestry to report on the matter in October, 1908. He began a reorganization of the committee system of the vestry in 1910 and put through loans for property improvement at the same time. In 1909 he proposed the cancellation of \$370,000 worth of mortgages held by Trinity on other churches. In 1911 he introduced the use of duplex offering envelopes to the parish and proposed the freeing of the pews. From the beginning he was active in systematic theological instruction of the parish, especially in Lent sermons. He even continued as rector his former practice of going to the church door to greet people after service and so caused unfavourable comment on his lack of dignity in comparison with his predecessor. Some of the older members of the vestry felt themselves rather pushed by the rapidity of all these changes. But there were many to support him and he never let up his pressure. De Lancy Townsend, Rector of All Angels', wrote him in 1909

God has endowed you with a rare personality with which you can secure cooperation where another might find opposition.

Altogether Manning was faced with many and involved problems from the beginning; and he made great haste in dealing with them. At the very outset he was faced with a difficulty and an uproar which would have daunted most men and which might well have destroyed his usefulness in his office. This was the affair of Saint John's Chapel. It is difficult to describe, and impossible to exaggerate, the excitement which this matter caused, not only among members of the chapel congregation but throughout the city and far beyond. People who had no connection with Trinity Parish or the Episcopal Church expressed themselves vehemently and dogmatically. The President of

the United States entered the fray. Some of Manning's fellow clergy in the diocese were relentless and unrestrained in their attacks. Even the clergy of the chapel were led astray. What was it all about?

In the region south of Canal Street, near the shore of the Hudson. there was, about the year 1800, a very pleasant area with a park, known as Saint John's Park, as its central feature. It had not always been pleasant. Trinity had laboured in earlier days to drain a swamp and fill marshy waste land there. It had now become a region of large and stately homes, all originally Trinity property. The park was a proprietary one; that is it belonged to, and was for the enjoyment of, the surrounding property owners rather than the general public; and here lived the rich and influential persons of the city. If you were to walk south on Varick Street from Canal today and try to visualize the scene you would find yourself entirely frustrated. It is impossible to recapture the rural charm and elegance of the past from the commerical present. An imaginative visit to Gramercy Park today might give a hint, only Saint John's Park was much larger. There, in 1807, Trinity built, on the east side of the park on Varick Street, Saint John's Chapel, from which the park took its name. It was a handsome and commodious building in the classical style, like Saint Paul's Chapel on Broadway at Fulton Street. Its congregation were the wealthy and fashionable of the city. It became Trinity's most important chapel and for many years, in the days of both Dr. Berrian and Dr. Dix, the rectory was next door to it.

But times change. The fashionable world moved north and commercial interests came in. In the later days of Dr. Berrian there was a general agreement among the proprietors of the park that it should be sold for a railway freight yard! Dr. Berrian resisted this vigorously as long as he was rector, but immediately after the election of Dix the vestry agreed to the sale, and Saint John's Park became Saint John's freight terminal. It was a distressing change and one which plainly indicated the ultimate end of the chapel's existence. Dr. Dix in later years voiced his regret at what had happened at the outset of his term of office. Whether he meant that he had come to feel that he could have successfully and permanently resisted the sale of the park or was only expressing his distress at the result, is not certain. At any rate in his later years the question was much discussed as to whether the vestry should continue to bear the disproportionate expense of maintaining a chapel with an inevitably dwindling congregation. Dr. Dix set his face against change as Dr. Berrian had done. But a few months before he died, recognizing the need for dealing RECTOR 55

with the matter, he presented a resolution to the vestry directing a committee to investigate and report what should be done. The committee did not make its recommendation until after Dr. Dix's death and in November, 1908, it was announced that services would be discontinued after January and the work transferred to Saint Luke's Chapel in Hudson Street. In fact a good deal of the parochial work of the two chapels had been done jointly for some time.

The storm which naturally arose was as sudden and as vehement as it was absurd. The grounds of grievance were numerous, some unreasonable, some fictitious, some merely malicious; some quite justified but unfortunately unavoidable. In the first place there were those who wished to attack Trinity parish and found the affairs of the poor people of Saint John's Chapel a good excuse. The Revd. John R. Peters, rector of Saint Michael's, Manhattan, was one of these. He had been denouncing Trinity Parish, its neglect of its tenants, its misuse of its endowments, its generally decadent nature, for some years. Shortly before Manning became rector, Peters had occasion to write him a very cordial note of thanks. He referred to his attacks on Trinity and wrote that his criticisms were directed against policies, not individuals, and that this was specially true of Manning. When the announcement of the closing of Saint John's was made, Peters sought an interview with Manning, apparently to satisfy himself that the new rector would conduct himself properly. The meeting obviously did not give this satisfaction for he went to work in trenchant fashion to set things right. His principle point seems to have been that Trinity's property was intended for all the Episcopalians of the city, perhaps of the whole diocese. It was not only unlawful but selfish for Trinity to keep its property for itself. The high-handed treatment of the congregation of Saint John's was typical of an administration lacking in conscience or understanding of its true work. He circulated a petition among the clergy and others to obtain an investigation of Trinity's affairs by the state legislature. Dr. Huntington sent him a scorching reply.

... I am sorry not to oblige you in any matter, but in this particular affair of Trinity Church it is quite impossible for me to go along with you. My judgment of the course pursued by the authorities of Trinity, during the past fifty years or more, probably coincides pretty closely with your own. . . . The difference between us is that you believe in coercive measures, while, in a case like this, I most certainly do not. My confidence in the new Rector of Trinity is absolute. My belief that he will have his Vestry back of him in every attempt he may make in the future to widen the scope of Trinity's usefulness, is a sanguine one. Moreover, I think it

most lamentable that the new Rector should have been met at the very outset of his career by a blow in the face, before he had had a chance to show what it was in his heart and mind to do . . .

Dr. Peters had no intention of giving any chance. He consulted legislators and helped to get bills introduced at Albany; but he and those who acted with him overplayed their hand. The bills all died in committee. This must be said for Dr. Peters however; he really meant it in his own peculiar way when he said he had no personal ill will toward Manning. It was Peters who nominated Manning for bishop ten years later, at the 1919 election, and made the principal speech in support of Manning when he was elected in 1921.

Then there were the members of the community at large who were distressed at the prospect of having the fine building torn down. The original announcement of termination of the services made no reference to destruction of the building but those who were interested in earlier history and fine examples of architecture quite rightly assumed that this was almost sure to be the consequence. A protest was sent to the vestry signed by a most impressive list of people. Among others were the president, Theodore Roosevelt; the mayor, George B. Mc-Clellan; a former mayor, Seth Low; Levi P. Morton, Bayard Cutting, J. P. Morgan, Edward W. Sheldon, Elihu Root, Robert W. de Forest, J. M. Wainwright. It is interesting to note that many of these became in later years closely associated with Manning, and warm supporters. The Fine Arts Federation and the Municipal Art Commission called upon the vestry to refrain, Richard Watson Gilder, editor of Century magazine and formerly Tenement House Commissioner, wrote an impassioned ode, "Guardians of a holy trust," full of fire and error, which was much quoted. George Zabriskie, chancellor of the diocese, attempted to dampen the fire by exposing the error in a public letter; but Mr. Gilder blandly replied that he believed a new era would now dawn for Trinity and proceeded to press on for a crusade to restore Saint John's Park as a playground for slum children! Dr. Huntington, who wrote to a friend in Philadelphia that he had "plunged into this controversy wholly and only out of loyalty to Dr. Manning," suggested publicly that the rich men who had expressed such concern for the preservation of the chapel give an earnest of this concern by raising a fund to accomplish the purpose. The Morning Telegraph re-

Everybody likes Dr. Huntington's suggestion that the eminent citizens who have protested against the demolition of old St. John's make up a private jackpot for the preservation of the Church. Everybody—that is, except the

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eminent citizens themselves. As a rule we are more liberal with other people's money than our own.

Ten years were to pass before the chapel was torn down, not by Trinity but by the city, but during that time the efforts to preserve it took the form of berating the vestry for failing to do so.

The clergy and many of the parishioners of Saint John's also added fuel to the flame of controversy, not unnaturally and from their own point of view quite reasonably. The priest in charge was the Revd. Charles L. Gomph. He had been curate there since 1904 and in 1907, when the vicar went on an indefinite leave of absence because of illhealth, he was made priest-in-charge. Dr. Dix plainly urged him to show by reviving the life of the chapel that its continuance would be justified. Gomph and the curates went manfully to work and produced quite surprising results. The announcement of the closing was naturally regarded as a cruel and disappointing, but also an unjustified, judgement upon their efforts. Somewhere along the line Gomph reached the point where his loyalty to his work at Saint John's became disloyalty to the parish and the new rector. He may have consulted with the writers of vituperative articles in the press, particularly in the Churchman. The Revd. Arthur Lowndes, who had worked with Dr. Dix for many years in the writing of the history of Trinity Church and who had intimate knowledge and understanding of the parish, wrote Manning on Christmas Eve, 1908,

... Has it not occurred to you that you are not loyally served by your present staff at St. John's? The phrasing of the *Churchman's* articles today has confirmed my own suspicions in that direction.

One of the first points made by some of the parishioners at Saint John's after the announcement of the closing was that the objection to moving to Saint Luke's was chiefly, or solely, that their clergy were not going with them. The natural unhappiness for all concerned over the closing was dragged out for over two months beyond the date set by the granting of an injunction in the civil courts which was not dissolved until April. By the end of this time it was perfectly clear that Gomph's attitude toward the problem was such that he would be incapable of continuing happily or loyally in Trinity Parish. There is no indication how soon Manning recognized this fact. He bore in silence the criticism of having dealt unfairly by a faithful priest and thereby possibly shortened the time of Gomph's bitterness. Gomph later became rector of Grace Church, Newark, where he had a long and profitable ministry, greatly beloved.

The loudest noise and the most unsavoury odor proceeded from the Churchman whose editor was Silas McBee, a Sewanee contemporary of Manning. It will be remembered that he had taken Manning to task in the Nashville days for the nature of the books he had allowed Dr. Rainsford to recommend to the parishioners following his mission there. Now he plunged into a public and lengthy attack on Trinity and all who said a word in defense of Trinity or who failed to join in the Churchman's denunciation. Five pages of the issue of 26 December, 1908, were given to Trinity and Saint John's. Dr. Huntington was attacked for defending Trinity and the rector. The Church Club was attacked for failing to debate the conduct of Trinity. Bishop Greer was excoriated for his failure to take a proper stand. In the issue of 30 January, he was given explicit instructions as to what he should say and do in the matter and on 13 February, appeal was made to the laymen of the diocese "to save their Bishop from his mistakes." The clergy of the city finally signed a letter to the bishop expressing their loyalty and denouncing the outrage of these attacks. But again it is interesting to note that in all this hysteria, which continued for many weeks, Manning was not often mentioned by name; and later personal good relations were restored, for it was McBee who published Manning's article, "The Protestant Episcopal Church and Christian Unity," in the Constructive Quarterly in 1915.2

One grievance which was suggested to the people of Saint John's and of which some of them made much, was that by being moved to Saint Luke's Chapel they would be deprived of their franchise in the parish. It made no difference that almost certainly no living member of the chapel congregation, except the vicar and the sexton, had ever exercised that franchise. Now that it was supposedly to be lost its value soared. Reassurance was given by the vestry. The people of Saint John's put up opposition candidates for the vestry at the annual election in Easter Week, 1909; and they were roundly beaten in the largest vote ever cast at a Trinity election.

The naive suggestion was made to turn over the whole Saint John's property to the congregation and let them operate it independently. This of course could only have resulted in dissipating the property entirely since the congregation could not possibly have raised the amounts which the vestry no longer felt it right to spend.

The injunction obliged Manning to keep silence for over two months and make no defence of what was being done. But silence

² See p. 85.

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under the first wave of attack was a device which he used often and with good effect. Perhaps he learned its usefulness from the Saint John's case. It could not have been comfortable however. Bishop Greer became frightened at the storm and wrote Manning that

from conversations which I have recently had with several prominent persons who are friends of Trinity Church, I am afraid that advantage will be taken of the present public feeling to make an effort in the Courts to abolish or set aside the Charter of the Church.

He felt it likely these efforts might succeed and sent a formal letter, to be used publicly if so desired, requesting that Saint John's Chapel be used for work among Italians.

If it could be known that, not as the result of public clamor but out of deference to the wishes of the Bishop of the Diocese, Trinity Church had decided to use St. John's Chapel for the purpose which I have indicated, I feel confident that no such attempt would be made. I am sure you know that my own great desire is to stand by you and help you . . .

The injunction was dissolved on the 13th of April and on the 18th the rector preached at length, over an hour, in the parish church on his policy for the parish. He began by saying that since he had been rector less than twelve months he would not have chosen to speak of achievements or future policy but "the present situation . . . demands a plain and public statement." He pointed out that Trinity had been attacked before from time to time. Then as now "the most astonishing statements, and the most positive assertions . . . have proved to have no foundation in fact." He deplored the fact "that the most bitter and the most openly unjust attacks" had come from within the church. He gave a warm defense of the bishop for his courage in supporting an unpopular decision which he knew to be right.

It has been said that this episode has done harm to the Church as a whole. It has unquestionably so done, and the persons who are responsible for this are those who, whether intentionally or otherwise, have misrepresented the facts, placed the matter persistently in a wrong light, and misstated the case in a way which has confused and misled many earnest and conscientious people.

He made four points as to the work of the parish at the beginning of his rectorship. 1. A policy of complete publicity as to the financial affairs of the parish and its property had already been adopted. 2. A new development of work in the form of evangelistic services and street preaching had been undertaken. 3. Increased attention was being given to the improvement of the conditions of the dwelling house

property owned by the parish. He had given much time since becoming rector to inspection of the property with members of the vestry.

The condition of much of the property is good; the condition of none of it is anything like so bad as has been frequently asserted; but having said this I must also say, on the other hand, that there are important improvements which need to be made and that there is some of the property the condition of which is far from being what, in my judgment, it ought to be and from being what we intend that it shall be . . . As Rector of this parish my primary responsibility is for its religious acts, but I claim also my full share of responsibility for its business acts, and I have found in the vestry a most earnest desire that this whole matter of our property shall be dealt with not merely from the business point of view, but from the standpoint of religion, of social responsibility and of enlightened citizenship.

4. The right to vote had been extended to the members of Saint Luke's Chapel and the Chapel of the Intercession. This had come about not as a result of pressure of litigation but from the desire of the authorities of the parish to extend these rights as widely as possible.

He went on to describe the life and work of the parish as a whole. Trinity Parish is indeed possessed of wealth but it is far from being a parish entirely, or even largely, of wealthy people. It is rather "the rich church of poor people." Stately services, fine music are a part of the tradition of the parish but so are pastoral devotion to the poor, relief of the needy, and the work of education and social service. Trinity uses its wealth for the assistance of churches outside the parish but not because its property belongs to the whole diocese. He made it clear that the arguments of this kind which had been made are without the slightest foundation. He dealt fully with the gross misrepresentations which had been made about the combining of the work of Saint John's and Saint Luke's showing that what was done had had the full support, even if with regret, of Dr. Dix, who had indicated the final result in the Trinity Year Book of 1893. The agitation at Saint John's had been supported by only a portion of the congregation for many of them had not voted for the Saint John's candidates at the parish election the previous week. He ended with a resounding appeal for loyalty to the fundamentals of the faith in the life of the parish.

I pray that this Parish may never be led into the mistake of giving to the Second Commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ the place that belongs to His First and still greater Commandment, or of allowing work in any measure to usurp the place of worship.

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While giving itself to fuller and fuller service and learning ever new and and larger ways of ministering to the needs of men, may our parish stand in all the future, even at is has stood in all the past, supremely, and above all else, for true and living faith in God, for glorious and holy worship, for the ministering of the divinely-given sacraments, for the carrying of heavenly help and comfort to the poor and the rich, the living and the dying, the sick and the well, for the preaching in all its fulness of the everlasting gospel, the truth of God revealed in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and made known to us through His Church, One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic . . .

May these, then, be our two watch-words: Faith and Service. First, faith in God and in His truth, divinely and once for all revealed; and then, founded on this and inspired by it, the enlarging life, the growing vision, the increasing service which shall make this venerable mother parish of the diocese, with each year that passes, more and more a blessing and a power for God in the Church and in the city.

It was obvious that a new era had begun for Trinity. The trumpet at the lips of the new rector gave forth no uncertain sound. The sermon was printed and very widely circulated. Words of approval and support came in from all sides. The troubles over the closing of Saint John's died down fairly soon. The Revd. Edward Schlueter was brought to Saint Luke's as its vicar in the autumn of 1909 and remained for over thirty-five years. Manning notes in his diary when Schlueter's coming was announced that there was "no trace of the ill feeling of last winter." And again writes, on Saint Stephen's Day, when Schlueter had begun duty,

The bad feeling about the re-arrangement, so needlessly created, seems to be disappearing, and all now looks very promising.

He also noted with satisfaction that there was no reference to the previous year's agitation at the diocesan convention in November and considered that his election as deputy to General Convention and to the standing committee represented a vote of confidence in the administration.

As for the building of St. John's Chapel, it stood until 1918. The widening of Varick Street and the building of the Seventh Avenue subway made it increasingly clear that the building could not be saved. The following, in pencil, is on a slip of paper in the bishop's file.

Note—After all the discussion and excitement, St. John's Chapel was taken down in compliance with the order by the City Government for the widening of Varick St.

WILLIAM T. MANNING

One of the important pledges of loyal support came at the very beginning of the Saint John's fracas. Frederic Cook Morehouse, editor of *The Living Church*, wrote Manning in December, 1908, to thank him for letting him have the facts in the case and undertaking to give full circulation to these facts.

I am also writing our correspondent in New York, Mr. Keller, that where Trinity Church matters are before the public, it would be well for him to get the facts from you on every occasion. Of course in Dr. Dix's later years the correspondents did not like to approach him personally, although I think he was always cordial to them when he was able to see them, and in that way they have not formed the habit of verifying their Trinity Church matter, as they ought to do.

... Indeed, I shall always be glad to have your suggestions as to any course on the part of The Living Church that may in your judgment be helpful, whether in connection with Trinity Church or in the issues of the Church at large.

This was the beginning of a close and important relationship between the two which continued as long as Morehouse lived.³

The opposition to the new rector in the vestry, never acrimonious and never made public, centred in Mr. Cammann, the comptroller. As the business manager of all of Trinity's vast property he occupied a very important position. He was one who magnified his office and who tended to view the entire operation of Trinity Parish, not merely the administration of the property but the ministry of the word and sacraments, in the light of its effect on real estate values. In the later days of Dr. Dix there was a service held in Saint Paul's Chapel at an unusual hour for the convenience of night workers in the vicinity. Mr. Cammann caused this service to be given up for fear that the people attending it might claim that they were thereby qualified to be voters in the parish!

Dr. Manning caused Mr. Cammann very definite distress. In May of 1909 he talked of resigning as comptroller. This did not obtain the desired and expected result of quieting the new rector so he was obliged to stay on and do what he could to restrain the excesses and novelties which were being proposed—and even carried through.

³ In 1919 I went as a spectator of the General Convention in Detroit with my father, a clerical deputy from Rhode Island. In pointing out various important members of the convention he commented that Dr. Manning and Mr. Morehouse commanded such respect and had such influence in the House of Deputies that no measure to which both expressed their opposition could pass that house. The election of Mr. Morehouse's son, Clifford, as president of the House of Deputies in Detroit forty-two years later is in a sense foreshadowed in this comment.

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In October Manning proposed to the vestry that Trinity cancel \$370,000 worth of mortgages held on various churches. What had happened was that Trinity had through the years made grants in varying amounts to carry on the work of churches not a part of the parish. It came to be felt that it would be wise to treat these not as outright gifts but as loans without interest, not in order to secure a return of the grant but to have a right to intervene if in the future unwise or improper plans were proposed or the parish properties were endangered. There was the decided disadvantage however that the situation was open to misinterpretation. The critics who were pursuing Trinity found the mortgage arrangement useful for the support of their criticisms. Trinity's ability to help hold up a weak parish through a mortgage was perhaps exaggerated and it made for poor publicity. The decision was finally reached in January, 1910, to cancel all the mortgages and Manning noted in his diary

This is a great step accomplished and one which has cost much time and effort.

Manning stated clearly in his April, 1909, sermon that he was not satisfied with the condition of the tenement property. But it was by no means easy to deal with the matter and impossible to do anything hastily. It was distinctly embarrassing that the property which Trinity did not control, because of the long leases, was in poor shape. The critics were quite able to overlook Trinity's inability in the matter. Trinity was by their definition an entirely misguided corporation and should not have got into this inability in the first place. Costs of improvements were great and required incurring very considerable debt and the inertia of conservatism made progress difficult and slow. A few quotations from his diary make clear both the situation and Manning's manner of dealing with it.

Monday, January 10, 1910... Vestry meeting at night... Measure of great importance passed looking to borrowing of large sums of money necessary for improvement of the property of the Parish and providing that the loans should be secured by bonds of the Corporation running for thirty years—with a sinking fund to provide for liquidation of the debt at its maturity—Resolution passed providing for rotation in office on the Standing Committee and other elected committees of the Vestry. This measure provoked long and heated discussion when it was first proposed last winter. Tonight it was passed with no discussion and with only one dissenting vote—that of General Lockman—an indication of the general movement among us in the past few months. Most of the important reform measures

have now been at least 'in principle' adopted by the Vestry. It remains to fully apply these principles.

Wednesday, March 9, 1910 . . . very important meeting at 187 Fulton St. of Committee consisting of Rector, Standing Committee and Property Committee. Resolutions were offered with regard to the care of the Property of the Parish

- a. No leasing of Tenement Property for short or long terms—all to be kept under our own direct control.
- b. No subletting by tenants who take houses for this purpose.
- c. All repairs and improvements indicated in recent report to be made without delay.

Mr. Ogden offered these and I spoke strongly in favour of them, insisting that they must be passed.

After much discussion they were laid on the table by vote of Mr. Cammann, Col. Jay, Mr. Chauncey, Mr. Lockman and Mr. Palmer against Mr. Ogden, Dr. Polk and Judge Davis.

Mr. Ogden then announced that he should resign from the Vestry—after which I stated that if this was to be the policy I should feel it my duty as Rector to publicly disavow it and condemn it. By motion of Mr. Lockman, seconded by Mr. Palmer the resolutions were taken from the table and discussion of them was postponed until a meeting two weeks hence, Colonel Jay and Mr. Palmer intimating their willingness to vote for them after further consideration . . .

Thursday, March 10, 1910... Lunched with Mr. Ogden at the Down Town Club and then went to our meeting with Mr. Cammann to arrange for an Inspector of Sanitation for the Property of the Parish. Mr. Cammann agreed to our proposals more readily than we had expected...

Monday, March 14, 1910... Vestry Meeting at night—Very important measure passed to provide for borrowing the money required for the improvement of the property of the Parish.

The meeting was a comparatively peaceful one as the Tenement question was not directly before us.

In the spring of 1909 the vestry voted to ask the tenement house committee of the New York Charity Organization Society to make an independent investigation of the Trinity property. Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie was chosen to make the investigation. She was a person of outstanding reputation in the field, of long and wide experience. Her name was a guarantee as to the dependability of the report. The investigation was made thoroughly and deliberately and took a considerable time, from the end of June to the early part of October. Miss Dinwiddie published her report the following February.

In general, it may be said that sensationally bad conditions were not found in the tenements and smaller dwelling houses owned and controlled by RECTOR 65

Trinity Church. A very considerable majority were in good condition; a minority had defects, and a very few were in bad condition.

It seems probable, however, that the residence houses on leased Trinity ground . . . are, like other tenements throughout the city, often in very bad condition. This is especially probable in the case of the houses on land held on leases which will soon pass out of their hands. Until all the houses on Trinity's land are kept on good condition, they will always be made a ground of reproach to the church.

Since the clamor had been begun and carried on in an entirely unreasonable manner the fact that the report left very little basis for complaint did not restrain those who complained. But the rector went on with his campaign for reform. Shortly after the publication of her report Miss Dinwiddie accepted a position on the payroll of Trinity Parish as adviser as to the tenement property under conditions which satisfied her that she had complete independence.

The struggles were prolonged and intense but through them all the rector kept the loyalty of the chief opponents. On the day of his election as bishop Mr. Cammann sat beside him in the Synod House at the cathedral. He had been mastered but not alienated. Manning notes in his diary that when he first referred, in March, 1912, to the need for freeing the pews, "not many of the Vestry favourable." It was not immediately accomplished but the pressure to do what was necessary was never relaxed. The proposal was broached in a brief Manning prepared for the vestry on the introduction throughout the parish of the duplex envelope system with pledges for support of the church's work by all members of the congregation. This system has resulted in increased giving in other parishes and has commended itself generally. The natural consequence of the introduction of this system of support is to end the old system of pew rentals in the three churches of the parish which still have it, Trinity Church, Trinity Chapel, and Saint Agnes. Six of the chapels are already free and the income from pew rents is in any case very small. In spite of the lack of enthusiasm he preached on the subject to arouse the support of the parish. The vestry voted the action the rector had recommended seven years before in December, 1918, and announcement was made the following month that it was done as an act of thanksgiving for victory in the World War which had now ended. Patience and persistence accomplished the result without the fight which so often seems inevitable in the progress of a parish's life.

The chief building project during Manning's rectorship was at the Chapel of the Intercession. As assistant rector, Manning had cooperated with Milo Hudson Gates, the rector of the Church of the Intercession, in plans to convert the parish into a Trinity chapel. This took place in 1907 and one of the new rector's first responsibilities was to consider the plans being made by the new vicar for new buildings. Gates had built a church at Cohasset in Massachusetts and was full of enthusiasm for further building. The Church of the Intercession was at Broadway and 158 Street. Trinity Cemetery spanned Broadway from 153 to 155 Streets. A site had been reserved in the cemetery for the building of a future chapel and it was decided by the vestry in January, 1910, to build there. Work was begun in 1911 from designs by Bertram Goodhue for one of the finest churches in the country, in perpendicular gothic style. The new chapel was used for the first time on the first Sunday in January, 1914, and was consecrated in May, 1915.

The building of the Intercession was chiefly the vicar's task. At the same time another chapel, also handsome but miniature by comparison, was being built. To this the rector gave most careful attention for it was specially an act of devotion and affection. This was the Chapel of All Saints, north of the sanctuary at Trinity Church, as a memorial to Dr. Dix. In May, 1910, Manning records in his diary that he had consulted Mr. Nash about it. Thomas Nash was an architect, a parishioner, and a close friend. His plans were accepted by the vestry in March, 1911, and the work began. As it approached completion Manning's diary is full of references to his concern over every detail. On 20 June, 1913, the rector went to Trinity Cemetery and accompanied the body of his predecessor to its final resting place beneath the altar of All Saints. The invitations to the consecration, which took place on the first Sunday in Advent, 30 November, 1913, were addressed by the rector himself with members of his family. It was typical of his feeling both for Dix and for Trinity that the official acts should have the closest personal significance. There were two other important embellishments to the parish church in Manning's time, the church-yard cross which was dedicated in May, 1914, and the new choir stalls and altar rail dedicated in February, 1916.

In the ordering of parish life Manning's constant endeavour was to knit the congregations of the chapels together into one parochial unit. He himself usually gave a series of lectures during Lent, going to the different chapels for the purpose. In 1914 there was formed a committee of laymen to sponsor and arrange for lectures on the New Testament. In 1913 he began the publication of a parish magazine, the Trinity Parish Record, which played an important part in the life of the parish with notable articles by those outside as well as inside the

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parish. In January, 1912, there was begun the custom of an annual reception for all members of the parish to meet the clergy.

In 1910 Manning assisted in the founding of the church mission of help, today known as the Youth Consultation Service, designed to deal with the problems of young unmarried mothers. This was not a parochial work and was originated, guided, and nourished by Fr. Huntington of the order of the Holy Cross but Manning gave it his whole-hearted support always, in the early years serving as president. In 1916 he was active in a move to preserve the character of Washington Square and Washington Mews by the trustees of Sailors' Snug Harbour, of which he was one. Thirty years later he helped in a similar campaign after his retirement, and while he was living in Washington Mews.

In June of 1917 Manning was elected bishop of Western New York and received a flood of letters from all quarters urging him to go or to stay. The great number of these demonstrates how important a position he had come to occupy in the church, beyond New York. While of course there were many who referred to the importance of the diocese and the favourable opportunities there, the point most often made was the great need for him in the House of Bishops. But the majority indicated in varying degrees the importance of his staying at Trinity. That his parishioners should plead with him was natural. He was respected and beloved. But the weight of solid advice from outside was that the more important work was in New York. The bishop of Western Michigan, Dr. McCormick, urged him to stay for the defence of the catholic faith

There are few men we would rather have in the House of Bishops; but there is no man we would rather have as Rector of Trinity.

George W. Wickersham's letter has already been quoted.⁴ Bishop Rhinelander offered no advice but said that

What is clear is that you are strikingly and triumphantly vindicated. And this means much to the whole church.

Presumably Rhinelander had reference both to Manning's stand as to the war and also to the Panama Conference affair and Manning's defeat as deputy to General Convention.⁵ The Bishop of Washington, Dr. Harding, who had resigned with him from the board of missions, asked whether he could guarantee his successor at Trinity if he went. More-

⁴ See p. 6.

⁵ See the two following chapters.

house made the same point and Haley Fiske plainly predicted that the broad church party would make an effort to capture Trinity, which would then never be won back. Fr. Huntington reviewed the situation with great frankness.

There is more than a fighting chance that you may take your place (in the house of bishops) as Bishop of New York... Who but you can save us from Dr. Stires or Dr. Robbins?

While Robbins himself, by pointing out the important place Manning occupied in both the civic and church life of New York, made a tactful appeal to stay without saying so and wrote warmly of his pleasure at Manning's decision to remain. Bishop Hall of Vermont wrote that he did not

like the *imperium in imperio* wh Trin parish holds . . . But as things are I shd think it was probably easier to find a Bp for WNY than a Rector for Trin. Parish. On the other hand if you decline you will be *suspected* of staying on because you look for the N.Y. see. And you will be involved in a horrid contest when the vacancy comes, wh one wd like to avoid.

One letter which came should be quoted in full, albeit anonymously, for its poignant commentary on church life. The writer was an old man who had been a bishop for many years and who was in no sense a misfit or a failure.

In common with many who think you worthy of any honor, I present my congratulations upon your election to the episcopate of Western New York. But, nevertheless, (although I may be trespassing upon your good nature,) I beg you not to accept. The experience is cruel when one gives up a place as rector where everything is well ordered and under authority, to take a position where most things are unordered and can be controlled only indirectly and inefficiently. It is heart breaking—and no one ever quite gets over it.

As Rector of Trinity Church too you exert a wider influence than could be possible in any Diocese—and I believe no one wants to miss you from that honored place.

Forgive my intrusion into your intimate personal matters—but I feel very strongly about it—and could scarcely fail to speak. Nothing in the Episcopal office "makes up" for the loss of a Rector's pastoral relationship to his people.

After long consideration Manning declined the election in a carefully worded letter which won appreciation for its terms even from those to whom the message was disappointing. He was about to enter upon a war chaplaincy.

CHAPTER SIX REUNION

Manning had two great interests which absorbed him and to which he gave his full and energetic support—the building of the cathedral, and the work of Christian reunion. To the former he came reluctantly; to the latter his training and his whole conception of, and loyalty to, the church brought him naturally and inevitably. The cathedral interest is admitted; the interest in reunion is not so generally acknowledged, in large part because so many of the plans put forward were opposed by Manning from conviction that they led away from the great goal, not toward it. The method of the Faith and Order Conference, to which Manning gave so much of his effort, has not been the one most followed.

The subject of reunion was one in which he had been solidly grounded, as in so much of the rest of his theology, by his mentor Dubose. His approach was that of the theologian, who recognizes the fundamental principle of the unity of the church, rather than that of the active missionary, who faces the handicap of trying to present the good news of the gospel to the heathen in divided form, rivalling the presentation of what is supposedly the same good news by others whose authenticity he seems to question. The difference is not unimportant. Manning was not unaware of missionaries problems. We have seen in his action at Nashville that he was prepared to pay the increased cost of more adequate support of missions. But his devotion to the cause of church unity was in obedience to the evangelical command rather than in the interest of missionary efficiency.

Manning was a deputy from Tennessee to General Convention in 1901. In 1904 and 1907 he was at Saint Agnes' Chapel and Trinity

was represented by the rector, Dr. Dix. By 1910 Manning had succeeded to the rectorship and again took his seat in the House of Deputies. He at once took a leading part by introducing a resolution which, in the form in which it was finally adopted, provided for the appointment of a joint commission (of the two houses of General Convention) to

bring about a Conference for the consideration of questions touching Faith and Order, and that all Christian Communions 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.

Two important events had taken place in 1910 which led the way to the introduction of this resolution. One was a great missionary conference in Edinburgh during the summer. It was interdenominational but limited in its scope, being debarred from discussing any questions of corporate reunion among the various denominations represented. Nevertheless great enthusiasm was aroused, the conference had world-wide notice, and many plans for cooperation began to form in the minds of those who attended.

Manning was not present at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference but earlier in the year he had arranged a private conference of priests and laymen of the church. He gave much time and thought to the preparation of this conference. There are references in his diary in November and December, 1909, to talks with Fr. Huntington and George Wharton Pepper about plans for it. His feeling about the Edinburgh Conference approach to the problem of reunion and the need for his own conference are shown by his diary for Sunday, 16 January, 1910.

At 3:30 I went to the service held in the Hippodrome in connection with the Laymen's Missionary Movement. The gathering was a remarkable one but it left me with just the same feeling as to the "Movement," which I believe to be a movement away from true Unity rather than towards it—so far as its principles are concerned. Its intention is a different matter.

The conference set forth the following,

The undersigned, clergymen and laymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, having met in unofficial conference at Trinity Chapel, New York, on the 27th and 28th of January, 1910, find themselves unanimously in agreement upon the following Statement, which they believe to be warranted by the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Universal Church; and they humbly recommend it to the consideration of their brethren of their own communion and of other communions as common ground upon which

men of good will may discuss, without scruple of conscience, the manner in which those who are in the fellowship of Christ may become reunited in one communion and fellowship with each other.

STATEMENT.

- 1. The life of God, revealed as the life of the blessed Trinity in Unity, is a life of fellowship.
- 2. God has created man in His own image. This likeness He has perfected, by Himself taking human nature in the person of Jesus Christ. As God's life is one of fellowship, the life of man is also one of fellowship.
- 3. God's revelation of Himself in His life of fellowship is received and made our own through our fellowship with Him, and in Him with one another.
- 4. God's purpose to bring us into fellowship with Himself, and in Him with one another, is manifested in Jesus Christ His Son, "Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man."
- 5. God's purpose to bring us into fellowship with Himself, and in Him with one another, manifested in Jesus Christ His Son, is made effectual by the operation of the Holy Ghost.
- 6. Our fellowship with God is in Jesus Christ through the oneness in Him of all mankind. This fellowship is a mystery so far above our natural state that by our own strength we cannot attain unto it. It is God's free gift, originating in His creative will and purpose, and administered by the presence and power of the Holy Ghost.
- 7. God's purpose of fellowship for us as manifested in Christ, to be realized in us by the gift and presence of the Holy Ghost, becomes effectual as it finds outward and visible embodiment.
- 8. This outward and visible embodiment, which makes effectual God's purpose of fellowship for man as manifested in Christ, is the Holy Catholic Church.
- 9. The Holy Catholic Church, which is the embodiment of God's purpose of fellowship for man as manifested in Jesus Christ, involves the fact of continuous life divinely given and outwardly and visibly assured.
- 10. Fellowship with Christ in His Church comes from Christ's communication of His life to us, of which the sign and means is Baptism duly administered with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.
- 11. The fellowship of the baptized with Christ, and with one another as sharers of the one life received from Him, calls for some corporate and articulate expression of their common faith in Christ and of their worship of Him; and this common faith of those who are baptized into the fellowship of Christ and share His life is expressed in the Apostles' and Nicene creeds.
 - 12. For those who are in the fellowship of Christ the characteristic corpo-

rate act of worship is the Holy Communion as instituted by Christ Himself, for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of His death, and for the communion of His Body and His Blood to those who are in the fellowship with Him, for the strengthening and refreshing of their souls.

- 13. This corporate act of worship, as instituted by Jesus Christ, calls for some minister, who bears Christ's commission, to preside in the assembly of those who are in fellowship with Christ.
- 14. Jesus Christ, remaining a priest forever, ascended into Heaven but present by His Spirit in His Church on earth, now acts in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper through those who bear His commission.
- 15. This continuing priesthood of the Lord Jesus Christ abides in the whole fellowship. The outward and visible organ of this priesthood is the continuous Ministry.
- 16. As the Church is the outward and visible Body of Christ empowered by His Spirit, the Ministry, through which Christ acts in His Body, derives its powers continually from Him and receives its authority from Him by the outward sign and means of ordination.
- 17. The form of ordination should express, by its essential uniformity, the oneness of the Body of Christ, which is the blessed company of all faithful people. Ordination has been effected from sub-apostolic times by the laying on of the hands of the historic episcopate and prayer; and this method of ordination, if restored to the whole fellowship, would be an effective bond of its unity in Christ.

CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN. LORING W. BATTEN, CHARLES S. BURCH, ROBERT H. GARDINER, WILLIAM M. GROSVENOR. JAMES O. S. HUNTINGTON, CHARLES W. LARNED, ALFRED T. MAHAN, WILLIAM T. MANNING, ALFRED G. MORTIMER, HENRY S. NASH, PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, LEONARD KIP STORRS, FLOYD W. TOMKINS, JOHN W. WOOD, GEORGE ZABRISKIE.

Mr. Wm. Jay Schieffelin withholds his signature upon the ground that, on reconsideration of the Statement since its adoption by the Conference, it seems to him to contain too much of theological definition to serve as a useful basis for discussion of Christian unity.

This statement is the direct precursor of the faith and order resolu-

tion at Cincinnati. It represents the thinking of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral rather than that of the Edinburgh Conference. It deals squarely with the questions of faith and order and so foreshadows the form of the convention resolution. The conference was limited in size (two prominent laymen closely identified with the Faith and Order Movement, Francis Lynde Stetson and George Wharton Pepper, were expected but unable to attend) but widely representative of the different schools of thought in the church. An outline for discussion had been prepared beforehand by Fr. Huntington, Dr. (later Bishop) Rhinelander, Mr. Zabriskie, and Mr. Pepper, and was given a final going over just before the meeting by Manning himself. He was not only the host but very much the guiding spirit of the conference and records in his diary his deep satisfaction with the final result.

The Conference was felt by all to be not only most interesting and helpful, but to be a deep spiritual experience. The spirit shown and maintained throughout—the entire freedom and frankness in discussion; the considerateness and courtesy when differences arose; the large measure of agreement in which men found themselves who had supposed that they differed so widely—was a lesson to all of us which will not be forgotten. It was a most interesting and inspiring sight to see the Conference gathered round the table, every man with heart and mind wholly given to the work. And this gathering around the table gave the air of informality which helped greatly toward the feeling which prevailed, and the happy result attained.

God's grace and presence with us alone made such a meeting possible and we give our thanks to Him. May He accept our work done in His name and make it a means of good to His Church.

One of the very happy things was to see the laymen as deeply interested in this matter as the clergy, working with them on equal terms; as laymen in the Church rendering their full contribution to the discussions and most of them standing most strongly for the Faith.

The statement was published in March; Manning kept in touch especially with Robert Hallowell Gardiner, who was to devote a considerable portion of the rest of his life to the cause; and in October they were ready to propose definite action by General Convention. It has been suggested that Bishop Brent, who was a warm advocate of the movement toward a Faith and Order Conference from the beginning and elected the president of the conference when it finally met in Lausanne in 1927, was the author of the idea. This suggestion seems to stem from an entry in Bishop Brent's diary in which he refers to a conviction of the need of such a conference which came to

him while at the eucharist on the first day of the convention, and from the fact that he made a deeply moving address on the subject at a meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary a few days later. But the Rector of Trinity had been conferring on the subject for months and already had a draft of the resolution in his pocket when he got off the train. Manning gave his own account in his address at the memorial service for Brent in the cathedral in New York on the twenty-eighth of April, 1929.

It was Bishop Brent who inspired and called forth this movement. . . . It was Robert Gardiner who suggested and urged that some definite action should be taken by our Convention, and it fell to my lot to offer the resolution. . . .

Not only did Manning present the resolution, its form is especially his and represents at the very beginning his conception of both the limitations and the method of the conference. The ultimate goal is indeed reunion of the catholic church of Christ. But this can only be brought about by the most careful consideration of what is involved. The resolution has two stern limitations. It does not contemplate a conference for the drawing up of a constitution or a scheme of reunion but "for the consideration of questions touching Faith and Order." Also attendance was to be limited to those who "confess our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour." The word "God" has a definitely exclusive effect. There are many who sincerely consider themselves Christians who nevertheless repudiate such a definition. The conference was planned on the assumption that effort to bring together those who are divided to this extent would be unreal and fruitless. The acceptance of the incarnation in the orthodox sense was to be from the outset the minimum.

Manning proceeded in typical manner to put pressure upon the work of organization and preparation. J. P. Morgan pledged a hundred thousand dollars for expenses on the floor of the convention in the enthusiasm accompanying the passage of the resolution. The Bishop of Chicago, Dr. Anderson, became the president of the joint commission. Manning was elected chairman of the executive committee; Robert Hallowell Gardiner was secretary; and George Zabriskie treasurer. There ensued a flood of correspondence with Gardiner, who turned in his many troubles to Manning for advice, assistance, and reassurance. Among others Bishop Anderson proved difficult. When misunderstandings with him arose Manning gave firm support to Gardiner and calmly gave authoritative decisions as to

matters of procedure. A year after the work began Gardiner felt that he might be obstructing things and wrote to ask Manning to tell him frankly if people felt he should not continue as secretary, since "you and I are now in such close relations of friendship." And later on, in 1922, when it seemed difficult to arouse proper enthusiasm for the World Conference after the interruption of the war, Gardiner wrote Manning in January

. . . Other Churches are waiting for the Commission of the Episcopal Church to take the lead. Your unfailing and deep and practical interest in the matter during all these eleven years, and especially your very valuable book¹ have pointed you out as the natural and proper leader, and though I quite understand how you must be crowded with your work, still I venture to urge that this matter is so important that if it is in any way possible you should take hold of it and stir again the widespread interest which your little leaflet² on the plan and scope of the movement aroused ten years ago. . . . You are known throughout the United States as a leader in the matter,

and again in March,

So much of the practical wisdom of the new plans for the World Conference have been due to your inspiration.

From the beginning Manning gave special thought to the very difficult problem of dealing with the Church of Rome. However much understanding and sympathy there may be among individual Roman Catholics the official position offers little encouragement for practical approach. Manning saw from the beginning the serious danger of being frustrated by this official attitude, of accepting it as final, and so adopting a point of view—as so many of the leaders of the reunion movement have done—which contemplates a reunited church that will not include the Bishop of Rome and the millions of Christians who follow him. At the time of the Cincinnati Convention erroneous statements appeared in the press as to the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the new movement. Gardiner wrote asking whether he should not correct these statements. Manning replied

I do not think his unauthorized statement will cause any harm; whereas a letter from you as a member of the Commission might provoke some discussion as to the possibility of our being able to bring the Roman

² "The Protestant Episcopal Church and Christian Unity," Constructive Quarterly, December, 1915.

¹ The Call to Unity. The Bedell Lectures for 1919, delivered at Keyon College in May, 1920. The Macmillan Company.

Catholics into the Conference; and that is such a delicate matter that any public discussion of it at the present time, especially if there were any of of us engaged in the discussion, might lessen our chances of bringing it to accomplishment.

Briefly stated, my opinion is that as to our relations to the Roman Church, it is better for us to permit, for the present, a moderate amount of misconception in this matter than to run the risk of a public discussion of it.

Manning arranged to have personal interviews with Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop (afterward Cardinal) Farley, reported that they were noncommittal but cordial, and noted that care must be taken to consult the cardinal on all points before approaching any other Roman Catholic. At the Lausanne Conference in 1927 the only statement which he made in the sessions of the full conference was

. . . in regard to that great Communion, the Roman Catholic Church, which is not represented here. . . .

While the Christian Communions, Catholic and Protestant, which are represented here can, and we pray that they may, make true progress towards reunion, we recognize that Christian unity cannot be attained until it includes our brethren of the Roman Catholic Church. What we who are gathered here seek is not a unity of Protestants alone, or of Catholics alone. This might only accentuate differences, and perpetuate divisions. We seek a unity which shall include all Christian Communions throughout the world, both Catholic and Protestant, which confess our Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour, Lord and God. It is the united testimony of the whole Church of Christ that is needed in the battle against the world-wide concerted attack, disguising itself often under new and high-sounding terms, upon Christ's standards of sexual morality and marriage.

In the every day conduct of affairs this attitude toward Rome is indeed difficult to maintain. To the pan-protestant it has little appeal. After the First World War the leadership of the movement fell more and more into the hands of those who were able in one way or another to ignore a principle which Manning could never forget.

In 1912 a delegation from the Faith and Order Commission went to England to win the official support of the Church of England to the cause. The matter was known in England but there was only mild enthusiasm over it. The Bishop of Salisbury had been present at the convention in Cincinnati, his trip having been arranged by Manning. On the way home he wrote

Perhaps the most important resolution arrived at was that of which you were the spokesman,

and gave lengthy advice on how to proceed. He undertook to bring the matter before the Convocation of Canterbury. Manning was advised, and himself believed, that personal contact was essential to gain proper support. He wrote Gardiner in February in a way which is typical of his policy in all matters, whether reuniting the church, or building the cathedral, or straightening out recalcitrant clergy.

Communication by letter has always been the rock on which previous attempts to get nearer our brethren have been shipwrecked. The best way to get near your brother is to go and see him and have a heart to heart talk with him.

The delegation consisted of the Bishops of Chicago, Southern Ohio, and Vermont, and Manning. Bishop Vincent of Southern Ohio and Manning travelled over together, sailing on Saint Barnabas Day, 11 June. The daily paper reported, in a manner which reflected not only the opinion of the man in the street about the Rector of Trinity Church but also the reality of the situation, that

Accompanied by three bishops, the Rev. Dr. William T. Manning, Rector of "Old" Trinity, will go abroad June 12 to confer with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York and all the bishops of the Church of England.

Manning records in his diary a whirl of activity from the time he arrived in London. He stayed with the Romanes family and was taken by them on all kinds of expeditions, including the annual service and meeting of the English Church Union, a meeting at the Queen's hall to hear speeches

on the Religious Aspects of the Woman's Movement . . . by Bishop Gore, who presided, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Runciman, Mrs. Creighton, and the Revd. W. L. Temple (sic), son of the late Archbishop. A wonderful meeting.

They went to the zoo, the Tower, Eton, Windsor-where they

saw His Majesty King George, as he returned from the races at Ascot down the famous Long Walk,

and the Bishop of London's garden party at Fulham with a review of boy scouts by the Bishop and the Lord Mayor of London. He even notes, with obvious regret, proposed delights which had to be abandoned because of a summons to meet the Primus of the Scottish Church at an earlier date than had been anticipated. Finally on Saint John Baptist Day, 24 June, the delegation was lodged at Lambeth Palace. The first night Manning got special permission to be out to

go and respond to a toast at the Pilgrims' Banquet at the Savoy. The next day they got down to business, not without misgivings. Manning wrote both Gardiner and Mrs. Manning from Lambeth that the prospect at the beginning was discouraging and noted in his diary that

after his talk with the Archbishop on the preceding evening Bishop Anderson was quite of the opinion that nothing would be done. The Bishops had many doubts about the undertaking. It is our unanimous opinion that nothing would ever have been done without a personal visit of this sort to remove misunderstandings and explain matters face to face.

The difficulties were quite cleared up. Both archbishops made statements giving strong support, the Archbishop of Canterbury undertook to appoint a large committee to arrange cooperation, and the next day celebrated in the palace chapel with special intention for the work of the Faith and Order Movement.

The month of July was spent in trips through the British Isles for the purpose of sightseeing as well as promoting the cause of the conference. The Scottish and Irish bishops were cordial and less reserved than the English bishops.

The Scottish Bishops . . . asked if we would object to their making their participation conditional upon the participation of representatives of the whole Catholic World—the Irish Bishops wished to be sure that it was not our purpose to take a suppliant attitude towards Rome. Both equally agreed with our position as to including only those who believe definitely in the incarnation, and in the value of the movement as emphasizing the importance of doctrine.

At Armagh, Manning

shocked the Archbishop and his family by asking if I should have time in the morning to get some post cards of the Palace and Cathedral in "the village." His Grace sank on the lounge by which he was standing and exclaimed loudly at hearing the City of St. Patrick's See so described.

The specific task of the delegation was now completed and the individual members went their separate ways. Manning journeyed to Henley to see the regatta, went to Lords with two of the Romanes boys for the Eton and Harrow cricket match, received from the Bishop of London a signed photograph of the king in commemoration of special services in Trinity Church for British residents of New York, and had a talk with the bishop,

about the vital importance of having a majority of Catholic Churchmen on the Committee to be appointed by the Archbishop.

He did the sights at Oxford and Cambridge and stayed with Bishop Gore at Cuddesdon at which time he won the Bishop's strong support to the cause of the Faith and Order Movement, a support he continued to give for the rest of his life.

Bishop Gore's definitely expressed sympathy means much to the undertaking. He is more important to the movement than any other person in England.

After what must have been an exhausting six weeks he was back in New York, and soon at Seal Harbor where he got relaxation from ecumenical labours by representing Seal Harbor on a committee to preserve Mount Desert Island from the desecration of the motor car!

The work of the commission and the executive committee, under Manning and Gardiner, continued with frequent meetings. A preliminary and informal conference was held at the Hotel Astor in May and another in November, 1913, presided over by Manning. Another trip to Europe to consult with continental churches, the Papacy, and the orthodox, was planned for the summer of 1914 but was prevented at the last moment by the war. At Epiphany, 1916, a larger conference was held at Garden City with wide, but not unanimous, support.

Manning's great contribution to the beginning of the Faith and Order Movement, in shaping its course and scope, bringing an organization into being, and winning support by his combination of earnestness, enthusiasm, and persistence which all through his life inspired confidence, is rather forgotten because of the fact that he was obliged to oppose so many of the plans which were put forward in later years. He was rarely led by a desire to conciliate into approval of what he believed would defeat the main purpose. He was by no means convinced that Bishop Brent, who also had an enthusiasm which won great numbers of people, was always on the right track. In February, 1913, Gardiner wrote Manning urging the election of Brent as executive secretary of the commission. Manning replied, discussing the qualifications needed for the office, but making no reference at all to Brent.

The first mistaken reunion activity which Manning felt called upon to oppose was the Panama Conference. The success of the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 suggested the holding of other regional missionary conferences with definite objectives. In particular a congress was proposed for Panama City in February of 1916 to make plans for

united missionary work in Latin America. This was to be definitely a protestant gathering.

The General Convention in 1913 had important impact on these questions of reunion and missionary cooperation. In the first place the movement to remove the word "Protestant" from the official name of the church was being much agitated at this period. It had enthusiastic and growing support and violent, not to say hysterical, opposition. Manning put himself squarely at the lead of those who wanted to change the name by a sermon at Trinity Church in April.

I do not believe in changing the Church's name. The Church ought to retain the name which has been hers through all the centuries. And just because I do not believe in changing the Church's name, I do believe that we ought to correct our present legal title and make it agree with the true name of the Church which stands in the Creed. This cumbersome and ugly legal title ought to be changed, because it is a modern innovation, because it misrepresents the Church and misleads people as to her true character, because it puts the Church in the light of a modern denomination instead of in its true light as a part of the ancient, historic Catholic Church, and because so narrow and limited a title is out of harmony with the great name of the Church as given in the Creed, is a hindrance to our work among the multitudes of many races who are now coming to our country, and, as is well known, is a most serious barrier to progress in some of our mission fields . . .

Practically the title has been dropped because it has been found to be useless. Who would ever think of calling himself a "Protestant Episcopalian"? . . . The change is taking place. . . . It may not be done at the coming Convention. That is a small matter. Most of those who desire to see the change have no wish to see it carried by a small majority.

The sermon attracted enthusiastic attention from those opposed to change as well as those supporting it. The dean of the cathedral in Louisville, Kentucky, who had wanted Manning as bishop of that diocese, published it in two parts in his parish paper. The Rector of Stockbridge wrote as a "country parson who wears a black stole and never expects to see candles in his Church" to say that he was won over by Manning's moderate tone and clear defense of his position. It attracted attention also in the vestry of Trinity Church. One vestryman, who was by nature opposed to all matters that might bring about any change in the parish as he had known it, indicated to the rector that he should not preach sermons on such subjects without consulting the vestry first. There is a note in his own handwriting among Manning's papers of the conversation which took place, be-

ginning "Mr. _____ wants to control theological policy of the Parish." The rector made it very clear that he could not.

Dr. McKim had announced that he would not stand again for the presidency of the House of Deputies, after three terms. The convention met in New York at the cathedral. Dr. Manning, the "local" candidate, and Dr. Mann of Trinity Church, Boston, were nominated and Dr. Mann was elected by a majority of sixteen votes. In the proceedings before the balloting Manning was faced with the sneer which met him at various times during his career that he was not an American citizen and so not eligible. He made no comment at the time but referred to the charge in a speech introducing an important proposal the following day. He esteemed it as one of the chief privileges of his American citizenship that it gave him the right to sit in that assemblage, he said, and in the spirit of American fair play he offered a resolution to amend the constitution so that any changes in the constitution or the Prayer Book—the change of name came in this category—must have the favourable vote of two-thirds of the dioceses in both orders to pass the House of Deputies. Tremendous excitement greeted his speech. It was a generous proposal indeed for one who was a leader in the move for a change which, it was generally agreed, had good chance of prevailing by a bare majority. Some of those advocating the change were disappointed. Most of those opposed were greatly reassured and gratified—but not all. The proposal was indeed generous but it was also wise and far-sighted for it looked forward to other issues at other times. One of the things which plagues the church is the spirit of those who are determined in one matter or another to drive through General Convention proposals which do not yet command, or can never command, overwhelming support. There is often bitterness and recrimination at failure when success, by the narrow margin which is theoretically possible (though it does not often happen), would produce equally unhappy results. A few partisans, mostly extreme protestants, tried to turn the house against Manning's proposal, Dean Grosvenor of New York finally pleading that they should sleep on the matter and vote the next day. But it passed almost by acclaim.

Then an unfortunate and irritating thing occurred. An assistant secretary of the House of Deputies—one of those clerics who may be described as holy but inadequate, if not wholly inadequate—put the resolution on his desk where it was soon covered up with papers, instead of transmitting it in the usual way to the House of Bishops for their action. Having been passed on the first full day of business it

lay buried until almost the end of the convention when the House of Bishops declined to act on the matter because of lack of proper time for consideration. The lower house was indignant and appointed a special committee to wait on the bishops. They remained adamant however, merely appointing a committee to consider the matter and report at the next convention. Bishop Gailor wrote off a note to Manning,

... don't be worried over the failure of the passage of that 2/3 rule. You made your point. The whole country got the electric shock of your magnanimous action and churchmen everywhere are applauding it. After consideration I am convinced that the effect upon men's minds of your expressed desire to see fair play—to make any change in the Prayer Book the result of a practically unanimous demand on the part of Churchmen—is worth more just now than the passage of the amendment itself.

Your friends are all proud of you for the stand you have taken in the Convention & the leading place accorded you, . . .

In the meantime other matters of importance in their bearing on the question of unity were being considered. The House of Deputies adopted a resolution authorizing the appointment by the Commissions on Christian Unity and Social Service of delegates to the new Federal Council of Churches. The House of Bishops adopted a resolution sufficiently different to require conference. The conference committee of the House of Deputies reported no agreement could be reached, whereupon the house adopted the bishops' resolution. But in the House of Bishops the report of no agreement led to the adoption of still a different resolution. The House of Deputies did not concur in it and the House of Bishops took no further action. There was a good deal of strained feeling between the two houses by the time the convention ended due partly to the fiasco of the two-thirds rule. The House of Deputies on the last day indicated its feeling by adjourning without waiting to hear from the bishops that their business was completed. It was very doubtful whether the appointment of delegates had been authorized or would be proper.

In another, and similar, matter there was less doubt. A resolution was introduced in the House of Deputies to authorize the Board of Missions

to take such steps as it deems wise to cooperate with other Christian Boards of Missions in this country and elsewhere to arouse, organize, and direct missionary spirit and activity of Christian people.

Manning had been a member of the Board of Missions since 1910. He realized the serious and unforunate implications of such a broad

and vague authorization. It could and would be interpreted in an entirely protestant manner and so could do great harm to the whole movement for reunion. He was never slow to catch implications and was always arousing the ire of people who did not realize what their proposals might, or did, involve. They would accuse him of misinterpreting them and would take his unflinching firmness in opposition to the form of their proposals as hostility toward themselves, which it never was. He secured the amendment of the resolution and in more moderate and limited language it passed the House of Deputies. But the House of Bishops turned it down entirely.

Plans for the Panama Congress proceeded. To some of those interested in it, it was to be a triumphant defiance of Rome in Rome's own mission field. The nature of the preliminary publicity became so embarrassing that Dr. John W. Wood, of our Board of Missions, felt he should resign from the small sponsoring committee. Nevertheless at the winter meeting of the Board of Missions in 1915 it was proposed that the board send delegates to the congress. Question was raised as to whether the negative vote in the House of Bishops at the preceding General Convention did not forbid such action and the matter was laid on the table. At the May meeting however it was voted to send delegates, two lawyers on the board giving assurance that the board was not bound by the action of General Convention.3 Manning was not present at this meeting but he at once made protest, as did various other members of the board. He based his protest on two points. The contemplated action would hurt the cause of reunion since it was one-sided action, being protestant and manifestly unfriendly to Roman Catholics. And it was in violation of the expressed judgement of the House of Bishops.4

³ Various quaint arguments were advanced in the following months-

a) General Convention had set up the Board of Missions to prosecute the missionary work of the church and it was the duty of the board to do just that in such manner as it deemed wise;

b) The Board of Missions being an incorporated body in the state of New York was responsible only to the legislature of that state [but no evidence was forthcoming as to what view the politicians at Albany took of the matter!];

c) It was not at the direction of the board that the question of cooperation had been raised at General Convention anyhow.

⁴ Perhaps Manning had better have said that it was in violation of the action of General Convention. Francis Lynde Stetson, who was in favour of membership in the Panama Congress as well as being a member of the executive committee of the Faith and Order Commission, maintained that while the House of Bishops had voted negatively, the House of Deputies had voted in the affirmative and the board was thus free to do as it saw fit, and was carrying out the expressed judgment of the House of Deputies. But of course action has to be concurred in by both houses to take effect. Action by one house has no legal significance.

A controversy ensued, carried on in the church papers and the public press. In an effort to put a better face on things the authorities arranging for the meeting took two drastic steps—the name was changed from Panama Congress to Panama Conference and an invitation was issued to the Roman Catholic hierarchy to be present! As Manning pointed out this last was like hitting a man over the head with a club while at the same time calling upon him to keep his temper. As objection mounted the leaders of the Board of Missions increased their determination to carry through their plan. Bishop Lloyd was so naive as to write to Manning in July

... I am certain that if I could have made you see before anything was said aloud just what was involved, you would have been my strong supporter until this day!

Manning announced that he would move at the next meeting of the board to reconsider the action. The board met on the twenty-sixth of October and discussion continued until long after the dinner hour. The vote was 13 to reconsider, 26 opposed, (by a coincidence just two-thirds of those voting—a few members were absent) and the Bishops of Washington, Marquette, and Fond du Lac, the Dean of Milwaukee, and the Rector of Trinity resigned forthwith from the board.

The Annual Convention of the Diocese of New York met three weeks later and elected deputies to the General Convention of 1916. Manning was defeated, this being only the second time that a presbyter of Trinity Parish has not represented the Diocese of New York in General Convention. Five candidates received majority votes, a result perfectly possible but not common. Manning was the lowest of the five. When the result of the ballot was announced Dr. Clendenin, the president of the standing committee, went forward to speak, saying as he went that it was a sad day in the history of the diocese. The bishop ordered him to sit down, After the meeting Dr. Clendenin predicted that the day's action would result in making Manning Bishop of New York. Later in November while Manning was conducting a mission in Minneapolis a report appeared in a New York paper that a prominent rector would shortly go to Rome with the hint that it was Manning. At once he received telegrams from other papers and one from his secretary urging him to make an immediate statement. He telegraphed Mrs. Manning,

Mr. Browne wires about newspaper statements. He thinks some denial should be made. I doubt if any notice should be taken of them. If you

think well consult Dr. Clendenin, Dr. Gates, and any others. It is part of the campaign of misrepresentation and should probably be ignored but leave you and advisers to say anything you think best. William.

The responsible Roman Catholic press denounced the rumor and it soon died.

The Board of Missions proceeded to elect seven delegates to the Panama Conference instead of the sixteen to which it was entitled. These were the bishops having jurisdiction in Latin America, the president of the board, Bishop Lloyd, and the Bishop Coadjutor of Virginia, who had been for many years a missionary in Brazil. Of these seven Bishop Knight, who was temporarily in charge of the missionary district of Panama,⁵ and Bishop Aves of Mexico refused to attend. The conference itself was a model of deportment when it took place, reporters being on hand to note any sensational developments.

As is so often the case the net result of the Panama Conference battle was harder on the victor than on the vanquished. The decision of Bishop Lloyd to press the matter was unwise, typical of his warmhearted but highly impractical nature. At General Convention in 1916 he was re-elected president of the Board of Missions by a majority of only one vote in the House of Bishops. In 1919 the board was absorbed into the newly created National Council and no place was found in the organization for Bishop Lloyd.

Manning was preparing an article on "The Protestant Episcopal Church and Christian Unity" while the Panama Conference controversy was going on. This was published in December, 1915, in the Constructive Quarterly and reprinted in pamphlet form by Gorham, running to eight editions or more and having a very wide circulation. It represents the summing up of his thinking and work on the subject of reunion thus far and is the platform on which he stood, to further the cause in every possible way and relentlessly to oppose misleading schemes, for the rest of his ministry.

The minds of men today are turned toward unity. They are at least becoming convinced of the practical evils of division. And there is a manifest longing for a unity that has outward and visible expression. . . . It has become evident that those who preach a mere invisible unity propagate actual disunion. It is plain that there can be no adequate unity among Our Lord's followers until it shall again become possible for

⁵ He had sent a telegram to the October meeting of the board urging that the project of sending delegates be abandoned but it did not get read to the meeting.

them, without violation of principle or of conscience, to kneel together at one Altar, there to eat of the One Bread and to drink of the One Cup. And in many quarters Christians are realizing with new hope that Our Lord Himself prayed not only for an inward and spiritual unity which men could not see, but for a unity outwardly and visibly manifested which should compel their attention, and which should be the proof of His Presence among them. His prayer for His Church was, and still is, "that they all may be one, even as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us, that the world may believe that Thou didst send Me". . . .

There is a tendency to place disproportionate emphasis on the practical advantages of unity to the obscuration of the higher considerations involved, and so to think of it only from the utilitarian point of view. . . . But we have not yet at all generally arrived at a realization of what unity means. Many are disposed to accept some expedient or substitute for it which falls far below the true ideal. If we are to work effectively for reunion we must have the true ideal of it before us. . . .

There is danger also in the increasing desire for quick results. Earnest but impatient souls cry out that there is no need for all this talk about the matter. If we want unity, all that we have to do is to "get together." Let the divisions be ignored, questions of doctrine are all of them unimportant, we should be ashamed to be kept apart by "our petty differences."

These pronouncements have an engaging and pleasant sound to the man in the street. . . . But they do not bear careful examination. They imply the entire unimportance of Christian Truth. . . . Doubtless some of the matters which have separated Christians are unimportant, perhaps even "petty" in themselves, but we must beware how we apply this word to any belief which expresses a sincere conviction. Nor must we make the kindred mistake of assuming that convictions with which we do not agree, and which perhaps stand in the way of some plan of united action in which we are interested, are the proof of narrowness and self-will. . . .

There is a growing tide of sentiment in favour of Christian reunion without much regard to Christian principles. A great number of people seem to think that religion means little more than moral conduct and general amiability, and therefore take it for granted that union in religious work, under any circumstances, must be right, and that any objection to it must necessarily be wrong. . . .

In the Providence of God it would seem that the Episcopal Church, together with the Churches which are included in the Anglican Communion, has a special work to do toward bringing about a great synthesis in the whole of Christendom. . . . To a singular degree she is enabled and required by the peculiarities of her position to take into account the factors on both the Catholic and Protestant sides in the West and also to

realize the great place which belongs to the Ancient Eastern Orthodox Churches, as to which until recently many of us have been so amazingly ignorant, and which are now coming into close touch with the rest of the Christian world.

The Episcopal Church has always been in close relation and contact with Protestantism. Her easily misunderstood name is a curious evidence of this. She includes, and has always included, in her fold many who have strong Protestant tendencies and sympathies. She receives constant accessions from the ranks of Protestantism, and some of those who enter her communion retain much of their old point of view. She has many interests and aims in common with Protestantism, and is brought into frequent and valued association with its leaders and representatives. Still more, she holds in common with orthodox Protestants many of the great cardinal doctrines of the Christian Faith, and above all else is joined with them in belief in Our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour. The life of the Episcopal Church has been much influenced by her contact with Protestantism. . . . But her own faith and order as judged by the standards of the undivided Church are fundementally and definitely Catholic. Her distinctive beliefs are those which have been held and taught by the Catholic Church throughout the world since the Apostles' days. She has inherited these through nineteen centuries of history.

In common with all the ancient Communions everywhere, both East and West, the Protestant Episcopal Church holds that the Church in its outward and visible organization, as well as in its inward life, is of Divine institution. . . .

Again in common with all the ancient Communions, including at least three-fourths of all Christendom, the Episcopal Church believes that when Our Lord founded His Church in this world, He Himself appointed a self-perpetuating Ministry, and that this Ministry has come down to the present time through the succession of the Bishops. The Episcopal Church holds the Catholic doctrine that a Priest, ordained by a Bishop, in direct succession from the Apostles, is indispensably necessary for the Celebration of the Holy Communion, the central and characteristic act of the Christian Church. She pronounces no judgment as to the efficacy of sacred ordinances otherwise administered. But she holds herself bound wholly to the ancient ways which she believes to be of God's own appointment. That this is the belief of the Episcopal Church is made unmistakably clear in the Preface of her Ordinal . . . and that which she declares in word she carries out in her acts. That she herself holds her doctrine of the Priesthood to be Catholic is sufficiently demonstrated by one simple fact. A Priest of the Roman Catholic Church, of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church, or of any Catholic Communion, coming into her fold, is not reordained, while on the other hand, no Minister of any Protestant Communion, however great his attainments, or holy his life, can under any circumstances be admitted to the Ministry of the Episcopal Church, and

allowed to celebrate the Holy Communion, without ordination to the Priesthood, at the hands of a Bishop. The doctrine of the Priesthood in the Episcopal Church is not, as is sometimes supposed by those not familiar with her teachings, a mere opinion or view held only by the "High Church party." It is a matter of the Church's own most distinct and essential teaching, as appears in her authoritative formularies. . . . This doctine of the Priesthood and the Sacraments stands for, and is the outward expression of, that which is most fundamental of all things in the Christian Religion. It stands for the true "givenness" of all that comes to us in Christ, for the present operation of Divine grace on the souls of men, for the reality of the supernatural. . . . In her doctrine of the Church and the Priesthood, the Anglican Communion aligns herself with Catholic Christendom, and it is this fact which makes it impossible for the Episcopal Church, without surrender of fundamental principle, to identify herself with the present movement for Protestant Federation in America or to enter into United Protestant work in the Mission fields or elsewhere. . . . If the movement for Protestant Federation related only to forms of civic and social endeavour, it would present no difficulty. But its work is not limited to this sphere. Its prospectus states clearly and specifically that its purpose includes union in religious work.

Its aim is to combine the Protestant Churches and to bring about as far as this is possible a "United Protestantism."

But it is clear that no Communion which holds the ancient doctrine of the Ministry and Sacraments can, without surrender of faith, commit itself to the Federation Movement.

The Episcopal Church can not rightly be expected to enter into Federated union in religious work on a platform which presupposes and assumes that the doctrine which she holds as to the Church, the Priesthood and the Sacraments is not only unessential but untrue.

There are many ways in which Catholics, Protestants, Jews and all others can unite and co-operate to their own benefit, and to the great advantage of the community. But plainly they can not, without sacrifice of conviction, unite in the ministration and propagation of the Christian religion.

Before there can be union in religious work, there must be agreement as to the essentials of faith. Without this an outward reunion would not be a manifestation of unity. It would probably be a manifestation of the view that belief is of no importance, and of an absence of any definite faith whatever. . . .

Whatever the difficulties and obstacles, whether the prospect is encouraging or discouraging, the ideal of the Episcopal Church must forever be the ultimate reunion of all Christendom.

In all her prayers and plans and efforts, she must have this ideal ever in view. All that she undertakes must be in conformity with this final aim. She can not even entertain the suggestion that because such reunion seems far off she may cease to believe in it and strive for it.

She must welcome any and every step which makes truly in this direction but she must try every proposed measure by the touchstone of this her abiding faith and hope.

She can do nothing for the sake of a seeming temporary gain which would weaken her central position, or lessen her power to help towards the realization of this ultimate ideal, because she believes that this, and this alone, is in accordance with the prayer and the purpose of the Church's Divine Head. . . .

To some this method may seem a slow one. But in efforts toward Christian reunion there can be no place for haste or impatience. God alone is able to bring this to pass and He awaits our readiness to yield ourselves to His Will and to the guidance of His Spirit. The fact that this method is slow is perhaps one of its chief recommendations. We must not try to run ahead of grace. . . .

We hope that when the time comes, the Episcopal Church will be found ready, for the sake of reunion, to concede everything that can rightly be conceded. But she can not concede anything believed by her to be a matter of principle or an essential part of God's revelation of Truth, nor would she desire to see any other Communion do so. We should no more think it right that others should do this than that we should do it ourselves. . . .

In the Trinity Parish Year Book for 1915 he made his full report for the record of his objections to the action of the Board of Missions with the following summary,

- 1. In the judgment of a great number of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Church, this action of the Board was not in accordance with the principles of the Church as set forth in the Prayer Book.
- 2. The authority of the Board to take action committing this Church to participation in the Panama Congress was at least doubtful, and, therefore, the action should not have been insisted upon.
- 3. In taking this action the Board in the judgment of a large part of the Church exceeded its powers and disregarded the will of the Church as expressed by the action of the last General Convention.
- 4. This action of the Board was partisan in character, and was therefore wrong, both in principle and in policy. The Board should represent the whole Church, not a part of the Church.
- 5. This Congress, carefully as its utterance was restrained, represented a demonstration by one part of the Christian world against another part of the Christian world, and the action of our Board in committing us officially to participation in the movement was contrary to the principles of Christian Unity in its large and true and world-wide aspect.
- 6. This action of the Board was certain to create division in our own ranks, and seriously to weaken the united spirit in regard to our Mis-

sionary work, which had been secured by adherence to a non-partisan policy.

He concluded with a challenge carefully calculated to win the support of evangelicals, of whom Bishop Lloyd was one. The controversy had done good.

It has made clear the fact that the clergy and people of this Church as a whole are loyal to her principles, that they will not sit still and see her historic position impaired, nor her Faith and Order compromised by any plan to identify her officially with the platform of Protestant Federation. . . .

The real issue is the watering down of the Christian religion, the facts of the Apostles Creed.

The question today is, Do we believe that Jesus Christ is God?

In 1917 and 1918 there was talk of sending abroad the delegations which had been interrupted by the war. Manning decided that he would not be able to go on any of these. In March, 1919, he was one of the signatories of the Congregational Concordat, a proposal for the episcopal ordination, under various safeguards, of a minister who so desires,

without giving up or denying his fellowship or his ministry in the Communion to which he belongs.

The Concordat caused much discussion. Its proponents had high hopes for the results to come from it. Manning, always attacked by someone, was now under fire from other quarters than the usual ones because of his support of it. A canon giving effect to the proposals was adopted that autumn at Detroit but it had almost no result one way or another. In 1961, again at Detroit, it was repealed. In May Manning delivered the Bedell Lectures at Kenyon College, published as *The Call to Unity* and already referred to.

He began to plan with Gardiner for our representation to the preliminary meeting of the World Conference in Geneva in the summer of 1920. He decided with regret that he could not go but writes to Gardiner in April, 1920, that Bishop Brent is going, "so that we shall be well represented." The Geneva meeting elected him to the "continuation" committee and when, in 1922, the Bishop of Chicago resigned as president of our commission Manning proposed Brent for the office but was himself elected and continued in this position until his resignation as Bishop of New York in 1946.



Among Manning's papers is a black notebook in which he scribbled various notes for sermons and addresses, reminders as to routine duties, and other miscellaneous material while he was a chaplain at Camp Upton in 1918. In it is this note.

I have had a good many experiences—but never one like this—It has done me more good than anything that ever happened to me.

This can well be said to apply not only to his chaplaincy but to his whole part in the life of the city, and in a certain sense of the country, during the First World War. His share in the war effort, both before and after our entry into the conflict, did much for the development of the man himself and for his establishment as an important leader of thought. The hard, gruelling work of his chaplaincy drew out the best in him and helped him to make easier contact with all sorts and conditions of people. When Manning became rector he succeeded to an office which his predecessor had made important; by the end of the war it was the man himself who was regarded as much as the office.

Manning is remembered for his consistent advocacy of military preparedness, for his insistence from the beginning that our part lay with the Allies and that neutrality was neither possible nor right. He is sometimes described as a rabble rouser. It is therefore useful to note the tone of his first sermon in Trinity Church after the outbreak of the war. This was preached on 4 October, 1914.

We are not here in this place to pass any judgement, to express any view as to the measure of responsibility resting upon those who are involved in this strife, however deep our convictions may be, and I think should be, in this matter. We are here to confess our own sins, to stand in penitence and humility before God, to pray for all alike that God will bring good to the world out of this evil, and that these terrible sacrifices may end as speedily as may be possible in the establishment of just and lasting peace. . . . We have heard the words of statesmen and diplomats, of kings and emperors, of scientists and philosophers, but what is God's word about it? There are three things that God is telling us unmistakably through this war.

First. He is showing us as men have never seen it before the madness, the horrible unmeasured wickedness of war. He is making us see that war is never of his ordering, that it is never according to his will, that it is always the result of human folly and selfishness and sin. It is true that under present conditions it is sometimes necessary and right for a nation to fight in its own defense or in defense of others, but this only shows that the conditions are wrong and that they ought no longer to be tolerated.

Second. God is showing us that such strife as this is as needless as it is wicked. He is making us see at last that the conditions which make such war possible are in our own hands. He is forcing us all to see that it is possible for us to put an end to these conditions, and therefore that it is our bounden duty to put an end to them. . . .

Third. Through these fearful events God is showing us once again the need of true religion in the world. Men are asking in this crisis if Christianity has failed. The question may be natural, but it is not a very wise one. Christianity has not failed, but we have failed to be Christians. . . . This war shows us that the religion of Jesus Christ is the one hope of the world. Christianity is the one thing that has not failed. Great armies and battleships have failed. These certainly have not served to maintain the world's peace. . . . It is our duty at this hour to keep our faith in Christ strong and clear—to hold out constant hands of hope and help, and when the time comes for such action to be ready to lend our whole strength as a nation and as individuals to the support of every well considered measure for the abatement and removal of the curse of war and the preservation and maintenance of peace.

This point of view did not change. He continued to say the same kind of thing, and the sermon is also typical of his preaching during the Second World War. In the Trinity Year Book for 1914 he drives home a similar point.

We had begun to imagine, some of us, that God's help was no longer necessary, and that we could save the world by our own plans and devices. We were in danger of imagining that our Hague Conferences and Arbitration Treaties were sufficient to bring universal peace, and that WAR 93

we could make men and women all that they ought to be by education and culture without religion.

But he was among the first to reach the conviction that President Wilson's policy of maintaining a strict neutrality which would allow this country to take the chief place in constructing the peace after the war was impractical and indeed wrong. He quickly became known as a leader in the opposition and, since his voice was clear and persuasive in contradicting the assumption that religion and pacifism go hand in hand and that the church looks with distaste on all matters military, he was in great demand to speak and to preside at meetings and was eagerly followed by the growing number who felt that we must inevitably take our active part in the war and wished to hasten the day when we would do so.

One of the matters on which there was strong difference was that of military preparedness. Even among those who supported the president's neutrality policy, and quite irrespective of political party, there were those who considered it important that military training be greatly increased and who denied entirely that preparedness and neutrality were inconsistent. In March, 1916, a conference of mayors on national defense was held in Saint Louis. John Purroy Mitchel, the Mayor of New York, was one of those who organized the meeting. He was urgent in his request that Manning come to speak so as to demonstrate that the pulpit could be counted on, in some cases at least, to help in the important responsibility of preparing people for what might lie ahead. This Manning did with telling effect upon public opinion and upon his fellow clergy.

A minister of religion is supposed to be a man of peace. I am a man of peace and therefore I have thought it worth while to speak in favor of preparedness. . . . We do not want preparedness for war, we want preparedness against war, and I am here to speak of preparedness from the Christian standpoint. . . .

Jesus Christ does not stand for peace at any price. He stands for righteousness at any cost. And He proved this by going to His death on the Cross.

This last statement became Manning's watchword on the subject, like Hobart's "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order," or Saint John's "Little children, love one another." He repeated it in almost the identical words often, not only during the First World War but during the Second, and when he spoke against the pacifism which became so pronounced in between the two wars. It summed up his

teaching and he had no hesitation in repeating himself. The effect at Saint Louis was electric as it usually was afterward.

In October he preached in Saint Paul's Chapel sternly calling upon the president to take a firmer stand. The occasion was the 150th anniversary of Saint Paul's. Much was made of the fact that George Washington came to Saint Paul's Chapel, serving for the time being as the parish church because Trinity had burned down, for a service to complete the solemnity of his inauguration as the first president. An invitation was sent to Wilson to be present in the pew often occupied by Washington. He designated Colonel House to represent him, but the latter pleaded illness when the day came and did not attend. The sermon was directed bluntly to the matter of the war and our relation to it.

In this hour of the world's emergency, we have perhaps been neutral, but we have not been great. . . . As I look back over these two fateful years . . . I cannot feel that we have risen to the measure of our opportunity and of our just responsibility. . . . I fear that partly as a result of our coldness to the great issues in this world struggle, we have suffered some real weakening and loss of our national spirit. I fear that there is today among us a perceptible lowering of our national tone and lessening of our moral power. . . . We need in every part of our land, and among all classes of our people, a great reawakening of our sense of the responsibility which rests on us as citizens, . . . I advocate Universal Training because of its military effectiveness, . . . because it is the only Military system that is truly democratic . . . because it will weld our nation together and help to make of our many races one united people . . . because of its moral and spiritual value. It will give us needed discipline. . . .

We need among our people a great renewal of the spirit of true religion. Religion is the only firm foundation for national life. . . .

The lines were sharply drawn by now and the sermon received thunderous approval from the one side, while there were those who were outspoken in their disapproval of what was said, and of its being said in church, in the name of religion.

In December there was a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall to protest against the German treatment of Belgium. Elihu Root made the principal address and Manning presided. At similar meetings, in sermons and addresses, he continued to take a lead among those who were determined that the country should take its part in the war. It is interesting to note that in December, 1916, Manning and Harry Emerson Fosdick were both among fifty prominent clergy and others who signed a "Plea for a Lasting Peace," in which they

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view with some concern the organized and deliberate efforts now being made to stampede Christian sentiment as to create a public opinion blindly favorable to stopping hostilities without adequate consideration of the issues which the war involves,

In the period between the two wars their views on these subjects were diametrically opposed, Fosdick being one of the leaders of an aggressive and extreme pacifist movement, which Manning with as much determination denounced. He engaged in a definite, but private and friendly, controversy on the matter with his ally, Frederic Cook Morehouse. The latter lived in Milwaukee and was influenced by the pro-German sentiment there.

On 3 February, 1917, Wilson broke relations with Germany and Manning preached the next day in a strongly irenic tone toward those who had been in opposition to one another on the great issues. We are not

divided by racial antecedents, political affiliations, varying views and aspirations. Today we are all of us Americans, without disfiguring adjectives, or divided interests. . . . If it should come to actual warfare there will be no more loyal Americans than our fellow citizens of German antecedents, whose natural feeling for their fatherland we ought to respect and honor.

Official delegations from the allied countries, with whom we were now drawing into closer relation, began to come and formal committees of welcome were frequently being appointed by the Mayor of New York. Manning was always on these. He served also on the important Food Conservation Committee of Herbert Hoover. In the autumn of 1917 Manning did not hesitate to call from the pulpit for the defeat of Tammany corruption by the reelection of Mitchel. Hylan was elected and Manning steadfastly refused all contact with him.

In December, 1917, Manning was given leave of absence by the vestry and went to Camp Upton at Yaphank, on eastern Long Island, to take up duty as a temporary volunteer chaplain to the 302nd Engineers. Once the break with Germany was made the preparations for war proceeded apace but with a good deal of disorder due to the fact that insufficient plans had been made by authority even when there was not positive determination not to make plans. The chaplain service was one of many things which were neglected. The church formed a commission under the presidency of Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts to meet the need by supporting volunteer

chaplains and the Army and Navy agreed to accept their services in the training camps. Manning at once went into this work and entered upon a period of feverish activity. The camp was still in the process of organization and everything had to be planned and prepared from the beginning. It was a full time job in itself. But the leave of absence did not mean much. He was at his office practically every week if only for a few hours; he came often to special services at Trinity, sometimes to preach; and he continued to appear at public functions almost as much as before. He visited other camps and went from time to time to Washington on official business. He was still a young man, being 51, but only a phenomenal stamina and vitality could have carried the load he did during the last year of the war; and it is amazing that he was not burned out by it. The work at the camp was pure joy to him. He made his way at once with officers and men. The commanding officer, who at the outset looked with disfavour upon the intrusion of a volunteer, came to have such confidence in him that he treated him as though he were in fact, which he was not, in charge of all the chaplains in the camp.1 The simple directness of his approach to the pastoral office is shown by a note in the black book.

Young Russian Jew—Joseph Wertheim, of Co. A. came to my quarters—said "I am of different religion but perhaps you will help me. I want to keep the anniversary of my father's death as our religion requires. My brother has been killed in Russian Army & I am the only son who can do this. I must be at the Synagogue at 6:30 tomorrow morning and keep the day as a fast—but the Captain will not let me go. He does not understand. He thinks I want a holiday." The poor boy broke down and wept but showed no bitterness at all. I told him that I would see Captain Per Lee and explain to him, and do my best to get him a pass, but that if the Captain should feel it could not be granted he would have done his best and must not feel that he was doing wrong—& must say his prayers & keep his fast here. This seemed to comfort him somewhat. I went over at once to see the Captain & explained it to him, and he immediately wrote out the pass and sent it to Wertheim.

Perhaps the notable thing in the account is the chaplain's preparation of the boy for a refusal before he made the request on his behalf.

In February, 1918, a parade was planned for New York City to show the newly trained soldiers from Camp Upton just before they went overseas. This was to take place on a Sunday and ran into the opposition of the New York Sabbath Committee, which succeeded in get-

¹ The attitude of the chaplains toward him is illustrated on p. 105.

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ting the event postponed to the next day. With obvious relish Manning delivered a stinging rebuke to the puritanism of the committee. But the following month he supported puritanism in another form by protesting against the appearance of Dr. Karl Muck, a German, with the Boston Symphony Orchestra in Carnegie Hall. He spoke, with Rabbi Silverman, at the appeal for the New York Catholic War Fund, presided over by Cardinal Farley, on the evening of Saint Patrick's Day. And a few months later he marched in uniform with fifty war chaplains, Manning being the only one not a Roman Catholic, in the cardinal's funeral procession. Farley was a notable figure in the life of the city. Manning admired him and counted himself a friend. The occasion was appropriate for the expression of good will which his formal participation indicated. It is difficult to imagine an action which shows such entire disregard, not to say contempt, for the consequences to his own reputation and future career. When the Home Association of the 302nd Engineers was formed after the departure of the regiment to France, Manning was made chairman and so remained until June, 1919.

The work of a chaplain covers many aspects. At a meeting of the trustees of Sailors' Snug Harbour one day a member asked Manning if he would show Miss Maude Adams, the actress, something of the camp if she came for a visit. He did his part so well that she arranged to return for the month of August, working in the canteen and giving performances for the camp. Through his friends in the city he arranged for a visit by the Glee Club of the New York Police Department to entertain the camp with a concert. Great preparations were made for a parade, led by a fife and drum corps, to march the policemen around the camp after feeding them, and to round up everyone for the concert at 2 o'clock. Just as the chaplain was about to go to service in the morning word came that the cars to transport the glee club had failed to appear in New York. Everything then got disarranged. A substitute concert was put on at 2 and Manning asked everyone to come back at 4:15. Fearful that there might be a slim attendance he arranged for his own battalion to be marched in formation to the concert. The hour arrived, the hall was so packed that it was difficult to get the battalion in. The police had still not arrived so the fife and drum corps played, very loud. Volunteers were put up to hold the crowd. It is not recorded that the chaplain did a turn himself but he was obviously very busy back stage. It came time for retreat and word was given that all in the hall would be excused from the formation (loud cheers). Well after 5 the cops arrived. Thunderous applause, great enthusiasm, concert continuing until 6:30, ending with a late supper for the police and the battalion. Manning closes his account to Mrs. Manning, "Some Sunday."

Probably the most notable event arranged by Manning during the war was the visit of the Archbishop of York, Cosmo Gordon Lang. The plan to bring him over originated with Manning and Trinity Parish bore the main part of the expense. He arrived in March, 1918, and was in this country and Canada for more than a month. He preached at Trinity Church, addressed a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall, spoke at Camp Upton, and preached again at Trinity on Good Friday. The trip was eminently successful and both the archbishop and Bishop Lawrence, of the War Commission, were outspoken in their thanks to Manning for having made it possible.

In March Manning writes to Mrs. Manning to ask how she would feel about his going abroad with the regiment. In April the vestry passed a solemn resolution that the rector cannot be spared to go out of the country. Manning nevertheless kept toying with the idea of asking for a commission, perhaps for six months, and going to France. In June he wonders whether he should retire from the camp and return to the parish but it was only a passing thought for in July he receives a letter from David Ogden, one of the vestry, saying that Ogden feels there is no reason why he should not continue at the camp in the autumn. In August word comes that the volunteer chaplaincies are to be abolished at the end of October and Manning returned to the parish just before the armistice. In August he preached at Trinity on the fourth anniversary of Britain's entry into the war. Quoting President Wilson's words, he made the same distinction between the German people and their rulers.

Until the Prussian Military power is broken there can be no peace.

And he looks forward to the forming of "a league and brotherhood of nations" after the war to maintain peace. Three months later, after the armistice, in his Thanksgiving Day sermon he advocates the continuance of universal military training not only for its military, but for its moral and spiritual value; and he points out the peril of bolshevism, the equal to that of the Prussian militarism just defeated.

Manning had been close to Mayor Mitchel and served on many of the civic ceremonial committees during his time. He avoided even formal contact with Mayor Hylan and in January, 1919, publicly refused to serve on the mayor's Committee of Welcome to the returning troops because William Randolph Hearst had been apWAR 99

pointed. Hearst had been throughout the war notoriously pro-German, but Hylan was politically beholden to him and a place on the committee was desirable to whitewash a besmirched reputation. Manning denounced Hearst in scathing and explicit terms and assisted in forming an independent Citizens' Committee of Welcome, which held a meeting in Madison Square Garden. In March Manning received the Legion of Honour from France. Bishop Burch wrote a letter of congratulation which serves as a fitting summary of Manning's work and position during the war.²

Pray accept my warmest congratulations on the high honor conferred upon you by brave, loyal grateful France, an honor splendidly won and thoroughly deserved, your modest disclaimer of merit to the contrary notwithstanding.

No country engaged in contending for the Allied cause could honor too highly one who, thank God, spoke out fearlessly and in no uncertain way from the hour when all true Americans should have spoken.

I am grateful that your voice carried farther and farther during the trying years—yes, I am grateful that you did not allow convention or tradition or anything but the tremendous pressure of God's high cause to influence you. In a word I am thankful you were not hobbled or delimited by any one or any persuasion save truth and righteousness and a threatened world's freedom.

In 1946 the French Government awarded him a higher grade of the legion, that of Grand Officer.

As a sort of postscript it is worth noting an egregious mistake which Manning made after the war. In June, 1919, he received an honorary degree at Princeton and was called upon to make the principal address at the alumni luncheon which followed the ceremony. In this address he sternly attacked Wilson's war record.

The First World War did not by any means accomplish the high hopes which many had for it. The world was not made safe for democracy or anything else in particular. An extreme revulsion of feeling set in and many who had preached the crusade of the war made open confession of sin and proposed amendment of life by embracing pacifism. Harry Emerson Fosdick was the typical exponent of this position, which was that of a great deal of American

² It was Manning who nominated Burch as suffragan in 1911. Burch was now soon to be elected bishop on the death of Bishop Greer, defeating Manning, Slattery, and Stires in the election. Manning presented Burch's name to the House of Deputies in September for confirmation as Bishop of New York; and was elected to succeed Burch when he died suddenly fifteen months later.

protestantism. Manning was as much disillusioned and disappointed as any but he remained faithful to his original watchword, "not peace at any price, but righteousness at any cost." As occasion seemed to demand he preached against the pacifist position.³ As the Second World War began to draw nearer his preaching followed the same pattern as in 1914. In 1935 the war in Ethiopia began and on 6 October he preached in the cathedral on the subject.

As one of the Family of Nations we cannot escape our share of the moral and spiritual effects of the war. . . . And if this outbreak should lead to a European Crisis, which God forbid, we shall inevitably become involved.

He gave four things to do to promote peace.

- 1. Not allow ourselves to become discouraged. . . .
- 2. Face the economic causes of War. . . .
- 3. Give our full, active, co-operation and support to all wise efforts and Movements for the establishing and upholding of World Peace. . . .
- 4. Not be guided by mere emotionalism. . . . We must face the hard facts.

He took the occasion of a military church parade at Governor's Island in 1937, in celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of its purchase, to preach in similar manner. And again in October, 1939, as the war began he preached to bring people to face the facts. As against the misleading of the pacifists he points out that

earnest, lifelong, pacifists like Thomas Mann and Lord Robert Cecil have found themselves compelled to revise their judgments in the face of this present world situation. . . . It is useless to pretend that we as a Nation have nothing to do with this conflict. . . . We cannot hold that all the Nations engaged in this War are equally responsible for it. . . . The issue in this conflict is between Totalitarianism . . . and Democracy. . . . No Christian, and no true American, can be neutral in judgment between the things for which Totalitarianism stands and the things for which Democracy stands. . . . We must pray for the German people and for the Russian people who are being so tragically misguided and misled.

At the annual dinner of the Church Club in February, 1942, two months after Pearl Harbor, the bishop and the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, made the two addresses. They furnish an interesting, even amusing, contrast. It was the bishop who spoke earnestly, militantly, of the call to our people to give their full support to the

³ See pp. 180 ff.

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struggle; while the ambassador spoke—in "a very able and moving address" the bishop noted in his diary—of the spiritual and philosophical problems for the christian involved in the conflict. The statesman preached the sermon; the bishop gave the call to arms. In August, 1943, he says in his diary

Anniversary of Britain's entry into World War I. This time a just and lasting peace must be established and maintained under the leadership of America and Britain, with America taking its part, which we failed to do after the last War.

Among his papers is a pencilled note which dates from the time of the Second World War or later. It sums up his teaching all through his ministry.

Tolerance is today one of the most misused words in the language. As ordinarily used, it implies either too little or too much. When used with regard to our fellow citizens it implies too little—A country in wh. people merely tolerate each other falls far below the Xian standard of life. When used with regard to the evil-minded & the wrong-doers it implies too much. The Xian Religion calls upon us to "hold fast to that wh. is good & to abhor that wh. is evil." And we cannot sincerely do either of these two without doing both. God Himself is (utterly) Love, & because He is Love He hates iniquity—(see Hebert)—the sin of pacifism is that it tolerates evil & wrong doing for the sake of peace, as we have seen in two World Wars, & in doing so loses the peace that it seeks.

The bishop strongly opposed the exemption of theological students from military service in time of war for the harm that it did to their profession in the eyes of their fellows by setting them in a class apart. He specifically repudiated the

implication that a theological student is automatically a conscientious objector.

There was no longer opportunity or need for work as a war chaplain but in the summer of 1942, the first after our entry into the war, the bishop took no holiday, remaining at the cathedral to give a special series of sermons in July and making routine visitations in August. He was thus continuously at work, with no intermission of any sort, from September, 1941, to July, 1943, no mean accomplishment for a man past 75 years of age.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TENTH BISHOP AND TENTH RECTOR



HE CONVENTION of the Diocese of New York gathered for the second time in eighteen months to elect a bishop on the morrow of Saint Paul's Day, 26 January, 1921. Once again leading names on the ballot were Stires, Slattery, and Manning, but this time there was real question, as there was not in September, 1919, as to who might be chosen. Since the office of suffragan bishop in this country was created in 1910 it has been almost the unwritten rule that if there be a suffragan in the diocese he is chosen bishop. The vehemence with which this is denied and the small number of exceptions, together with the extraordinary circumstances surrounding some of these exceptions, only emphasize the rule. While perhaps not many of the voters realized it at the time Bishop Burch's election was a foregone conclusion. But in 1921 the field was quite open. All three men had strong support; all had opposition, though in this Manning undoubtedly had the lion's share. This was because of the qualities and character for which he was elected. When the Rector of Trinity went to the contest that winter morning he did so with definite reluctance. The opposition to him was vehement even if unimportant. Percy Stickney Grant preached a sermon against his election. William Randolph Hearst welcomed the opportunity to get revenge for the rebuke Manning had administered to him after the war by denouncing him in an editorial and having his papers thrust upon the delegates as they entered the Synod House. As Bishop Greer had pointed out in 1908, the office of Rector of Trinity was still a more important one, more comfortable to occupy, with greater influence, and with the satisfaction of more positive and important results. The election represented a very real contest and promised unpleasantness.

Dr. Stires and Dr. Slattery disappeared from the floor during most of the day but Dr. Manning sat with the Trinity delegation next his old opponent and friend, Mr. Cammann, the senior warden. Several of those who wrote to congratulate him commented on the fact, notably the staunch old liberal, Harry Pierce Nichols, who presided at the convention and who wrote a warm letter of welcome before he went to bed that night.

... I was glad you sat through it all, modest and quiet, but as a member of the convention in your place. It struck me as the thing to do, in a somewhat difficult alternative.

I confess to you that in time past, perhaps even at the election of 1919, I should have felt the election of Dr. Manning to be a misfortune. With many of my brethren I have come to think differently. . . . [I am] one who believes in your ability and has grown to admire your method.

Manning was nominated by Edmund L. Baylies and seconded by the Rector of Saint Michael's, Dr. Peters, the old troublemaker of the Saint John's Chapel controversy. He had canvassed some of the clergy by a letter shortly before the convention in which he stressed the importance of Manning's wise and able leadership in the reunion movement, though he wrote he had not expected much at the inauguration of the movement in 1910. Dr. Leighton Parks of Saint Bartholomew's tried to answer this in his nominating speech for Dr. Stires by pointing out that Manning would repudiate pan-protestantism as the goal of reunion. Dr. Peters made the most of the effect of the Hearst editorial by reading it in full. Manning led on each ballot. After the second ballot Stires' name was withdrawn in an effort to stop Manning with Slattery, but on the third ballot he was elected. This time there was no question about his accepting. He did so immediately, from the platform. The office of Bishop of New York did not have in 1921 the importance which Manning gave to it in his twenty-five years but as the summons of Dr. Dix in 1904 was mandatory, so now was that of the diocese. It was not that Manning had worked to be bishop but that his work had brought conviction to the electors that he was the right choice.

A flood of congratulatory letters came to him, from beyond the diocese and the church as well as from within. The quality the writers referred to was Manning's ability for leadership, shown by his work in the reunion movement, by the position he had taken in the war, both as a moulder of opinion in the city and the country, and as a pastor in the chaplain's office at Upton, as well as by his administration

of Trinity Parish. Of course many expressed delight at the convention's treatment of Hearst; and Roman Catholics wrote of the respect in which Manning was held by them. Several bishops—and others—wrote of their satisfaction that a strong hand was now to be on the helm of the chief diocese of the country. The Bishop of Oregon, Dr. Sumner, wrote,

... A Bishop's life is bound to be a stormy one from "behind the scenes." I have no doubt yours will be quite up to the standard! I am sorry you have to start off with "Grant," but I do hope you will bring him to time. You have no idea what the effect would be on the entire American Church, for nearly every Diocese has its "Grant," and they glory in his defiance and feel safe because the greatest of them all can escape, and, therefore, they have little to fear. His eradication would do more to strengthen the power of the church than anything that has been done in many years, for it would establish a precedent and put fear in the hearts of his satellites. . . .

The Bishop of Bethlehem, Dr. Talbot, later presiding bishop, wrote of

... what a great sense of relief that event brought me. I am sure there are very many of us Bishops who feel that in God's Providence at this time, there is great need in that Metropolitan Diocese, of a leadership, such as you can give. Without any disparagement to anyone else I cannot but feel that New York needs at this time a strong, masterful Catholic churchman, who can comprehend the issues now pending, and can, with a wise but kindly Christian statesmanship grapple with them. . . .

The Bishop of Vermont, Dr. Hall, wrote,

... I would rather you had the exceedingly difficult task than any of the others proposed. But it is a hard and difficult task... You will be large hearted, but I trust you will not continue the disastrous policy of drift that (as Dr. Parks recognizes!) has led to chaos. . . .

Stephen Baker, a leading layman of the diocese, wrote,

... I feel that the work of the church in this Diocese has been "slumping" during the last few years, and that what we needed for our Bishop was a man of strong hand, steadfast faith and courage, and broad and sympathetic understanding. . . .

... I believe the Diocese has selected one who will meet all these issues with broadmindedness, and with charity to all.

Judge Morgan O'Brian, formerly of the New York Supreme Court, a Roman Catholic, wrote

... Differing as we do in Religion you will not think me insincere when I tell you how those who believe in & love Religion were delighted with

your selection. It is a post of great dignity & great responsibility and with your broad Catholic sentiments & experiences & zeal not only the members of your own Church but the friends of Religion in our great Centre have abiding faith in the good results that will flow under your administration and discharge of a great trust.¹

And a Presbyterian minister who had been a chaplain at Camp Upton wrote,

... When I first heard that you were coming down there I was a bit dubious, for I thought that a man of your experience and prominence might not fit in very comfortably with the group of younger men who were already there as regular chaplains. But I want to say to you now what I never had a good opportunity to say before, that from the moment you first came into our group it was a delight to have you there working with us. I admired more than I can say your patience with our inexperience, your restraint in keeping in the background in our discussions, your kindly vision in helping us with the problems which arose, and the warm Christian friendliness which all through those months made you one with us. . . .

I am glad beyond measure that you are to be the next Bishop of New York, not simply because of the honor to yourself, but because I shall be glad to feel that a man of your breadth and sympathy and strength is to be at the head of the diocese. . . .

Frederic R. Coudert, a distinguished Roman Catholic lawyer of the city, wrote,

It was with very real emotion that I read this morning of your election. It is so rare that a man of great courage can be popularly chosen to a great position that one is really stirred when it happens, and feels that only a critical situation can bring about such a result. You are not only admired for the enemies you have made, because they merely served to point out that you have stood fearlessly for the right; but as an American citizen interested in all that helps our nation I feel that your election to a position of great public dignity and responsibility must be fraught with great good to our country in times of peculiar difficulty calling for

¹At the conclusion of the funeral of Cardinal Farley in 1918, where Manning marched with the war chaplains in uniform—all but he Roman Catholics—Judge O'Brian asked him to come to the late cardinal's house for coffee. Manning accepted, saying that he had caught a very early train from Washington and had had no breakfast. The judge commented with admiration on this and added, "but you know there are many of us who would go even further to attend your funeral." In after years the bishop always teased the judge, when he met him, to declare in what sense he had meant this but got only that it had been said "in the right sense."

constructive imagination, tempered by sound judgment and sympathetic personality.

Frederick James Gregg of the Evening Telegram wrote,

... to tell you that the selection has been received by all sorts and conditions of newspaper men with sincere pleasure. I find that there is a conviction everywhere in my trade that the next Bishop of New York will promote not only the welfare of the Church, but the dignity of New York, . . .

Dr. Mann, who had beaten Manning in the 1913 election of president of the House of Deputies of General Convention, wrote from Boston,

... If the new bishop of New York can win back for that diocese something of its old-time corporate unity and loyalty, he will render a notable service to the whole Church. It is just that consciousness of the common life and common responsibility which have seemed to some of us who are outside New York to have been lacking in the life of the diocese in late years. The task will be great, but the prize will be glorious! . .

The Southern Churchman commented at length on the election in an editorial.

The interest of the whole Church last week was centered on the election in the Diocese of New York. The Bishop of New York has more than local importance. Because he can be the spokesman for this Church of ours in the greatest city of the world, he becomes in some sense the representative of us all. What he achieves or fails to achieve, what he speaks of prophetic truth or futile commonplace, inevitably affects the estimation in which this Church is held in all the land and subtly affects our estimate of ourselves.

The Southern Churchman has sometimes profoundly disagreed with Dr. Manning. It deplored his attitude of opposition to the share which our Church had in the Panama Conference. It has believed that the rigid ecclesiasticism by which at times his sympathies were hampered is an anachronism in this modern time. But in every instance of disagreement we have recognized Dr. Manning's courage and sincerity. He was courageous when he fought the Panama Conference, and he lost his seat among the New York delegation to the General Convention of 1916 as a consequence. He was courageous in the years long before, when, as the new rector of Trinity Parish, he set himself to reform the conduct of the tenement house properties which were part of the corporation's great endowment. And he was most courageous of all when he espoused the "concordat" with the Congregationalists against the astonished resentment of many of his former associates of the High Church school of thought. Many a man can stand up boldly against his recognized antagonists; it is the rarer man who for the truth as he sees it can separate himself from his friends.

For this reason, therefore, and for another one, the Southern Churchman congratulates Dr. Manning upon the recognition which has come to him, and welcomes him with gladly accorded honor to his high post of leadership. The second reason is the belief that Dr. Manning has within him the spirit which makes a man grow. He is not afraid to expand his views to meet expanding needs. He has shown himself increasingly independent of ecclesiastical party in the power of a real devotion to the things that count for the kingdom of Christ. Some men are fossilized by their own self-importance when they are elected Bishops. If we read Dr. Manning's record aright, we believe he will be sensitive to the greatness of his possible service, open-minded, forward-looking and forward-leading. He faces a great chance, and our confidence is that he will meet it greatly.

Manning's own assessment of the situation, and of his position, is shown by the fact that he continued to hold the office of Rector of Trinity for many months after his consecration and until the eve of the election of his successor, Dr. Stetson. Both at this time and in later years he took pride in pointing out that in holding the offices jointly, as the tenth incumbent of each, he was returning to the tradition of the diocese as it had been for the first half of its existence when the bishop was the Rector, or at least an Assistant Minister, of Trinity Parish.

The consecration took place on Wednesday, 11 May, 1921, being within the octave of the Ascension and also the stated day of the meeting of the Diocesan Convention, at the cathedral. He chose the Bishop of Southern Ohio, Boyd Vincent, and the Bishop of Massachusetts, William Lawrence, to be consecrators with the presiding bishop. The Bishop of Tennessee, Gailor, preached the sermon. The Bishops of Vermont and Pennsylvania, Hall and Rhinelander, presented him; and his chaplains were the Vicars of Saint Agnes and the Intercession, Dr. Bellinger and Dr. Gates. There were twenty-nine Anglican bishops present, of whom ten joined in the laying on of hands; and four Orthodox bishops, of whom Bishop Nicolai of Serbia, having made a very special effort to be present that day, came at the time of the laying-on of hands to stand by the consecrator, but not actually to join. The Sun reported that afterward Bishop Nicolai "remarked with a smile that some more things would have to be done before an eastern bishop may take part in the consecration of a western one."

The new bishop was undoubtedly faced with difficulties. The administration of the diocese since the death of Bishop Henry Codman Potter had been weak. Bishop Burch was a gentle, kindly person, who had laboured earnestly in the outlying parts of the diocese as suffragan

and made himself greatly beloved but who was not well qualified to cope with the problems which confronted him as diocesan. One of these, private but nonetheless tormenting, was the fact that he was going into debt for the upkeep of the palace which Cram and Bishop Greer had concocted for the Bishop of New York. The matter of the bishop's house was a problem which Manning never faced. President Nicholas Murray Butler, with his experience of the obligations and requirements of an official residence at Columbia, sought at the time of Manning's election to make the diocese aware of what was imposed on the bishop so that adequate financial provision would be made for the upkeep of the house. But little was done. Mrs. Manning had private means. For twenty-five years they were drawn on heavily for house-keeping bills with the result that by the time of the bishop's retirement her property was impaired. After Bishop Manning the palace was abandoned as the bishop's residence.

But Bishop Burch's episcopate was little more than an interregnum and Manning really succeeded Greer, who had become bishop just after Manning became rector. Bishop Greer was a person in many ways unsuited to the episcopal office, certainly in a diocese such as New York with heavy administrative duties. He had very little appreciation of, or sympathy with, his cathedral. The work of construction was always a distasteful burden to him; he preferred the Bronx Church House, an approximation of the institutional parish house of Saint Bartholomew's. He wished the cathedral services to be patterned after those of Saint Bartholomew's and had it in mind to substitute a "cock and hen" choir for the boy choir. He gave orders, soon after he became bishop, to abolish the choral service and was only with difficulty dissuaded by Canon Voorhis, the precentor. He was a person of tremendous personal appeal and influence. This was the basis of his ministry. It is successful with men of good will; but unfortunately there are a few who cannot be fairly so described. He was further handicapped, particularly during the war years, by being a believer in nonresistance. His conscience did not allow him to take any kind of disciplinary stand with regard to his clergy under any conditions. The contrast between Greer and Manning is well illustrated by their reactions to an episode which occurred in 1915. Dr. Percy Stickney Grant chose to celebrate Lent at the Ascension that year with a sermon calling for free and easy divorce. The discourse was intended to give the impression, while studiously avoiding any definite statement, that complete freedom in the matter was the rule at the Ascension. The sermon was good for the stir in the papers which was so dear to Grant's

heart. The reporters asked for comment by the Bishop and the Rector of Trinity. Greer and Manning were of one mind in the matter of divorce; they both supported the passage of a stricter "no divorce" canon. The contrast in their comments however was typical of a profound difference between them. The rector said,

... The Episcopal Church quite rightly allows large liberty of speech.
... But if any clergyman should so abuse his liberty as to make the statements [of Dr. Grant] it would be incumbent on the authorities of the Church to take some action, unless they should feel that the utterances were too irresponsible to deserve attention;

while the bishop, saying

I believe that the marriage tie should be indissoluble, and personally am against permitting even the remarriage of the innocent party in a divorce for the statutory ground. Dr. Grant's opinion is very decidedly opposed to the law and to the mind of the Episcopal Church... I believe there are not many clergymen in the Episcopal Church who agree with Dr. Grant...,

concluded, in answer to a question by a reporter of the New York Times as to

what measures would be taken in case an Episcopal minister preached "free love" or some other opinion equally repugnant to the doctrines of the Episcopal Church, . . . "We won't cross that bridge until we come to it. We have enough concrete questions to deal with without going into hypothetical ones."

The Diocese of New York had not been accustomed for some years to a bishop who sought to make issues clear cut and to take firm stands. The new bishop so believed and so acted. To those who were accustomed to following their own inclinations, especially to those who enjoyed the publicity which attaches to those who profess to be daring or forward looking in their stands but who do not care to be called to account for what they say, this is an irritating quality in a bishop. The irritation soon became apparent in a small number of the flock. One scheme Manning became aware of by the time of his consecration. A little group of the clergy planned to isolate the new bishop from diocesan administration to a considerable extent and preserve freedom of action for themselves by setting up a system of archdeaconries which would be independent units, and where self-important individuals could enjoy the dignity and authority of an important title. Manning scotched this plan by calling for the election of two suffragans at the

convention which assembled on the afternoon of the consecration. At that time it was not necessary to get the consent of the other dioceses for the election of suffragans and this took place at once. Bishop Lloyd, who had been pastor of a small parish in the diocese since the end of the Board of Missions in 1919, was elected one; the other was the Revd. Herbert Shipman, Rector of the Heavenly Rest in New York. Manning gave a definite and warm welcome to each of these as he came to the platform and accepted the election. The church generally was pleased that a solution for the anomalous position of Bishop Lloyd had been found. But over the election of Shipman a storm arose and continued for some time.

Shipman was a gentle, unassuming, almost shy, priest, who was much beloved by a host of friends; he also drifted into unfortunate positions. Three matters were cited by those who felt he was unqualified for the episcopal office. He allowed his name to be used on the editorial staff of the Chronicle, a disreputable monthly publication put out by the Rector of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, the Revd. Alexander Griswold Cummins. This individual had elbowed his way into a certain prominence in the diocese in the days of Bishop Greer. His paper, paid for by the income of an endowment for evangelical education, was supposedly an organ of the low-church party, dedicated to describing the follies and disloyalties of high-churchmen. But when occasion served its stream of nastiness could be directed, and was, quite indiscriminately. The paper was eargerly read, as indecent publications usually are, but it was deplored by low and high alike. Shipman was entirely unlike Cummins; their association seems a strange one. In the second place Shipman was a believer in easing the divorce regulations of the church. It was charged that he had allowed the marriage of a divorced person to take place in his church and had brought in a Protestant minister to officiate since he could not, in obedience to the canons. do so. As is so often the case the facts where in dispute and depended in part on the attitude and action in the matter of Bishop Burch, who was dead and could not give his testimony. Thirdly, there was the matter of Mrs. Shipman. No serious charge could properly be made against her. She was a daughter of the "idle rich," in this case very rich. As the wife of one of her own kind she would not have attracted notice beyond the circle of her acquaintance. But as the wife of a clergyman, and now a prospective bishop, she was the object of comment which was probably neither very well-informed nor kind.

Confirmation of the election was long delayed and public statements, pro and con, were issued. Those who were fighting for confirmation

were determined to make Manning join actively with them. He took the advice of Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts and declined to add anything publicly to what he had said in welcome of Shipman at his election; though he indicated in a private letter his disapproval of Shipman's weak behaviour. The election was of course ultimately confirmed. Shipman resigned from the board of the *Chronicle*. Mrs. Shipman returned to obscurity. During the nine years that he was suffragan he continued in the love and enjoyment of those to whom he ministered. He collapsed and died at the door of his father-in-law's house on his return from a confirmation one Sunday morning in the spring of 1930.

The bishop experimented in the early years of his episcopate with the matter of organization of diocesan work, for the election of two suffragans did not settle all problems. In his convention address of 1922 he reports that archdeaconries are unnecessary, an executive council—patterned after the National Council set up by General Convention in 1919—would take their place as the central diocesan organization. In 1923 he told the convention that the committee setting up a council was not yet ready to report. This encouraged the egregious Dr. Cummins to light a grass fire in Dutchess county which the bishop had to go put out in June. His diary reports that

This meeting was necessary to set things right. At an informal and unauthorized meeting held a short time ago action was taken adopting a Constitution and By Laws and proceeding as though the Convocation were an independent organization, unrelated to the Bishop and the Diocese. This was done quite unintentionally and unconsciously, except on the part of the Chairman of the meeting who called it together. I explained quite clearly the nature of this action showing that it was unconstitutional, and impossible, for any Convocation so to proceed, or of itself to make any change in its organization. This statement was received in the best of spirit by all present. I outlined my plans for the Convocation in the autumn and the meeting adjourned.

In 1924 he told the convention that there was no need of a council but that the archdeaconries were to be revised and revived. No diocesan council was set up during his time. The supervision of each archdeaconry was in the hands of one or the other of the two suffragans. The bishop declined to divide the diocese into watertight compartments for visitations or oversight and made it clear that the canons did not allow this and that such division

would tend to lessen that sense of unity which is vital to a strong Diocesan life. It is my desire to keep in direct relation with the whole Diocese

and with every parish and mission in it, and periodically to visit personally every parish and mission.

During his twenty-five years he did visit almost every parish and mission once, but there were many he did not visit more than once. On the death of Bishop Shipman in 1930 the Revd. Charles Kendall Gilbert was elected to be the second suffragan; but after Bishop Lloyd's death in 1936 no second suffragan was again elected.

In a diocese as large as New York there are always a few troublesome clergy; and problems arise involving sometimes principles but more often only personalities. Bishop Manning had his full share during at least half of his episcopate. The first problem appeared even before his consecration in the person of his old schoolmate of Sewanee days, William Norman Guthrie. Guthrie often seemed as innocent of scruples as a child. He was concerned with publicity and had a special genius for it. He was Rector of Saint Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie, a church with a long and honourable history and a considerable endowment but with little or no local congregation in 1911, when he became rector, because of the character of the surrounding population. It happens that shortly after becoming rector he came to Newport to deliver a "University Extension" lecture and stayed the night in my father's rectory. After the lecture they sat until the middle of the night while Guthrie described the problem of his new parish, an ancient building, rich in tradition but impoverished in congregation. Only novel and experimental methods, with the utmost publicity, would revive it, he said. With his fascinating manner, half serious, half humorous, tense enthusiasm, and eager flow of words, he made it all sound vital and important; but after he had left the next day I heard my father remark to my mother that he wondered how long it would be before he would be in trouble with his bishop.

During the time of Bishop Greer there was of course no trouble. Guthrie's antics doubtless pained the bishop but aroused no comment or action on his part. Indeed he gave permission of a kind. It is fair to point out that one consequence of Bishop Greer's policy was to lessen the desired publicity. Guthrie's relations with Manning suggest that his boyhood contact gave him a special knowledge of how to induce the bishop to contribute to his purpose; certainly he had no hesitation in assuming, during his most outrageous behaviour, the privilege of a special intimacy based on the early days.

Things began a few days after Manning's election. The winter of 1921 was a time of business depression and there was much unemploy-

ment. Guthrie invited a number of homeless men to make their headquarters at Saint Mark's and concerned himself in trying to ameliorate their condition. One day in February Guthrie sent the men to march in a body-due notice having been given to the press-to one of the Trinity chapels, bearing a letter from Guthrie requesting lodging at the chapel for the men. Their arrival was entirely without warning; there were no facilities to make it possible to comply with the request; tickets to the Salvation Army Shelter were offered instead; and Guthrie had what was for him a sufficient excuse to attack, in letters and statements to the press, the selfish attitude of rich Trinity Parish, with the callous indifference of its rector who, now that he was to be bishop and responsible for building the cathedral, must be careful to act in accordance with the dictates of the rich whose money he was going to want. The Brooklyn Eagle was moved to publish a leading editorial on the matter rebuking Guthrie severely and expressing sympathy with the bishop-elect and confidence in his ability to deal fairly and courageously with the problems before him. Guthrie was quite unabashed. In April, shortly before Manning's consecration, Bishop Williams of Michigan preached in the cathedral in New York and raised a storm by making charges in the field of national politics which Manning felt it necessary to notice and disavow. Guthrie, in a long, chatty letter, couched in the intimate terms of old friends ("my dear Manning"), suggested that they discuss together the best way to handle the matter!

Guthrie's methods of attracting the so-called "unchurched" to Saint Mark's had as many ramifications as a first class mole-run. He prepared his own services, drawn from a variety of mysterious eastern and other sources, with readings from all kinds of religious texts other than the Bible; turbaned or veiled speakers; a parsee priest to burn fire before the altar and recite from his ritual, translated and assisted by Guthrie; incense burned on a specially imported eastern altar; liberal use of an enormous gong which Guthrie would strike at certain points in the proceedings with ecstatic enthusiasm. All this was substituted for the Book of Common Prayer. Bishop William Montgomery Brown, who had gone soft in the head and made such absurd theological statements that the House of Bishops, a body notoriously reluctant to take precipitate or extreme action, felt it necessary to present him for trial for heresy (he was later deposed from the ministry), was invited to state his side of the case in Saint Mark's in April, 1925, after his conviction and while awaiting the final decision of the House of Bishops. The bishop sent word to both the rector and Bishop Brown that the latter must not speak. The church was packed by those who came to

see the fun. Guthrie had a field day. The crowd was treated to a psychological analysis of the case by Theodore Schroeder; Bishop Brown was cheered and stood, smiling, bowing, blowing kisses, but silent; Guthrie hurled defiance at his bishop and wound up with the announcement that Bishop Brown would make his statement in the Community Church (where the authority of the Bishop of New York did not reach) on Wednesday.

But the most serviceable vehicle of publicity for week in and week out use was "eurythmic dancing" in the church. An announcement appeared that a talk on dancing was to be given in Saint Mark's by a dancer who was admired for her art rather than her morals. The bishop forbade the affair. Guthrie at once agreed; but, sensing that the weight of the objection lay in the character of the speaker, planned a series of dances by a group of young women of unimpeachable reputation, one of them being his own daughter. Guthrie proved quite impossible for Manning to restrain. He broke out in so many places. His letters were of tremendous length, always beside the point, but filled with self-confidence and pseudo-earnestness. In reply to one demand from the bishop for compliance on four specific matters of disobedience to the Prayer Book he wrote to ask for letters of introduction to the authorities of the Church of England as he and Mrs. Guthrie were going abroad for the summer to see what was being done to revive that venerable institution. In 1933 the vestry, hand-picked by Guthrie, became aware of the appalling state of affairs in the parish a considerable endowment was entirely dissipated during Guthrie's rectorship—and formally applied to the bishop to dissolve the pastoral relation. But Guthrie managed to wriggle out of it and did not finally resign until 1937.

The Revd. Percy Stickney Grant was Rector of the Church of the Ascension in lower Fifth Avenue, where he had been since the early nineties. He satisfied his craving for publicity by startling utterances in his pulpit, designed to give the impression that he was a very advanced thinker, prepared to restate the whole of the Christian Religion in terms acceptable to the modern, scientific mind and to jettison any part of the creed or gospel which did not meet the needs of the "educated classes." In fact he showed considerable ingenuity in making his statements in such form that it was not easy to be sure of his exact meaning, and whether he was quoting others or stating his own beliefs. He had made a particular point of catering to a certain element of society by advocating free and easy divorce; and he was willing to perform the marriages of divorced people other than innocent parties

in divorces for adultery, which was then the canonical provision. In the time of Bishop Greer he was caught in one very flagrant case, marrying two divorced people, neither being "innocent parties," and one whose divorce had been granted only nine days before. This was reported to the bishop, who was gravely concerned by the matter, but whose principles did not allow him to do more than plead with Grant to be more careful in the future.

In August, 1921, Grant announced publicly his engagement to a woman who had been twice divorced, both former husbands being living. Permission for the marriage was asked of the new bishop, Manning, and of course refused. For the next three years the romance provided most satisfying publicity but no marriage took place. In January, 1923, Grant preached a particularly obstreperous sermon in which he implied, but did not clearly state, that he did not believe in the divinity of Christ.

I am talking to an intelligent audience and I don't expect them to be shocked if I say that very few clergymen educated in the larger universities accept the idea that Jesus Christ has the power of God. When I say "larger universities" I mean places where science as well as classics and mathematics are taught.

An uproar in the papers ensued. The bishop sent for Grant and talked with him. Getting no satisfaction from that he sent him a public letter.

The impression which you have given to the Church and to the public is that you deny the miraculous elements of the Gospel and that you no longer believe the statement of the Christian Faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed. . . . I call upon you to correct unmistakably the impression which you have publicly given of your disbelief in our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour, or if it is not possible for you to do so, then to withdraw from the ministry of this Church.

Grant sent a long reply, prepared by others as he himself stated later, which appears to have been drawn up to provide as many opportunities as possible to go off into side issues in case a trial for heresy should take place, and to avoid giving any direct answer to the bishop's challenge. It was plain to the bishop and his advisors that it would be impossible to get Grant to make, or abide by, any clear statement; and that therefore a trial could serve no useful purpose. He sent Grant a second letter saying this.

You have, by your own utterances, caused grave doubt in the mind of the Church at large as to your belief in the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ. You have been given opportunity to remove this doubt, but you have not done so. You have made your reply to me in words which fail to make clear your belief in this essential truth. There, for the present, the matter rests.

Grant did not really represent the liberal school of thought in the church; personal publicity was his line. This is clearly indicated by two communications the bishop received. After the bishop's first letter to Grant, John Jay Chapman, himself a fearless and persistent crusader, wrote

... Your admirable public letter to Grant gets praise on all hands. It could not have been better. Well, a trial is forced on you: everyone sees this. The only thing is to have a trial so conducted as to keep your tone throughout—I mean the tone you have set—a sort of gentle, gentlemanly necessity of unfrocking Grant, and a confirming of the evidence to points of 1. the church statutes: 2. Dr. Grant's oath: 3. his change of faith as shown in his recent utterances,—which he will corroborate. There's your case.

No one must say a word about Grant's being a jackass,—which is what is really the matter with him. (That part must be kept a secret.) . . . I believe Grant himself is in a confused state of mind—drunk with notoriety.

And after the second letter Dr. Parks, of whose bona fide liberalism there can be no doubt, telegraphed

Permit me to express my admiration for your letter to Grant. You have shown wisdom and courage. The man craves publicity. You have taken the center of the stage. I am but one of many who rejoice.

The relationship between the bishop and his chancellor is nicely illustrated by Mr. Zabriskie's note of comment.

Suffer me to be so presumptuous as to say that your letter in reply to Dr. Grant entirely meets my approval. You have taken him up by the collar and shaken him and boxed his ears and turned him over your knees and spanked him and set him down hard on his bench with a warning to behave.

Manning's manner of dealing with Grant was eminently successful. Aside from the undesirability of it an ecclesiastical trial takes a long time. Grant's end came long before any trial could have been completed. The bishop's second letter was written in early February of 1923. In May, 1924, public announcement was made by Grant that his engagement to be married was at an end. In June, a few minutes after a meeting of the vestry, Grant left town, his resignation was announced, and he himself disappeared from the ecclesiastical scene. The

case was settled with what was probably the minimum of publicity and certainly the minimum of time.

One ludicrous feature of the case indicates its bizarre nature. The first of the two former husbands of Dr. Grant's temporary fiancee seems to have been an amiable, but confused, person. Though they had been separated for over twenty years he did what he could to smooth the way for her marriage to Grant, even writing the bishop in the matter. After Grant's departure from the Ascension this gentleman pursued the bishop with urgent, not to say insistent, appeals that the bishop make possible the marriage by releasing Grant from the obligations of the ministry and providing him a pension sufficient to support the lady in the style to which she had been accustomed! The bishop finally replied that "it is not possible for me to entertain the suggestions which you make."

But there are always liberals in the church, and the question arises from time to time as to the appropriate limits of the liberal's effort to restate the church's faith. People like Grant get their opportunity out of the tremendous ferment and contest between fundamentalism and liberalism, which in protestant bodies was concerned chiefly with the nature of biblical inspiration, and in the church with the significance of the Creed. In the period after the First World War tensions in these matters mounted. When the House of Bishops met in Dallas, Texas, in November, 1923, there was presented to it a memorial signed by a number of laymen asking that the bishops give reassurance to the church as to

the authority of the Creeds as the expression, for this present age, of the true Faith, and . . . the obligation upon all members of Christ's Church, clergy and laity, to believe and teach the Faith as therein set forth.

By a coincidence there was in the Diocese of Dallas at that time a clergyman about whom there was question as to whether he should be put on trial for statements from his pulpit which appeared to be inconsistent with the faith of the church.

The memorial was referred to a committee consisting of the Bishops of Fond du Lac, Weller; New York, Manning; North Carolina, Cheshire; Tennessee, Gailor (who was also president of the National Council); and Vermont, Hall. The report was a reasoned, but definite, statement that the Articles of the Creed are binding upon those who hold the church's ministry; but also that they are entirely consistent with sound modern thought. It followed the same line that Manning had taken in a sermon in September at the consecration of Dr. Free-

man as Bishop of Washington. The house adopted the report unanimously and directed it to be issued as a pastoral letter, which meant that it must be read to every congregation in the church.

Trouble inevitably followed. The serious liberals in the church made such an outcry that charlatans like Grant and Guthrie were crowded out of the headlines. Dr. Parks at Saint Bartholomew's seemed for the moment to have lost his head. He changed his surplice for a black gown, read the pastoral from the pulpit, and then denounced it to his congregation. The poor man realized that he had given some excuse for misinterpretation, for he wrote the bishop the next day asking him please to ignore the headlines in the newspapers and to judge the sermon by the actual text, which was being printed and would be forwarded to him. Dr. Parks was quite convinced that the pastoral letter was to be used as a justification for the immediate trial of the priest in the Diocese of Dallas, and probably others. He replied to a request from the bishop a few days later that he felt it would be impossible to raise any money for the nation wide campaign, the appeal for missionary funds, in Saint Bartholomew's because their energy and resources would have to be directed toward the defense and support of those tried for heresy, and toward solving the problems of large numbers of congregations and clergy which would now quite possibly find themselves outside the church.

Manning dealt with the matter in his usual way, immediate silence and delayed reply. He made no public comment on Parks' sermon. On the twentieth of December he issued a pastoral letter saying that the questions raised were

serious, and must be met faithfully, but as Bishop of the Diocese, I ask that controversial discussion . . . be suspended during the Christmas season, and that all of us, clergy and laity alike, give our thoughts to the message of Peace and Good Will and Brotherly Love which the Festival of our Saviour's Birth brings to us.

In February he preached in the cathedral, driving home the points of the orthodox position of the church, citing Bishop Henry Potter, Dr. William R. Huntington, and Bishop Phillips Brooks, and calling upon modern liberals to make the same professions of loyalty which they had made. He quoted a statement by twenty-seven Unitarian ministers who denounced those religious teachers

who play with words in the most solemn relations of life, who make their creeds mean what they were not originally intended to mean,

and pointed out that this was just what the Dallas pastoral said.

An effort was made, inaugurated by the Bishop of Rhode Island, Dr. Perry, and led by the Chancellor of the Diocese of New York, George Zabriskie, to arrange, by a meeting of a representative group of conservatives and liberals, a statement which would clear the air. It proved quite useless. The draft tentatively agreed on was so innocuous and so completely silent on the fundamental question of the church's creed that Manning declined to sign it. Without his signature it would have carried little weight. The result was that Manning's position was left without serious refutation. Liberal interpretation of the Creed must be within the limit of the loyal acceptance of that Creed. He stood ready to discipline or try any priest who would unmistakably go beyond this limit. But he would choose the ground for any trial. No trial was held either in the Diocese of New York or elsewhere, for no serious liberal means to take a position of disloyalty; and the lesser people were given a wholesome warning. Dr. Parks had intended to retire from Saint Bartholomew's in 1921, and did actually leave in April, 1925. There was no liberal of his stature after him in the diocese. Opposition to the bishop, such as it was, had rather the nature of personal jealousy and petty sniping.

Bishop Manning held a very different view of the cathedral from Bishop Greer. The cathedral as the bishop's church was to him one

Bishop Manning held a very different view of the cathedral from Bishop Greer. The cathedral as the bishop's church was to him one of the realities of his life and work, not just a formality. Its altar was his altar where he officiated not only on occasions of diocesan assembly but regularly and normally. Its pulpit was his pulpit, the place where he regularly preached and where he usually made his formal pronouncements to the diocese and to the community. It was his intention that the cathedral should demonstrate the bishop's norm for the diocese and that the services and the manner of performing them should be such as would win the loyal approval of reasonable people of all schools of churchmanship. This called at once for a return from the standard of Bishop Greer, who took the Parish Church of Saint Bartholomew as his model, to that of Bishop Potter, who wished the cathedral to be after the pattern of those of England. The new bishop bowed to the altar and wore white linen eucharistic vestments, as was his custom, to the astonishment of Dean Robbins. But he was discerning about appropriate occasions to introduce changes. When I became the precentor in 1927 I asked the bishop if I might follow his custom of wearing eucharistic vestments. The matter was brought before a staff meeting by the bishop and the bishop and dean, who by the statutes jointly establish the practice of the cathedral, directed that each priest who celebrated in the cathedral might wear either surplice

and stole or white linen vestments, except at the high altar at 11 o'clock on Sunday when surplice and stole were always to be worn. About a year after Dr. Gates became dean the exception about 11 o'clock was withdrawn and the dean himself began the use of vestments then. The permissive choice was never changed but was soon quietly forgotten; eucharistic vestments—but white linen—became the rule.2 The clergy of the cathedral staff began one by one to bow to the altar as the bishop did. The boys of the choir, who went to the cathedral for their school prayers each day as well as for cathedral services, soon followed suit, though without any definite instruction. About 1930 one of the men of the cathedral choir asked me to give instruction in the matter as the men were not sure what they were supposed to do. I asked the bishop's permission but was told it was not the proper time. A few months later a choir festival was held in the cathedral at which six or more large choirs of the city joined and at which the bishop was present. As the massed choir marched out at the end the first men to leave their places were from a parish where the practice of bowing to the altar was the rule. They turned formally and bowed, two by two, and were naturally followed by all the other men. The next day the bishop sent for me to say that the time had now come for formal directions to bow to the altar to be given to the choir. In 1927 a standard of ceremonial was drawn up. It was not greatly changed in later years except in one particular. Permission was given for the celebrant to genuflect once during the prayer of consecration—after the invocation. This became the cathedral rule though the bishop himself never followed it. An aumbry was given for Saint Martin's Chapel about 1936. The bishop directed that the sacrament be reserved occasionally; but this soon became continuous. Saint Martin's has been the chapel of the blessed sacrament ever since except during the few years of construction in the choir when a temporary altar and choir were placed in the nave. A chapel of the blessed sacrament was prepared in the easternmost bay of the nave on the north side. This is now the chapel where the bishop is buried.

The bishop had a prodigious memory as well as precise attention to detail. Each year in May there occurs a great service for the presentation of the children's lenten offering. Two thousand or more children come, and the capacity of the cathedral used to be taxed. Chairs from the chapels were brought out to fill up all available space. The

² It was Dr. Manning as Rector of Trinity who began the use of eucharistic vestments at the Chapel of the Intercession, where Dr. Gates was vicar, by wearing them when he celebrated at the first service in the chapel in 1914.

first year that I was at the cathedral the bishop sent for me a short while before the procession was to be formed to tell me that he had noticed the year before that no kneeling benches had been put before the front chairs and that the children had sat during the prayers and been embarrassed. He asked that this be avoided by providing proper kneelers. Another instance is even more striking. The parents of the Revd. Edward Rochie Hardy were members of the congregation of Saint Agnes' Chapel, and the child was born just after Dr. Manning had succeeded to the rectorship. The baptism took place before the appointment of the new vicar and was performed by the rector. For some reason none of the godparents could be present and proxies took their places. In the register all six names were entered. In time the baptismal certificate was lost. Nearly a score of years later, when it was needed in connection with Dr. Hardy's application for admission as a postulant for holy orders, a new one was prepared on which a secretary copied from the register by chance the names of the three proxies only. The certificate was taken to Dr. Manning, now the bishop, for his signature. He glanced at it and remarked before signing that the names were those of the proxies, not the actual godparents.

The bishop wore cope and mitre wherever he was expected or requested to do so but never in the cathedral until toward the very end of his time, when he did on one or two occasions. He said that he

The bishop wore cope and mitre wherever he was expected or requested to do so but never in the cathedral until toward the very end of his time, when he did on one or two occasions. He said that he knew it was right to do, and that the time would soon come when it would be the usual custom of the Bishop of New York in his cathedral and elsewhere, but that he preferred to respect what he believed to be the feelings of many staunch lay people in the diocese who gave him loyal and effective support in upholding the church's teachings, sometimes against the attacks of their own rectors, even though such people would never make any protest or cause embarrassment. After he received his degree from King's College, Nova Scotia, where the academic dress is the same as at Oxford, he often wore a scarlet chimere, a practice still unusual in this country in his time.

The bishop celebrated on Sundays at 8 o'clock in the cathedral when the location of his morning visitation allowed time. This was irregular but fairly frequent. He intended to preach in the cathedral at 11 o'clock on the first Sunday in the month but this proved impossible more often than not. Evensong on Sunday at 4 was the usual time for special services at the cathedral. These occurred quite frequently and usually involved the bishop's presence though not often to preach. Evening services or meetings there were comparatively rare. At the services arranged for civic groups or to mark special occasions

the bishop more often than not invited a protestant minister to give the address. One of the great occasions every year was the service for nurses on a Sunday night in May near Florence Nightingale's birthday, when the cathedral was filled with nurses in uniform from the hospitals of the city. One year a nurse wrote the bishop to tell him how much she always appreciated the service, especially the wide choice of preachers, and to suggest the possibility of asking Fr. Ford, pastor of Corpus Christi Church, and chaplain for Roman Catholics at Columbia University. The bishop knew that this was impossible but sent me to Fr. Ford, formally but privately, to invite him. The latter explained courteously that he had no discretion in the matter and could not be given permission; and the bishop was able to answer his correspondent that her suggestion had been acted upon.

The bishop gave careful attention, and expressed himself freely to the dean, on the choice of preachers, especially the special preacher chosen each summer for the period of the summer school at Columbia when a very large number of visitors came to the cathedral. He served as summer preacher himself in 1942, the first year of our participation in World War II. He carried on for a time the practice of special lenten instructions which he had used at Trinity. In 1922 and 1923 these were given at the cathedral. They were given in 1926 at Saint Thomas Church, and one year in the '30s at Saint Bartholomew's. In 1931 he sent a copy of a book by Bishop Walter Carey, Evolution and Redemption, to each of his clergy, and to the members of the Church Club, just before Lent. In May, 1937, he sent to all the clergy, and to some of the leading lay people, of the diocese, a book, Our Faith in God, by the Dean of Saint Paul's, London, In 1928 he inaugurated a conference for the clergy in the early autumn. This was held first at Lake Mahopac and later at West Point, continuing from one noon to the next. The bishop himself always arranged the list of speakers and presided. Each year he records in his diary that the conference has been productive of good feeling and loyalty among the clergy.

Bishop Manning had bad luck with his deans. There were three of these during his episcopate. Dean Robbins, who was appointed by Bishop Greer, became his implacable enemy. Dean Gates, who served for almost nine years until his death in November, 1939, was past the peak of his vitality when he was appointed, and an invalid for more than two years at the end. Dean De Wolfe served for only a little over a year and a half before his election as Bishop of Long Island. It was charged against Manning that he kept affairs in his own hands so much that those who served him felt hampered and discouraged and

so unable to give him full loyalty. Dr. Zabriskie, in his life of Bishop Lloyd, makes the charge quite specifically. My own experience of fourteen years at the cathedral does not bear this out. In all matters concerning the choir school, of which I was head; and in cathedral affairs, where I was precentor and master of ceremonies, and at times in charge because of Dean Gates' incapacity, I felt always the bishop's complete confidence; his willingness to hear any criticism or suggestion in the formation of policies; and freedom to choose the manner of carrying out the details of these policies. Mistakes were noted frankly and promptly (and without fail!) but without rancour or recrimination. The truth is that the bishop was ill-served, and obliged against his wish to interfere so that the cathedral should function.

Howard Chandler Robbins had been appointed to the cathedral by Bishop Greer in 1917 from the rectorship of the Incarnation where he had succeeded William Mercer Grosvenor, the first dean of the cathedral. He was a person of great charm, with youthful enthusiasm and warm affection. His preaching was popular, but diverting rather than converting. He was a witty after dinner speaker and could make an interesting and appropriate talk on almost any subject on short notice. He obviously enjoyed preaching and lecturing and did them well. He had a fine voice and sang the service beautifully but would do so only rarely. I worked under him during his last two years as dean and discovered beneath the childlike innocence and charm seen by the public, the nature of a spoiled child. He liked flattery, was changeable and arbitrary, and expected a loyalty he had neither power nor patience to win. He was not interested in the organization of the cathedral's life apart from the preaching and quite incapable of applying himself to detail. The cathedral never had a sufficient income for running expenses until after Manning's time and was constantly in debt. At the trustees meeting in January, 1921, just after Manning's election as bishop, Robbins reported a plan for clearing a deficit of \$50,000 for running expenses, and to obviate future deficits, by raising a million dollars for endowment by

subscriptions from 40,000 of the 95,000 communicants of the diocese of New York, in sums ranging from a few cents given by Sunday School children up to one or several shares of \$250.00 from those able to contribute in such amounts.

But nothing came of it. Later he was head of a committee to raise funds to build the chapter house of the cathedral as a memorial to Bishop Greer. An insignificant amount was raised and the project was forgotten. His usual schedule was to be present at the cathedral on Sunday; to celebrate and say mattins Monday morning, and evensong Saturday afternoon; and during the rest of the week to retire to his house across the Hudson at Sneden's Landing. For bishop and cathedral staff the dean's absence created a bottleneck in the proper flow of the cathedral's life. Robbins was also possessed by the demon of jealousy and was convinced that first one and then another of his subordinates was attempting to usurp his authority.

In the spring of 1924 he went to England as an exchange preacher. On the trip over signs of a nervous or mental breakdown appeared one of the doctors later called it an anxiety neurosis—but not serious enough to prevent his keeping his preaching engagements. On his return he was incapable of assuming any responsibility or work and began the tedious and lengthy process of treatment which mental illness requires. He very soon sent his resignation of the deanery to the bishop. For the latter the situation was difficult. The great drive for the cathedral building fund was planned for the winter of 1924-25 and it was essential that the cathedral should be functioning at its best. The bishop needed the assistance in the campaign which only the dean could give. In spite of this he declined even to consider the resignation. He was convinced that an important element, if not the most important, in the process of recovery of normal poise and activity, is the realization that one's work and presence are needed and that there is a real job to come back to. While it was almost impossible for the dean to compose or write a letter the resignation was several times repeated. Trustees of the cathedral became aware of his desire to resign and urged that the bishop present the matter for action. They insisted that the cathedral was suffering unduly. Canon Prichard, Rector of Saint Mark's, Mt. Kisco, was acting dean and doing heroic work managing two places during the height of the drive. But it was impossible to continue in this manner. The bishop knew that the man's life came first and resolutely resisted the mounting pressure to abandon the sick dean. Finally, late in the summer of 1925, after more than a year of absence, with another letter of resignation came word from Mrs. Robbins that the doctors felt that the knowledge that he was still dean was hampering his recovery, which they expected was going to be delayed for many months. The bishop felt that it would be wrong to let him go but also that he could not properly reject the doctors' judgement. Using a formula which he often found handy he replied to Mrs. Robbins that he was soon to go to General Convention and could not deal with so important a matter

in the interval, but would take it up on his return. When he got back from New Orleans he found the dean at the cathedral, "clothed and in his right mind," and functioning as usual! Both the dean and Mrs. Robbins were clear in their expression to the bishop that he had saved the dean's very life.

The dean could not however bring himself to be active in the daily life of the cathedral or assume any real responsibility except in the important matter of the preaching. The bishop expected of him an attention to detail which was beyond his power to give. The situation grew increasingly irksome. Finally at Christmas time in 1928 he quite lost his head and offered his resignation ostensibly on the grounds that the bishop was interfering with his "rights and privileges." The letter of resignation was made public at once by the dean, or his friends. It was, like its writer, naive.

More than a year ago I came to the conclusion that I ought to devote myself, as soon as conditions are favorable, to preaching, literary work in the field of religion, and its personal ministrations,

His reason for resigning was that he wanted to do other things. The charge of interference was the excuse to make as much trouble as possible. The bishop made this clear in his acknowledgement of the resignation, which was not published.

We shall all regret very greatly losing you from the staff of the Cathedral where you have served as Dean for eleven years, seven of which have been during my administration. My own feeling towards you has been one of warm regard and affection and will continue to be so. In view however of your conclusion reached more than a year ago that you ought to devote yourself to preaching and literary work in the field of religion, a very natural conclusion for one endowed with your special gifts, and in view also of the immensely inceased demands which must be made upon the Dean of the Cathedral for executive and administrative work in connection with the opening and the plans for the use of the new portions of the building, I feel no doubt that the decision which you have reached is a right one, but it is my earnest hope that it may be arranged for you to continue your work as one of our stated and specially appointed preachers. This would continue your relationship with the Cathedral which has been so deeply valued, and would give great happiness to all of us, and I trust it may fit in with your desire, expressed in your letter, to devote yourself to preaching and literary work.

A storm arose. The dean's friends and the small group determined in any and every way to damage the bishop joined to make a great issue out of the resolution of a hopeless maladjustment which the bishop had been obliged patiently to tolerate for seven years. The cry was raised that the bishop was suppressing the liberals and playing the dictator. The resignation was accepted at a meeting of the trustees late in January, the delay and the bishop's silence when attacked being this time due to his illness. He came down with influenza shortly after Christmas and was very ill, lying at death's door for several days. Some of the trustees were troubled over the harm to be done to the cathedral and the life of the diocese by the dean's aggrieved feeling. All but the blindly partisan came fairly soon to realize that the bishop's position was right and inevitable and that Robbins' intemperate behaviour was due to his mental condition, which required medical care at recurring intervals the rest of his life, Robbins' successor at the Incarnation, Percy Silver, was one who supported him staunchly and who believed the bishop to be in the wrong. I have indicated earlier³ that he came to see things differently two years later. In 1932 a curious illustration of Robbins' attitude came to light. The bishop records in his diary in June of that year,

Much comment has been caused by the Will of a Miss Laura Shannon who wrote a codicil directing that, in case I should outlive her, her bequests amounting to \$937,500. should go to St. Luke's Hospital instead of the Cathedral. These bequests are in the form of Trust Funds left to various people for their lifetime and the largest of these Trust Funds amounting to \$350,000.00 goes to the Revd. Dr. H. C. Robbins and his wife. I did not know Miss Shannon and had never heard of her until this Will was made public. She seems to have been known by no one at the Cathedral except Dr. and Mrs. Robbins. It is a very interesting fact that the codicil diverting these bequests from the Cathedral was written in June, 1927, a year and a half before Dr. Robbins' resignation as Dean which was presented on December 27th, 1928. A strange incident indeed. I am receiving many letters and messages about it, but the less said about it the better.

The bishop delayed the nomination of a successor to Robbins until the autumn and then named Milo Hudson Gates. It was a shrewd choice from the point of view of the election. Gates was popular with Robbins' supporters and the "opposition" generally. He was an intimate crony of Silver. And he had been for years a devoted friend of Manning. As Assistant Rector at Trinity, Manning had helped Gates bring the Church of the Intercession into Trinity Parish as one of its chapels. He had supported Gates in the building of the magnificent new church, parish house, and vicarage in Trinity cemetery, and they

³ See p. 14.

had been on the closest terms. Gates was one of Manning's attending presbyters at his consecration. His election was unanimous.

Gates took great interest in all the details of the daily life of the cathedral. He lived entirely at the deanery and was in constant attendance at the services. He was specially qualified to concern himself with the tremendous work of construction. He was also a popular preacher, though a different kind from Robbins. He had been a greatly beloved pastor at the Intercession and it disappointed him that there was no parochial life at the cathedral. But it soon became apparent that he was only a shadow of his former self. Part of the reason for this lay in the devoted care and constant attention which he had given to his wife during most of their married life. "Pussy" was an invalid, partly paralyzed, amusing and gay, but unreasonable and difficult. Gates had refused election to the Missionary Bishopric of Cuba because he realized that the life would be too strenuous for her. They were a very happy couple, but her incapacity made her quite dependent upon him and required a very large amount of his time and energy. No one had suspected that his years at the Intercession had worn him out but the change seemed to bring out the fact. He did not have the necessary energy to undertake a new work, quite different from what he had been doing. He suffered a serious paralytic stroke in the spring of 1937 and it was apparent that he had been failing for some time before that. With iron determination, but not discretion, he continued in office for another two years and a half until his death. The warm sympathy and cordial understanding of the Trinity days continued between dean and bishop unabated at the cathedral but the bishop was obliged to give much time to the oversight of cathedral affairs. He did not approve of this nor want to do it. The alternative however would have been a neglect and decay in the cathedral's life which would have caused great harm.

The bishop took great pride in his relationship with the negro members of his flock. The incident at Nashville⁴ indicates the manner of his approach. In 1923 he said to the convention

You may perhaps know that the Bishop of this Diocese has under his spiritual charge more people of the colored race than any other bishop of this Church, north or south.

He used to recall that the first child he baptized was a negro, his first confirmation class was one of negroes, and the first church he consecrated as bishop was for a negro congregation. His policy with

⁴ See p. 40.

regard to the negro work of the diocese reflected his wisdom, vision, and courage. Harlem, the great area to the northeast of the heights on which the cathedral stands, was already well developed as a negro "city" when he became bishop. The problems of Harlem are manifold. Integrated parishes were still for the distant future, though many parishes had negro parishioners. Only one notorious case of exclusion of negroes occurred in his time and that quickly failed. Some timid people at the cathedral wondered from time to time whether the congregation there might become negro; but the bishop never gave the matter a thought and allowed things to develop as they might. The most notable thing about his policy was his insistence that fine sites be procured for the negro churches where the work would have dignity and independence. In Lenox Avenue, at 122 Street, in the days when Harlem was white there stood the large, ornate, ugly-and fashionable—Church of the Holy Trinity. In 1925 the problem of the future of the parish was providentially solved by a fire which gutted the building. Holy Trinity promptly moved to the north end of Manhattan Island, announcing that the walls of the old building were unsafe. The blackened remains stood thus for a few years, when further examination pronounced them sound and Bishop Manning insisted, over timorous objections by some diocesan officials, that arrangements be made to turn over the property to Saint Martin's Chapel, then a negro mission under the City Mission Society. The property was rehabilitated and Holy Trinity became Saint Martin's Parish Church, commodious, dignified—and less ugly!—quite on a par with the best churches of the city.

In Saint Nicholas Avenue, at 114 Street, was All Souls' Church, smaller but also with an aristocratic white tradition. In 1929 the Revd. Rollin Dodd became rector and began to give a more cordial welcome to the negroes of the neighbourhood than seemed wise to some of the vestry. In the struggle which ensued a majority of the vestry, in an effort to maintain white supremacy and to induce the rector to leave, finally closed the church "for repairs" and filled it with scaffolding. On a Sunday morning in October, 1932, the bishop came down from the cathedral, ordered a locksmith to break the lock on the gate before the church door, and marched in with the rector and a large congregation of negroes to hold service and to preach, pointing out that the vestry had no authority to deny the rector free use of the church and that the bishop stood squarely behind the rector in his determination to minister to all who would come to All Souls'. The opposition soon collapsed. Fr. Dodd remained the greatly beloved white pastor of a predominantly black congregation until his retirement in 1950. In 1936 the bishop gave assistance to the Church of Saint Ambrose, which for ten years had been using a rented hall, to purchase a large stone church building at Fifth Avenue and 130 Street from the Presbyterians. This negro congregation had never had financial assistance from the diocese and assumed itself the responsibility of the mortgage on its new building. These are only the more dramatic illustrations of Manning's continuing policy, pursued without much fanfare, to nourish the negroes of his flock in conditions which would provide them with independence, opportunity, and self-respect.

Bishop Manning was a stern disciplinarian. He was always very clear as to the limits of the church's law but within those limits he was quite inflexible about what he knew it was necessary to do. The sternness was well known to the public. The deep hurt sometimes to his own sensitive nature was not known because it was concealed. The following quotation from his diary in the third year of his episcopate illustrates his private feeling.

Mrs. . . . came from Bar Harbor to see me this morning as to the ruling which I have been obliged to make that she may not go to the Holy Communion, which she feels deeply. It is a terrible responsibility to have to give such a decision but the facts in this case seem quite clear, and the Church must be true to her principles. The ever increasing tide of divorces among us, and the increasing shamelessness of them is appalling. Mrs. ..., who had threatened to take her four children to the Presbyterian Church, told me she could not be satisfied to do this and asked if she might take them to the services of the Church, and attend with them. I told her there had never been any ruling against this but that it was her duty to take them to the services and bring them up in the Church, and give them every help possible, but that she and [her husband] could not lawfully receive the Holy Communion. She then asked if this would continue necessarily until death, if her reinstatement might not be possible in course of time if she accepted the present discipline. I told her very definitely that I could make no promise as to this, that the question of reinstatement in the future would have to be considered on its merits, in view of the facts and the situation at that time and that the moral effect of such reinstatement upon the life of the Church would always have to be fully taken into account by the Bishop. After a long talk she left seeing the position of the Church in the matter more clearly, and in a better frame of mind than after our former interview some months ago. The case is a most sad and flagrant one.

I was called one day with one or two other priests on the cathedral staff to the bishop's office to act as witnesses of a quasi-judicial proceeding. The rector of a country parish had become involved in gross

moral misconduct. The matter had been brought to the bishop's attention by the civil authorities in an effort to avoid publicity so far as possible. A state policeman was present, ready to arrest the man, but with instructions not to do so if the priest would resign and leave the community at once. The bishop outlined the case fully to the accused. He explained the overwhelming nature of the evidence against him and the wisdom, both for his people and for himself, of not bringing it out in public. He pointed out that he had every right to a trial and the advice of a lawyer if he wished, but urged him to sign the letter of resignation and renunciation of the ministry which the bishop had prepared. The poor man twisted and turned for an hour, attempting to deny everything, pleading for delay. The bishop answered every point and remained adamant in the position that a final conclusion was now to be reached one way or another. Of course the firmness and the facts prevailed; the wretch signed the letter and left; we were dismissed. A few moments later the bishop left his office, white and shaken, and was not able to return to work there for several days.

On the other hand the bishop had an unerring instinct as to what action was really to the advantage of the church and when to leave things alone. At the time of the publication of the 1928 revision of The Book of Common Prayer members of the catholic party, led by the Bishop of Milwaukee, decided to issue a missal which would contain in convenient form supplementary material used in many parishes—music, propers (the psalm verses for introit, gradual, offertory, communion), provision for a large number of saint's days and festivals not in the prayer book calendar. Supplements to The Book of Common Prayer, representing all schools of churchmanship, are numerous and widely used. Each has its enthusiastic supporters, also those who regard it of questionable value or downright disloyal. The "American Missal" had on the fly leaf a certificate from the custodian of The Book of Common Prayer that the material taken from that book conformed to the standard book. It was an error in judgment for the publishers to have asked, and for the custodian to have given, this certificate. But the error offered an irresistible opportunity for baiting catholics, and in New York for attempting to embarrass the bishop by citing the excesses of members of his own party. Various comments and resolutions were planned for the Diocesan Convention in 1931. The bishop made the following statement early in the proceedings and was thus able to block further discussion.

The publication of an unauthorized service book for use in our churches, bearing the title of "The American Missal," having come to my knowledge, I find it my duty as the ecclesiastical authority of the diocese to give public notice, as I do hereby, in accordance with the provisions of Canon 46 of the General Convention, that the said book is not of authority in this Church and that it is not authorized for use in this Diocese.⁵

The bishop tried always to continue the "chores" of the priestly office in the midst of diocesan administration. Saint Luke's Hospital is across the street from the cathedral and here he was able regularly to make sick calls since church people, and especially the clergy, were to be found there. Saturday afternoon was very often given to sick calls.

In addition to the encouragement of new churches the bishop has the difficult but inevitable responsibility, particularly in a city like New York, of deciding when to give consent to the amalgamation or closing of churches. Generally speaking Bishop Manning resisted suggestions that parishes be amalgamated. He always kept in mind that while populations shift away they also shift back again. The Church of the Ascension by the end of Grant's rectorship had come to be in a largely nonresidential area in lower Fifth Avenue. Ten years later it was in the midst of teeming apartments and reconverted dwellings. The unhappy memories of Saint John's Chapel may have influenced him to shrink from facing the closing of a church. His firm resistance to the judgement of rector and vestry had a good result in the case of the Church of the Epiphany. This was in Lexington Avenue in the thirties when he became bishop. The population had flowed away from the church; the rector, the Revd. William T. Crocker, grew old; and the life of the parish was at a low ebb. Twice the vestry came to the bishop for his consent to the closing of the church and the amalgamation of the parish with another. Twice the bishop refused. Then came the proposal to move the parish itself to a new location more than two miles to the north, on York Avenue. To this the bishop agreed. The site chosen was in a growing residential area with no church very near. The bishop made a large personal contribution to the building fund. A handsome church was designed and built and the parish flourished.6

 $^{^{5}\,\}mathrm{An}$ instance of his withholding a rebuke with good effect is given on p. 165.

⁶ See Charles Howland Russell, *The Church of the Epiphany*, 1833-1958 (Morehouse-Gorham, 1956).

CHAPTER NINE

BUILDING THE CATHEDRAL



HERE were people who felt strongly, not to say violently, that Bishop Manning used up too much time and energy in building his cathedral; and there were also people who were filled with awe and gratitude at the ability with which he laboured and at the success he achieved. But there was general agreement that the Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine was Bishop Manning's cathedral, not just because it was the cathedral of the diocese of which he was bishop but because in a special sense he made it his own creation, the product of his devotion and zeal and determination. Paradoxically before he became bishop he showed almost complete lack of concern for that with which he was to become so closely identified. Bishop Manning did not make the cathedral in the sense of founding it. He did not really take up the cathedral when he became bishop; it was rather laid upon him.

Bishop Horatio Potter is buried behind the high altar of the cathedral in the place usually assigned to the founder. But he neither originated the idea of a cathedral for the city and Diocese of New York nor did he see so much as one stone laid upon another for its construction. Philip Hone, the diarist, and mayor of the city, records that Bishop Hobart in 1828 came to his house to discuss the matter of a cathedral "in confidence"; and he adds, it "strikes my mind favourably." The first step was the securing of a charter and the forming of a corporation. But this did not take place for over forty-five years after Bishop Hobart's talk with Hone. Bishop Horatio Potter spoke publicly of the matter in his convention address in 1872. The moving spirit behind the proposal was Stephen Payne Nash who, the follow-

ing year, secured passage, not without considerable opposition, of a charter by the state legislature. The cathedral thus came into being as a legal entity but no more. The trustees named in the charter began to die off and in 1886 a meeting was held in the bedroom of the dying bishop to fill up the number of trustees and so to forestall the demise of the corporation. Bishop Horatio was succeeded in 1887 by his nephew, Bishop Henry Codman Potter. The site of the cathedral was purchased the same year and a competition for a design was instituted. No less than sixty architects submitted plans and by July, 1891, that of Heins and La Farge was finally chosen. The cornerstone was laid on the feast of Saint John the Evangelist, 1892, and the building of the cathedral was really under way.

Cathedrals are for the most part built slowly and the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine is of vast size. The change of design which took place in 1911, when Cram was substituted for La Farge as architect, did not materially alter the quantity of construction to be done. The pace of construction which in reality is always the pace of money raising, before Bishop Manning's episcopate, was normal as cathedrals go. Biship Henry Codman Potter gave aggressive and energetic leadership to the work. The granite cores of the great arches began to rise on Morningside Heights. But the first major unit was not ready until the time of Bishop Greer. In 1911 the choir and crossing (the latter in reality only a temporarily enclosed space) were consecrated and used for worship until 1939 when services began to be held in the nave. Bishop Greer was not enthusiastic about cathedral building. He was far more interested in the Bronx Church House. But even with the bishop's coolness and the interruption of the First World War, building progressed, the foundation of the nave being completed up to the floor level.

On 27 April, 1920, the Board of Trustees passed a resolution calling for proceeding with work on the nave

to the extent of not less than five hundred thousand dollars a year, provided such sum be in hand.

The resolution has a certain note of grim determination about it. The twenty-eight years since the laying of the cornerstone had seen real progress in the work. But in proportion to what remained to be done this was not notable. Cram's new, evolving, design was arousing enthusiasm. Americans are inclined to be hasty. People must not be allowed to say we cannot or do not finish what we start. Let there be no more delay.

It is interesting to note that Manning had nothing to do with the passage of this resolution. He was not present at the meeting and had not attended a meeting of the board during the preceding twelve months. Indeed it might be said that his indifference to the cathedral was apparently greater than that of Bishop Greer. It seemed almost complete. In 1905 when he was at Saint Agnes, Canon George William Douglas, who was directing cathedral affairs under Bishop Potter (there was no dean until 1911), invited Manning cordially and insistently to accept a canonry. This would not have involved transfer to the cathedral but only responsibility for certain preaching. Manning declined. When he became Rector of Trinity he was elected a trustee but rarely attended the monthly meetings. In the six years before he was elected bishop he was present at six meetings, three of these being in the spring of 1919 when plans were perhaps being made for the erection of the founder's tomb. Manning had proposed this and served as chairman of the committee. Aside from the matter of the founder's tomb the only apparent indication of his interest in cathedrals may be seen in his being invited to preach at the Washington Cathedral in 1912 at evensong on the day of the consecration of the Bethlehem Chapel, the first place of worship of that cathedral. His sermon was a fine portrayal of the cathedral as a part of the sacramental system which is the extension of the incarnation, in his wellknown clear and didactic manner. But it is doubtful whether he was asked to preach because of his interest in cathedrals or because of his general position in the church and the great respect with which his preaching was always heard. Certainly the trustees who voted for their resolution in 1920 were not looking at the man who was to carry it out. He was not present and they were not accustomed to having him present. Bishop Burch had just become Bishop of New York and no one that day foresaw his death and the election of the absent trustee to succeed him in the course of another nine months.

The crusade of building the cathedral did not originate in the mind of Manning and its inauguration did not have his support. He reported in his first convention address as bishop, in 1921, that he had fully shared the misgivings of many as to the original design for the cathedral, "but these latest plans have removed all my uncertainties." Now that he was bishop he gave earnest thought as to what he must do about the resolution. It would certainly be easier to let it go the way of many noble and impractical dreams and forget it. He has left his own account of his approach to the project.

As I contemplated the task of arousing the necessary interest in the Cathedral undertaking and of obtaining the great sums of money needed, it seemed to me an almost overwhelming one. I knew that in the nature of the case most of the large gifts must be obtained by the personal solicitation of the Bishop, whoever he might be. I knew that this would demand a vast amount of time and energy which I should have liked to devote to other matters and that I must arrange to give this time and effort without neglecting the normal and spiritual work of the Diocese, and that the money must be raised without lessening the gifts for the support of the large Missionary work and other work of the Diocese.

Both in the Diocese and the Community there was general apathy in regard to the Cathedral Project. There was in fact opposition to active renewal of the effort in some quarters where there should have been strong support for it. The Rector of one of the largest and wealthiest parishes in the city requested that none of the members of his parish should be asked for gifts toward the building, a request which of course could not be complied with.1 There were some leading citizens who felt, and said, that in this day and land a Cathedral is an anachronism, that it had its place in the middle ages and in the old world but would serve no useful purpose here, though no one would today make this statement in view of the place which the Cathedral holds in the life of the Diocese and of the Community. It was evident that if the effort was to succeed there must be a great campaign of education to arouse general interest in the undertaking and to make clear what the Cathedral should mean to the Diocese, to the City of New York, and to the whole Cause of Religion. With this in view the firm of Tamblyn and Brown was engaged-not to do the actual work of soliciting gifts-but to organize the campaign, to give their advice and suggestions as to plans and methods, and to do the vast amount of clerical work required. The part taken by Tamblyn and Brown in the undertaking was invaluable and indispensable and the results obtained would not have been possible without such help.

The bishop made a private promise to himself that if he were able to raise a million dollars he would count his effort worth while. That was in 1921. In April, 1925, when he telegraphed to Elihu Root, who was one of his warmest supporters in the campaign and chairman of

¹ The rector in question sought to give weight to his request by having his two wardens sign his letter with him but his thunder was rather stolen by the fact that one of the two wardens had accepted quite cordially, less than two weeks before, the bishop's request to serve on the great Citizen's Committee under Elihu Root. This was in 1923. In 1925 the same rector endeavoured unsuccessfully to persuade the convention to pass a resolution calling a halt on further raising of funds for the cathedral. And in 1929, when his term of office as a trustee was due for renewal, the bishop in his address called for the election of trustees who would support the cathedral. The suggestion of a purge failed however for he was renominated by the convention.

the Citizen's Committee, that the fund had reached ten millions Root wrote back, "It is a cheerful thing to remember our discussions a year or so ago about what could be done with a three million fund." In the end he raised over thirteen million dollars for construction alone, or rather more than the half million a year which the trustees' resolution had hopefully contemplated. This figure does not include what was raised for endowment nor bequests inspired by his leadership which came to the cathedral after his time.

The work of organizing a campaign was a lengthy one and the new bishop's time was taken up with many other matters which he regarded as important and to which he devoted his tremendous energy. But it did proceed. There were long discussions with Tamblyn and Brown and an elaborate plan and agreement worked out. It was eighteen months before the first meeting of the executive committee for the campaign was held and the intensive public drive did not begin until four years after Manning's election. But in the meantime he had done valiant work in personal appeals for gifts, both large and small. Mr. Frank Munsey, owner of the New York Sun, made a very helpful gift at the outset though the bishop had been told he was not a likely prospect. He agreed to be the first of ten to give a hundred thousand dollars each. The other nine were secured within three months and the bishop was past the mark he had originally set for himself. But he was moving so fast by this time that it is to be doubted whether he noticed it.

He wrote letters, sent literature, made calls, referred to the gifts of others, used an infinite variety of means to appeal to possible donors. One device he consistently followed was to reply at once to any letter which expressed lack of interest or gave a refusal. The reply almost ignored the refusal and continued to stress points which might be of interest to the individual concerned. It often worked. One trustee who had been newly elected to the board insisted on resigning when he discovered that there was to be a drive since he disapproved of that method of building. He was the son of an ardent admirer of Manning but the bishop could not dissuade him. Nothing daunted the bishop wrote him,

I regret that this is your decision in the matter. This great undertaking to which the Diocese of New York has been committed for fifty years is a responsibility that has been laid upon us, and an unequalled opportunity to increase and strengthen the influence of the Church. In my judgment the name of your family should be identified, as so many of the old families will be, with the building.

A few years later the bishop's judgement prevailed and he and his family contributed most generously.

Another couple, who made a modest contribution (scarcely a tenth of what the bishop had been led to expect) to the building fund in the early days, gave thought to the matter in the succeeding years. They had no further direct contact with the bishop but nevertheless willed their residuary estate, amounting to a thousand times the original gift, to the endowment fund. Word of this notable fruit of the seed he had sown was given by the bishop in his final convention address. The income from this bequest now forms the principal financial support of the cathedral's work.

Two matters of policy helped to reduce the worries which must always accompany so vast an undertaking. It had been the rule from the beginning that no debt would be incurred for construction. To this rule the bishop gave strict adherence. All contracts with the builders were so arranged that work could be halted at any time. Construction proceeded as money was in hand. During the later years of his episcopate progress at times slowed down almost to a standstill but it was never stopped completely. Also the bishop made it a rule to avoid suggesting that gifts to the building fund be made in the form of visible memorials, except for very large units. There has sometimes been great embarrassment where individuals have given special memorial details in a great building and the general fund is not able to build the necessary structure of which the memorials are only parts. There are comparatively few individual memorials in the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine. The bishop tried always to suggest that gifts, large or small, be made simply to the building fund and in this he was eminently successful.

One of the notable gifts was the baptistry, given by the members of the Stuyvesant family. A figure of their famous ancestor, Peter, with his wooden leg, stands in one of the niches. Peter is buried in the church yard of Saint Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie and that parish was being kept in the public notice at the time by the ingenious but unedifying antics of the rector, William Norman Guthrie, the bishop's friend of Sewanee days. The Stuyvesants were highly incensed at the goings on in the parish church with which the family had been associated for so long and grateful to the bishop for his stiff disapproval. They became his warm admirers and supported the cathedral campaign by providing this magnificent structure, the first unit of the Cram design to be completed.

The largest single gift for construction in Manning's time came

from a Unitarian, George F. Baker. The bishop so impressed him with the grandeur of the ideal of the cathedral that he agreed to give the northwest tower. A serious embarrassment arose in the matter. The bishop was given by his advisors the fgure of nine hundred thousand dollars as the probable cost of the tower and this was the amount that Mr. Baker understood. Later the firm figures from the builder came in, based on the detail drawings; these figures were almost double. In the meantime Mr. Baker had died. The bishop had to take up the matter with his son, who very kindly agreed to an additional amount. But a million dollars did not complete the tower and it could be carried up only to the level of the floor of the bell ringers' chamber.

Another difficutly over the difference between estimates and actual costs was more happily settled. Mr. William Woodward agreed to give the great rose window in the west front in memory of his parents. As the work approached completion it was reported that the expenditure would be considerably over the original figure. Mr. Woodward was abroad at the time watching his race horse, Gallant Fox, whose name is known to all followers of the turf. Gallant Fox had a very notable season, winning most of his races. His success gave joy to his owner and afforded comfort to the bishop, for it furnished the latter a suitable topic of pleasant conversation when he called on Mr. Woodward after his return to give him the bad news. It is reported that Mr. Woodward swore but acknowledged handsomely that it was no time to haggle over financial figures, even large ones.

When the bishop had once made up his mind to take up the cathedral project he did indeed throw himself completely into it. In his convention address of 1923, as plans for the great drive were forming, he said,

It is my hope that when we begin the work we shall not stop, but that we shall go forward until the whole great edifice is completed. This undertaking will not, I believe, conflict with any other good project—civic, philanthropic, or religious. No one will give less to any good cause because of the gift he makes toward the building of the Cathedral. On the contrary, I believe . . . that this noble task will stir our interest and enlarge our vision; it will give added impetus to all the religious work we are now doing; it will rouse us spiritually as a Diocese as nothing has yet roused us in all our history.

So far as he was concerned this remained the goal throughout his episcopate. He gave so much time and energy and achieved such results that it seems difficult to realize that he did much else. But he

did. There were many other things to occupy him and many interruptions and obstacles to the drive for the cathedral. In 1924 he preached in the cathedral, giving a charge to the diocese on the obligation of the clergy to teach and preach with loyalty to the church's creeds. He recognized and stated frankly the problem involved.

It has been intimated to me, and to the public, that a clear position on my part upon these questions might result in financial loss to the work of the diocese, and especially to the campaign now commencing for the building of the Cathedral. I do not believe it. But if this suggestion were true my answer would be that a thousand Cathedrals are of less importance than one foundation fact of the Christian Faith. Better that the Cathedral should never be built than that a Bishop of this Church should fail to bear his witness for the full truth of Jesus Christ.

The result of such a statement was, as he perfectly well realized it would be, to attract the attention of people who admire straight thinking and clear speaking even when they do not wholly agree and to help rather than hinder the drive.

The controversies and disciplinary difficulties of the early years of his episcopate did not originate with Manning. Some of them were gratuitously stirred up by a small cabal of the clergy of the diocese who seemed determined, at any cost and in any way, to tear him down. He had to make the decision in each case whether or not to ignore questionable or wrong behaviour or teaching. There were occasions on which he decided to ignore but it was never because the result would be unpleasantness for the bishop, but only because the unlikelihood of success offered no chance of advantage to the church's well-being. The controversy and its publicity usually resulted from what others started. In the matter of prohibition however it was the bishop who took the initiative. The bishop was not a prohibitionist. A sermon at Nashville, quoted in a previous chapter, makes this clear. Wine was served at his table before prohibition and after repeal, though he was rarely if ever seen to take any himself. He had no scruple against hot whiskey for a cold but that was the extent of his drinking. In a sermon before the Loyal Legion in 1917 he spoke in favour of prohibition as a war-time measure. When the constitution was amended he took the position that what was the law of the land could, and should, be enforced and that positive good would come from it. In December, 1923, in the Marble Collegiate Church and in the cathedral pulpit in February, 1926, he spoke about law enforcement. He repudiated the teaching that drinking is sin and asserted the right of any who wished to work for repeal; but he called boldly for upholding the amendment and for enforcement of the law so long as it existed. There was very real courage in taking such a stand while the building campaign was on. The great majority of those who were able to make large contributions were opposed to prohibition and scornful of its advocates. In 1932 he went even further in a sermon from the cathedral pulpit, calling for the re-election of Mr. Hoover to preserve the eighteenth amendment. There is difference of opinion as to the propriety of such a sermon, or the rightness of the bishop's position, but there can be no question that he was bold to the point of recklessness in his disregard for any possible effect on the building campaign. But by 1932 the bishop's position was fully established. No one imagined that expediency would be the sole, or even chief, influence with him in any matter.

The great drive for gifts and pledges took place early in 1925. It opened with a mass meeting in the old Madison Square Garden, which was packed and from which it was estimated that five thousand were turned away. To fill Madison Square Garden for a religious gathering was a thing which had not before been undertaken. It has been reported that the result was achieved by the rather questionable zeal of some anonymous underling who hit upon the device of distributing among the parishes of the diocese two tickets for each seat! Tamblyn and Brown, who managed the campaign, had a large staff at work. A full time supervisor was employed from September, 1924, to November, 1925. During the intensive period in January and February there were a maximum of 26 organizers, 8 publicity workers, and 100 secretaries and stenographers. After the drive had continued for a month the treasurer of the building fund, Mr. Edward W. Sheldon, made a report of the work done by his staff. Three hundred gifts and pledges were received the first day. These increased rapidly to about 5,000 a day, a total of 40,000 for the four weeks, coming from about 90,000 individuals. As much as \$10,000 in bills of small denominations and change was received in a day. Seventy-eight clerks and 20 typists were employed in the work of counting money, tabulating names and pledges, and sending out receipts. A series of daily luncheon meetings was held at which the volunteers who were raising funds reported. The paid staff then continued their work until 11 o'clock or midnight. Tamblyn and Brown estimated that 350,000 contributions or pledges had been made up to November, 1925. No estimate could be made of the number of volunteer workers who took part in the campaign under the direction of, and served by, all these professionals. Over it all was the little man whose determination aroused enthusiasm, overcame obstacles, and kept everything going. A letter from Mr. Tamblyn in June, 1923, shows both the importance of the bishop's part in the work and the feeling he inspired in those who worked for him.

It is unnecessary to say that both Mr. Brown and I believe that the success of the campaign depends upon your health and your opportunity to serve in the unique position which only the Bishop of the Diocese can serve and that, after we have told everybody else what he and she must do and impressed upon each of them the fact that their willingness and their ability to do the particular task which we give them will determine to a large degree the success of the campaign, we know deep down in our hearts that the real success lies with you.

It is impossible to give anything like a complete list of all those he won to the cause and induced to work for him, but reference to a few will give an idea of the catholicity and compulsion of the bishop's summons. Such public figures as Elihu Root, George W. Wickersham, Frank L. Polk, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, were very actively connected with the campaign. Adolph Ochs, the distinguished Jewish owner of the New York Times, gave the cathedral a pair of menorah lights, patterned after those which stand in Jewish synagogues and go back to the furnishings of the temple as described in the Old Testament, to burn on either side of the high altar. General Charles Sherrill arranged for a series of gifts to the cathedral from various national governments and rulers throughout the world. The formal presentation of these gifts was a source of continuing publicity and the gifts themselves were interesting, and occasionally a little baffling in a Christian church. General Ballington Booth of the Salvation Army joined Mr. Root's committee with a word of praise for the bishop's call for a truce, during the celebration of the Feast of the Nativity, in the controversy raging over the virgin birth. Ed Wynn, the comedian, gave a benefit performance from which circumstance grew a mutual, and warm, respect. A "Cathedral Horse Show" was held in Westchester county; and the bishop was even taken out onto the ice in the middle of the new Madison Square Garden during an intermission of a hockey match played for the benefit of the Sports Bay Fund. The experts of the Tamblyn and Brown organization much admired the bishop's shrewd judgement of what to do and what not to do in the campaign. They considered that he had made only one mistake. It is the experts' view that charity performances do not pay much and result in more publicity for the actors than for the charity.

They considered that the result of the Ed Wynn performance confirmed their view.

During the late thirties, at the time of the World's Fair, the bishop induced Mayor La Guardia to head a committee to raise funds to complete the choir. The bishop had taken great interest in the Seabury Investigation, which led up to Mr. La Guardia's election, and the mayor was a fairly frequent worshipper at the cathedral during his term of office. He always refused to be put in a prominent place and only consented to have a seat saved for him on condition that it be half way down the aisle.

With all that went on to arouse interest and invite support there were bound to be untoward incidents. These were surprisingly few and they did little harm. There was a certain lady who, when Manning was Rector of Trinity, had belonged to an organization of the parish interested in good works though she herself was not a member of Trinity Parish. One year the nominating committee proposed to name her president of the organization but the rector ruled that since she was divorced and remarried it would not be right for her thus to represent the parish. During the cathedral drive the lady received one of the thousands of appeal letters that went out. It seemed an opportunity not to be missed. In her reply, which she gave to the press, she declined to give to the building fund and ended, "Bishop Manning, I am still a divorced woman." Then there was the rector of a country parish who telegraphed the bishop to ask how he was to explain to his people the raising of money for the cathedral at a Saturday night theatrical performance which continued well into the morning hours of Sunday.

But the most notable flurry was that caused by the suggestion of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that the Board of Trustees of the cathedral be broadened to include some who were not members of the Episcopal Church. The constitution of the cathedral, adopted in 1894, states

The Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine, in the City and Diocese of New York, is the Diocesan Church of the Diocese of New York. As a house of prayer it is for the use of all people who may resort thereto, and especially of the Christian folk dwelling within that portion of country covered by the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of New York.

From this it was very natural to describe the cathedral as "A house of prayer for all people," and this expression was often used from the beginning. Much was made of it in the publicity in Bishop Manning's time. It was perhaps not unnatural that, to those so inclined, the phrase had implications of interdenominationalism. The suggestion was sometimes made that the election of one or more trustees who were not Episcopalians would have definite value in many ways. The bishop received a request, in a private letter from a prominent lawyer who was taking active part in the campaign, that the matter be considered. He replied at length,

The question which you asked me as to the possibility of the Board of Trustees including a certain number of representatives of other Churches is an interesting one. It is not impossible that in course of time when conditions are more ready for it some such development may take place, but in the present state of the ecclesiastical world the practical difficulties in the way of it would be very great.

In the first place, the intent of the Charter when granted, as interpreted by all subsequent action, and by the Constitution adopted under it, was plainly that the members of the Board should be communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Action by the Legislature would be necessary before such a change could safely be made, and the question of changing a Charter often raises other difficult legal questions, especially if there are people disposed to raise these questions, as to bequests made and property held under the original terms of the Charter.

In the second place, before application could be made to the Legislature, any such action would have to be discussed and passed upon by our Diocesan Convention, consisting of some eight hundred clergymen and laymen, and in a body which includes such different types of mind. and such widely divergent views, as our Convention does, it is extremely doubtful whether the discussion of this subject under present conditions would serve a good purpose.

And in the third place, if such action were to be seriously proposed, the question would at once arise how and by whom should such representatives of other Churches be chosen, and which among all the different Churches should have such representatives.

Under present conditions in the ecclesiastical world the true course, I believe, and the only practical course, is to take the Cathedral foundation as it stands and make it a great force for the increase of the spirit of fellowship and unity as we are doing. Then in due time further advance will be possible. The large lines on which the Cathedral is working and the feeling toward it of Ministers and people of all Churches, and of the community as a whole, are the evidence that it is accomplishing its purpose. . . .

The Cathedral, taken and used as it stands, is proving itself a wonderful instrument, indeed one of the greatest that we have, for closer fellowship and unity. No Board or Bishop could prevent this even if they wanted to do so; and we need not fear that anyone will want to do so. In its

very nature, a cathedral stands for and promotes unity. That is the reason that the people feel about it as they do. An ordinary church stands naturally and necessarily for ministry to a particular group. The Cathedral stands for ministry to no particular congregation. No group of people has prior rights to its ministrations, or to its seats. It is literally a House of Prayer for all people, a gathering place for the whole community. Its influence as now exerted, and as it will certainly continue to be exerted, is doing more than any other agency that I know of for the promotion of the spirit of unity in this great city. By its influence, it is helping every day, practically and powerfully, to create the conditions under which some such development as you spoke of, and I hope still greater developments in the drawing together of all who are moved by the Spirit of Christ, will take place. Our work is to use to the full the opportunity now in our hands and if we do this God will bring the rest to pass in time . . . and perhaps in less time than we think.

Mr. Rockefeller was among those from whom the bishop hoped the cathedral might receive help. He was notable for his contributions to many causes, and his interest in religious matters was outstanding. The bishop reports that he

came to my office . . . stayed for two hours and twenty minutes discussing the matter. . . . If he and his Father would build the West Front what a magnificent thing this would be. This stands for *Religion* and would so stand to the whole country—and beyond.

Mr. Rockefeller's gift was for an amount considerably less than that required to build the west front, and with it he also made the gift to the bishop of the suggestion, in a public letter, that at some future time consideration might be given to the desirability of including on the Board of Trustees "a small number of laymen of sister churches."

Mr. Rockefeller's letter gave the opportunity for a notable display of fireworks by a few somewhat explosive persons. All kinds of advice was offered as to the best manner to make the cathedral a "house of prayer for all people." It was even suggested that failure to do something definite to satisfy Mr. Rockefeller would be to take money under false pretenses. Those who were directing the drive became concerned as to the harmful effect of public discussion of the matter.

The bishop's manner of dealing with this proposal is interesting. His reply to Mr. Rockefeller (the letter had, in fact, been read by Mr. Rockefeller before his gift was actually made) was clearly negative but very general in its terms. The bishop then made no effort to reply to the various statements, letters, and editorials which appeared in support of Mr. Rockefeller or to give detailed reasons for his po-

sition. There was nothing like the private letter quoted above. Two weeks later, at the Church Club dinner, he made two points. The making of a drastic constitutional change in connection with the receipt of a large gift of money would have unfortunate implications. The slogan "A house of prayer for all people," was nothing new, but as old as the cathedral itself, and was already in effect with things as they were.

The excitement died down. No change was made in the cathedral's constitution. The building campaign continued on its irresistible way. The life of the cathedral went on as before. A young man who asked to be married in the cathedral by a Protestant minister of his choice was refused; but Protestant preachers continued to be invited on frequent special occasions. The bishop was clear in his own mind that what was proposed was of no practical value, either to increase interest in the cathedral campaign, or to promote the cause of the church unity to which he was whole-heartedly devoted, or to enlarge the cathedral's usefulness. The answer had to be a plain no. This was bound to cause distress to many. To give reasons for the necessity of the no would only enlarge and prolong the controversy and so increase the distress. The bishop's supporters sometimes felt that he did not do himself justice when he withheld the reasons for his decisions. His opponents were given the opportunity to accuse him of being narrow, dictatorial, unenlightened; and the public was deprived of the chance to see that the accusations were false. But he was not given to defending himself. He was content to take the blame if his silence could help secure the decision by withholding fuel from the flame of controversy.

The bishop took as much interest and pleasure in the development of the design of the cathedral, and all its details, as in the raising of the funds. The major change in design involved in the choice of Mr. Cram was made before he became bishop. But Cram's design had to go through a considerable evolution and details had to be worked out. After making his superb plan for the nave, Cram had to cope with the great problem of the central space, the crossing. This is a huge area, one hundred feet square. Cram made a series of suggestions for its treatment, finally making a large scale model of the whole cathedral to study adequately the design of a square tower resting, not on the great arches of the crossing directly, but on a second set of arches which provided a means of setting back the tower to a much narrower dimension. The bishop followed Cram's studies with interest, criticising and encouraging. He accepted Cram's final design

with enthusiasm but the funds were never sufficient to carry it out. It now seems very doubtful whether the design will be carried out as Cram planned it. Before the end of his episcopate the bishop realized and admitted that another architect would have to make his own plan when the time came to undertake the work.

The bishop gave much time to the study of the glass. He was abroad in 1927 to preach in York minster at the 1300th anniversary of that diocese and to attend the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne; and he took the opportunity to study medieval stained glass in England and on the continent. Before decision was made as to the glass for the nave he went about inspecting the modern glass made in this country. He was interested in all the details of iconography, that is the figures and scenes to be represented in the ornamentation of the cathedral, and gave careful attention and study to the proposals of various experts in these matters. His part in the great rose window in the west front has already been told.

He took great pains over the design for the pavement of the nave. The money for this was raised in an interesting way. The Laymen's Club of the cathedral, a devoted body of men who ushered at the services and guided visitors about the building, undertook the responsibility for this and it came quite naturally to be called the Pilgrim Pavement. The bulk of a very large fund came from the offerings of visitors who made the "pilgrimage." It was then decided that the design of the pavement should have to do with pilgrimage. The pavement is of green and black slate, at the bishop's suggestion, with ornamental medallions of bronze, heraldic in design. Up the centre of the middle aisle is a pilgrimage of the life of our Lord—the principal places mentioned in the New Testament in connection with his earthly life. In the side aisles the medallions are symbolic of various famous pilgrimage sites of Christian history.

With the dedication of the Pilgrim Pavement in March, 1934, the nave was ready for use; but with the choir incomplete, and the crossing untouched, the bishop reluctantly postponed taking down the temporary wall between the nave and crossing. As a result of the great depression of the early thirties funds came in slowly and work was almost at a standstill. At one time the bishop received an earnest request from members of the building trades that more construction be undertaken so that employment might be given to those who so urgently needed it. He was eager to do as he was asked but the rule of no debt for construction stood in the way and the bishop bravely decided that the rule must not be abandoned. One of the trustees

suggested that government work relief funds might be secured to carry on construction but the problems and difficulties which he realized would be involved again prevented the bishop's pursuit of a suggestion which would not ultimately have been wise. To further this effort to raise funds for construction to help relieve unemployment, John Finley had a helpful editorial in the New York Times in July, 1933. In it he made a graceful reference to Saint Cyprian of Carthage. saying that he would be "amazed and overjoyed" in seeing what was being planned and carried out in the new world. The bishop wrote to thank him for the editorial, while a certain Roman Catholic wrote to protest that though Cyprian might well be "amazed," he would be "grieved" instead of "overjoyed" because the bishop and the cathedral in the new world were not in proper communion with the Bishop of Rome whose position Cyprian had upheld so strongly. The bishop sent Dr. Finley a justification of the editorial which the latter described as an "ecclesiastical utterance of the highest order."

Mr. Mazzarela is mistaken as to Cyprian's position. Cyprian neither defended, nor imagined, the modern claims of the Roman church, or the development of the Papacy and the recent Dogma of Infallibility. In the year 250 no one had yet dreamed of this. What he had in mind was Primacy of honour and respect, but without any rights of jurisdiction or rule, such as we should all be glad to give today to the Bishop of the great and ancient See of Rome, the same sort of brotherly Primacy among equals which the Anglican Communion is given to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The simple fact is that if Cyprian came to New York today he would find himself entirely at home in the ecclesiastical atmosphere at St. John's Cathedral while at St. Patrick's many things would be wholly unknown and quite inexplicable to him.

Finally in 1938, in connection with the World's Fair of 1939, sufficient funds were secured to proceed with the work of completing the interior of the choir, and a temporary altar was prepared in the nave, part of the organ was moved, and services were held there from March, 1939, to December, 1941, when the dividing wall was taken down.

In the meantime the bishop arranged for two quite different, but equally impressive, uses of the nave. By 1936 the subject of slum clearance was much on men's minds. In January, 1937, the bishop preached on the subject in the cathedral and was immediately asked to head a conference under inter-religious auspices. A mass meeting was held in the cathedral at the end of February and the conference took place in the Synod House the following day. In the nave there was

set up an exhibit of plans, designs, and charts. The central feature of the exhibit was an actual slum apartment of four rooms from an area being cleared, which had been occupied by a family of nine less than two weeks before. Mr. Spencer Miller, the moving spirit of the committee in charge, reported

There, amid the serene and solemn Cathedral surroundings, this striking evidence of the slum evil was witnessed by thousands of people not less eloquent in its mute testimony than the addresses delivered at the Conference.

In May, 1937, and again in May, 1938, the bishop arranged for the performance of the Bach Saint Matthew Passion in the nave. The nave was crowded with people, who heard the performance with great satisfaction and who were obviously much moved by it. This was shown in an interesting way. It had been debated whether to put a note on the program asking people not to applaud. The bishop decided that applause would be quite proper and people should be free to do as they wished. No word was given but at the end of each part of the performance the whole multitude sat for an instant in complete silence and then rose and filed out.

As we have seen, the bishop accepted the mandate to build the cathedral in the fullest and broadest sense. He carried his conception of his duty to complete the cathedral to the end of his episcopate, no matter how great the difficulties at any particular time, and assumed that those who came after him would carry on where he left off. He was quite indifferent to personal criticisms so long as what he did was effective for the proper carrying on of the work.

The original drive in 1925 was announced as having fifteen million dollars as its objective and the campaign brought in only two-thirds of that amount at the time. But the bishop knew that what could be called failure was a necessary device to spur greater effort than would seem probable or possible. Goals are not so much to be achieved as to be reached for. His words on the subject of the cathedral in his last convention address, when he made formal announcement of his resignation, were much the same as those of the twenty-five which had preceded.

Our proposed renewal of the Building Campaign when the War ended last year was postponed to give first place to the Appeal for the Fund for Reconstruction and Advance, but this was only a postponement. The whole glorious length of the great Edifice is open and in use, but the inharmonious Round Arch at the junction of the Choir and Crossing, the

partly built North Transept, the unsightly temporary Dome still over the Crossing and the steel scaffolding waiting in its place for the completion of the Western Towers, call loudly for a continuance of the work.

These are not the words one expects from a man of eighty, who has completed fifty-six years in the ministry, twenty-five of them as bishop of the chief diocese of his province of the church, and who is resigning. Rather they come from one who knows himself to be the occupant for a brief time of an office which has come from the past and continues into the future, who thus becomes completely forgetful of self in the discharge of his trust. They are the words of a young man who, knowing the past from which he comes and on which he builds, looks forward with confidence to a new day.

CHAPTER TEN DIARY

HE bishop kept a diary. It begins in 1904 when he was at Saint Agnes. The last entry is on 30 October, 1949, a few days before his death. In the earlier years there are many periods, even years, when he made no entry. For the last twenty years of his life he wrote almost daily. The chief feature of the diary is his account of family life; public affairs are sometimes not even referred to. His constant references to the members of his household show his great delight in his family including the more remote members who were with them a good deal; his mother-in-law, of whose death in his house at Mount Desert he gives a moving account; his sister-in-law, Lizzie, who lived with them always, and whose deafness made her quite dependent on the others; the Lea cousins from Philadelphia, who visited frequently; the friends of his daughter Frances whom he quite obviously regarded as his friends too; and the visitors, whether personal friends or official callers, whose coming seems always to have given him pleasure. He almost never indicates being tired or bored by people. His references to the clergy newly come into the diocese are always enthusiastic. There is almost no reference to the individuals who formed the small group of clergy which was determined to harass him during much of his episcopate. His public denunciations are never matched by any private word of annoyance in the diary. When there is reference to cases of discipline it is always with real grief.

The publication of the diary as a whole would be quite unsatisfactory, partly because of the many gaps (he was not keeping it at the time of his election as Rector of Trinity, or as bishop) and partly because the diary is so often silent about important matters. But a

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sample of it reveals the quite simple, warm, straightforward manner of which many were unaware. It occurred to me to quote in virtual entirety the diary for a year and I chose arbitrarily the middle year of his episcopate, September, 1933, to August, 1934. Examination then proved this to be a good choice. The diary was regularly kept up then. It is a fair sample of the flavor of the whole. He was engaged in a large number of matters in this period and there is a good picture of the varied and crowded nature of his life.

BISHOP MANNING'S DIARY

September 1, 1933—August 31, 1934

September 1st [At Somesville, Mt. Desert, Maine] At work on sermons. In afternoon F. [Mrs. Manning] and I drove to the top of Green Mountain—now called Cadillac—the brilliant sun above and the fog below resting softly on the islands gave a wonderful effect—Then to Jordan Pond for tea with Bishop and Mrs. Freeman—Mrs. Mackay Smith and her daughter Virginia Boy—Ed, the Newells and Mrs. Wolven.

2nd Van left this morning for Phila. in Elsie's Car; he expects to spend a night with the members of the family at Stonington—At work in Study. F. and I drove to Bar Harbor to see Elsie—A glorious day and the Island was never more beautiful.

3rd Twelfth S. after Trinity. Another quiet Sunday—Many people are leaving but there were 13 at our Early Service. Elizabeth's Birthday.

4th Labour Day—Torrents of rain all day—bringing disappointment to great numbers of people—Received news of the death of the Revd. Dr. Lubeck—a faithful and devoted priest. R.I.P. Spent the day in Study.

5th Morning in Study-Fr. Woolsey & Mr. Carson from South West Harbour called.

6th-12th The usual round. At work on sermon for Chicago—address in Philadelphia, etc., etc. Many letters. Elsie is here with us now convalescing—and Lizzie since the Clifton House closed at Northeast Harbour.

13th At work on Cathedral and Diocesan matters. The amount received in response to my letter sending out the Appeal of the Labour Unions is now about \$20,000.00. This will give the men some work but not very much. Most of the people to whom the Appeal has gone are feeling keenly the effects of the depression—and there is also a good deal of feeling against the Labour Unions which has recently been strengthened by the charge believed by many—whether justly or not—that William Green and the other Labour Union Leaders are getting too much power through the workings of the National Recovery Act.

14th At work on Diocesan matters and preparations for our Conference of the Clergy at Lake Mahopac. This gathering which I started a few years ago has done much for us and has greatly increased the spirit of fellowship among the clergy—At this meeting I am to begin with a talk

on what we hope this Conference will do for us and the other speakers are to be Bishop Sherrill of Massachusetts on "The Opportunity which this present time offers to the Church," Bishop Farthing of Montreal on "The Spiritual life of the Clergy," Mr. Will Spens, Master of Corpus Christi College and Vice Chancellor of Cambridge University on "The Present Condition of the Catholic Movement in the Church of England," Governor John G. Winant of New Hampshire on "Recreation in its relation to Life and to Religion," the Revd. Dr. McGregor of the Dept. of Religious Education of the National Council, on "The Religious Teaching that our young people need To-day" and the Revd. Dr. Sunderland of the City Mission Society on "Our work for the unemployed people of our own Church."

15th-18th The usual round—At work on sermons and on Diocesan matters—

19th Writing all the morning. In the afternoon we drove over to Bar Harbour to see Elsie in the Hospital—she is now making good progress—Went to see Miss Miller—the Brinleys were there and he told me about the Rural Missionary Work he is undertaking here in Maine—very interesting and promising. I re-read B'p. Gore's "Mission of the Church"—It reminded of the first time I met him in 1912, when I spent a night with him at Cuddesdon and found him eager to hear of my experiences in dealing with Trinity Tenement Situation—we talked for hours about it and he asked endless questions. My last meeting with him was at the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne in 1927, where his influence was far greater and more helpful than that of any other person. He was unfailingly present at the early Eucharist in the little English Church and on the morning that I Celebrated suggested my using the "American Rite," which I did, and insisted upon serving me at the Altar.

20th Preparing to leave for New York—Said goodbye to Mr. Fernald, Mrs. Pray, the Parkers next door, Mrs. Smith at the Post Office, and left "good bye" for others who were out. Miss Fannie Norris and her brother Dr. Norris called. The time here has gone very quickly. It has been a great rest, and a great opportunity for some of the work I can never find time for in New York. Took the train at Ellsworth at 5.45—Howard Townsend and others on board. In the Dining Car a loud and cheerful voice exclaimed "Why—Bishop Manning—by golley I'm glad to see you again"—It was the Conductor with whom I had a long talk on the train one night several years ago. We had a brief chat and later he came to my section to tell me he had arranged for me to have the use of the vacant Drawing Room on getting up in the morning, which was very nice of him and very comfortable—

21st St. Matthews Day—Reached the house at about 8.15 a.m. and found Frances at the door—Elizabeth and Griff came up for breakfast with us and then went on to Philadelphia. Unpacking—seeing people—at work in Office—etc.

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22nd Spent much time at my office—At work finishing my sermon for Chicago—

23rd In morning at office—Afternoon and Night in Study.

24th Fifteenth S. After Trinity—In Cathedral—Celebrated at eight—The pavement of the Nave is finished and is very beautiful and effective—and the smaller Rose Window is now very lovely—

25th At 9.30 offered a prayer at the opening of the Convention of Secretaries of Chambers of Commerce from all over the U.S.—a very interesting lot of men. Got news of the death of Geoge F. Crane and went at once to see Mrs. Crane. Mr. Crane was of great help in the reorganization of the affairs of Trinity Parish which followed upon the measures with regard to the Dwelling House Property of the Parish to which I had to give much of my time and strength during my first years as Rector. The printed "Survey" of the Property and other Reports at that period show what an undertaking this was but it was done without public demonstration and with little newspaper publicity. One of the crucial measures was discussed at a Vestry Meeting lasting until nearly two o'clock in the morning, and the measure was carried only by my casting vote from the chair. 26th At work in Office and in Study on sermons.

27th At 10 officiated at funeral of George F. Crane at Trinity Church. Saw many of my old friends and parishioners there but the number of those whom I knew closely as Rector is growing much smaller. Letters, Diocesan matters, etc. Spent some time in the Cathedral studying the new Windows.

28th Office work all morning. Took train at 5 p.m. for Chicago. Met on train an old choirboy of the Cathedral; 20 years ago, now one of the Heads of Departments at "Bamberger's."

29th St. Michael and All Angels. Reached Chicago at 9.45-Met by Bishop Stewart & others. The Bishop took me to the Diocesan Headquarters-then to visit the great Fair in recognition of "A Century of Progress"—It was possible only to see a little of it but we visited the Hall of Science-went carefully through the Hall of Religion-what can an intelligent pagan think of an exhibit of this sort?—and to the Belgian Village, a very true and charming reproduction of Belgian life. Lunched with the Bishop and a group of men, clergy & laity, & then to his home in Evanston for a brief rest and dinner. Then to the Stadium for the Service—a wonderful gathering—clergy and choir numbering two or three thousand, with the great body of Acolytes-torch bearers-and Crucifers four abreast—and some ten thousand people. After the service I went to the train. Forty years ago I visited the Worlds Fair in Chicago, on my way from my first parish in Redlands, California, to Sewanee to take the Chair of Dogmatic Theology which I undertook at the urgent wish of dear Dr. Du Bose and Bishop Gailor-though I told them I doubted if I could feel satisfied away from parish life, which proved to be the case-I

loved the work and the life at Sewanee but could not feel fully satisfied without a parish.

The five principal sermons and addresses which the bishop gave in this year illustrate quite fully the bishop's preaching. The manner of his preaching has already been described. This manner continued the same in later life. His very deliberate delivery with rather long pauses, the clear, strong tones, especially proceeding from so small a frame, reinforced the impression of authority which his earnest and usually grave demeanor created. He rarely preached or spoke at great length though brevity was never obvious to his hearers. He never preached "sermonettes." And while he did not usually preach upon mere topics of the times it was usually plain that his preaching was specially timely. Again in the manner of his presentation he always strove to appeal to as wide an audience as possible and seemed specially to have in mind the winning of those who could be expected to be in opposition, or little interested, on the particular occasion.

Thus in the sermon in the Chicago Stadium on the occasion of the observance of the hundredth anniversary of the Oxford Movement he did not dwell specially upon the achievements and successes of the movement, as might have been expected of the leading bishop of the catholic party at a celebration attended chiefly by partisans; but rather emphasized the special contribution of the movement to the work of spiritual revival in the church which must always be taking place and in which other movements also have their part. He spoke almost as though he were addressing a gathering of avowed evangelicals instead of catholics.

What I want to make clear tonight is that those great principles of the Gospel and the Church which the Oxford Movement emphasized are not the principles of any mere party in the Church but are the common heritage of all of us, and are the things upon which the very life of the Christian religion depends. . . .

1. The Oxford Movement set itself with its whole strength, as the Evangelical Movement did also, to bring men to the knowledge of Christ, and to faith in him as their personal Saviour and Lord.

2. The second great principle was belief in the Lord Jesus not absent from us in some far off sphere but still present with us, still continuing his work in the world, still speaking and ministering to us in his Church. . . .

3. The third note \dots was its great and moving call to holiness of living. \dots

4. Last—[it] stood for belief in Christ as Saviour of the whole world and Lord of the whole of human life. And the Church today must awake

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to the full obligation of her social mission. . . . Go back then to your parishes all over our land and rouse them to fuller realization of those great principles of the gospel and the Church which are given to us in our Prayer Book.¹

30th Slow trip. On the train all day. Had a very interesting talk with a Mr. L. H. Shingle of Phila. who proved to be a Presbyterian Elder—a fine man—talks also of the same sort with one or two others. Men are more willing to talk of religious matters than they were—Prepared sermon for Sunday. Reached home a little before midnight.

Oct. 1st Preached in Cathedral—a large congregation—Music excellent and much improved—more vigour and spirit, which it has needed.

2nd Florence and Lizzie arrived from Somesville for breakfast at 7.30—Elizabeth & Griff & the two little Hugheses here for breakfast.

3rd Appointments at office all the morning—John Poyntell Kemper of St. John's, Kingston, here at lunch—a true and faithful man and priest. 4th-5th At work in Study most of these days. Went to see John Livingston. 6th Interviews at office all morning. At night F. and I dined with the Deaconesses at St. Faith's and I took the service and spoke to them in their Chapel.

On Weds. at 10 a.m. met Mr. Cram, Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Connick and the Dean in the Nave to pass judgment on the Great Western Rose and the Smaller Rose Window beneath it. Last June I insisted upon a complete change in the Smaller Rose and also some important changes in the Great Rose to get rid of the purple tone and bring out the blue—The changes have been made and all are delighted with them. Connick himself is completely converted and convinced, as also is Cram. Cleveland said "the improvement in the Great Rose is one hundred per cent" and I think this is no exaggeration. We all think the pavement of the Nave superb. The beautiful slate—which I suggested to Mr. Cram—harmonizes perfectly with the interior, and the medallions are most effective and interesting. 7th Office and Study.

8th At Zion Church, Dobbs Ferry, for 100th anniversary-

9th Interviews, etc. In afternoon presided at meeting of committee for the help of the many unemployed people of our own Church.

10th-14th Diocesan work-interviews-preparation of sermons.

15th At St. Paul's, Chester in the morning—then to the Dedication of the State School for delinquent boys at Warwick. Convoyed by a State Trooper to the New Jersey line—Got home about 6.30. Elizabeth and Griff here at supper.

16th Office and Study in morning. At meeting of Church Extension Society all the afternoon.

17th Preparing for Conference of Clergy—Bishop Farthing—of Montreal—arrived to stay with us—

¹ The whole sermon is given in Strong in the Lord, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1947.

18th I took Bishop Farthing with me to the Conference, St. Luke's Day,—arriving there about noon—After Prayers and my opening address the speakers in the afternoon were Will Spens, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Revd. Dr. McGregor of the Nat'l. Council—with Bishop Farthing at night, in preparation for our Corporate Communion. It is the largest Conference and the most helpful, so far, that we have had.

19th Corporate Communion at 7.30 in the little Church crowded with the clergy—Governor Winant was unable to come but his place was taken very effectively by Dr. Van Keuren—then Dr. Sunderland on our work for the help of our unemployed people and then Bishop Sherrill of Massachusetts who made a powerful address. Luncheon—at which I made a brief talk—then prayers and a hymn and the Conference ended. The spirit of warm fellowship and unity was stronger than ever and all seem to agree that this annual gathering which we have held now for six years has done more for us than anything we have had in the Diocese. I brought the Bishop of Montreal back—we went to Mrs. Crockett's to call on her and Bishop Gailor who is staying with her—then home for dinner. Bishop Farthing took the night train home.

20th Much accumulation of Diocesan work—At 3 attended meeting of Finance Committee of Cathedral at 14 Wall Street.

21st In Office and Study-

22nd Nineteenth S. after Trinity—At Grace Church preached on the life and work of Bishop Codman Potter and referred to the coming election and the need of freeing our City Administration from the corrupting influence of a political machine. The sermon is to be published. It was the 50th anniversary of Bishop Potter's consecration.

The bishop took keen interest in the investigation by Judge Samuel Seabury into the corruption in the city government in the time of the playboy mayor, Jimmy Walker, and gave the crusade his public support. In 1932 Washington's two hundredth birthday was celebrated in Saint Paul's in April because of the service at Saint Paul's which marked the first inauguration on 30 April, 1789. Judge Seabury was present and made the other address. Manning spoke plainly of the state of affairs in the city, praised Seabury's courageous and able investigation, and called upon the governor, Franklin Roosevelt, to give proper support to it. This appeal fell on deaf ears of course, as the bishop well knew it would. Roosevelt never in his public career showed much enthusiasm for dealing with political corruption and did not consider that alienation of Tammany would be useful to him in the National Convention just a few weeks off. The Seabury Investigation led to the nomination and election in 1933, on a fusion ticket, of Fiorello La Guardia. The fiftieth anniversary of Bishop Potter was

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part of the celebration of one hundred and twenty-five years of Grace Church. In his sermon he stressed the importance of Potter's denunciation of corruption and, following his predecessor's example, he made an appeal for action on election day.

As we think of Bishop Potter, the things which come immediately to our minds are his magnanimity of spirit, his breadth of vision, his wide sympathy and true humanness, his fairness and justice, his power of moral indignation against wrong or evil, and his unflinching courage, but behind all these things, and speaking through them, was his living, personal, faith, and his deep spiritual reality. . . .

Two of Bishop Potter's official acts may be cited, from among many others, as illustrating his breadth of view and his fearlessness in performing his duty as he saw it; one of these acts was his sanction of the Order of the Holy Cross and his officially receiving the profession of the Reverend James O. S. Huntington as the first member of this Monastic Order, the other was his action in receiving the Reverend Dr. Briggs from the Presbyterian Ministry and ordaining him to the priesthood in this Church. Each of these acts caused great excitement at the time, and brought down upon the Bishop severe, and public, criticism. But it was soon realized, and as we now look back we can see clearly, that each one of them was not only right and wise in itself but was precisely what was required of a Bishop with a true view of his office as Chief Shepherd not of a party but of the whole Church. And none of the direful predictions which were made in regard to these acts have found fulfilment. Dr. Briggs, with his great scholarship and his wide vision, was to the end of his life a champion of orthodoxy, Father Huntington is today one of our most beloved spiritual leaders revered by men of all parties in the Church, and the Order of the Holy Cross is a great and recognized centre of spiritual life and influence among us.

There was in Bishop Potter no spirit of petty partisanship, he was the Bishop of the whole Diocese and was ready to uphold truth wherever he saw it, but along with his breadth and sympthy and true Catholic comprehensiveness, he held an unfailing loyalty to the Faith and Order of the Church as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer and in the Church's own official formularies. . . .

One of the great and chief notes of Bishop Potter's Episcopate, and of his whole Ministry, was his witness for public, civic, and Social righteousness, his keen interest in all that related to the life and welfare of the City and its people, and his deep sympathy with the under-privileged and the oppressed. . . . When occasion called for it he did not hesitate to speak out against evil or wrong doing. He was patient, and wise in often refraining from utterance, but there was never any doubt as to where he stood when important issues arose.

Some of Bishop Potter's utterances on civic and public matters were

so notable that they stirred the interest of the whole Country and are still vividly remembered. One of these was his sermon in old St. Paul's Chapel, at the Centennial of the Inauguration of George Washington as President, when, in the presence of the President of the United States, of members of the Cabinet, and of a most distinguished and representative assemblage, he called attention in calm and courteous language, but with entire plainness of speech, to evils well known to all which were bringing discredit upon the National Administration and injuring the life of our Country....

Another of his great utterances of this character was his letter to Mayor Van Wyck, in the days of Richard Croker. In grave but burning words he protested against the infamous conditions, bringing unspeakable wrongs upon the poorer people of our City, which had been brought to his knowledge, and demanded that these conditions be remedied. . . .

Those words of Bishop Potter's have an all too familiar sound, they cannot but speak to us of the conditions in our City Government which confront us at this moment. It is not necessary for me to rehearse the facts. The shameful conditions have been clearly exposed by Judge Seabury's investigation and are known to all. The dishonorable judges, the betrayal of justice in our Courts, the swollen and unexplained bank accounts, the flight of witnesses, the overwhelming evidence of corruption in many of our City Departments, are not forgotten. The financial consequences of this corruption have proved disastrous, but still more serious is its moral and spiritual effect upon the life of our community. And the one chief cause of these intolerable and gravely menacing conditions has been, and is, the connection of our City Administration with party politics. We all know this. And yet an effort is now being made to hand our City Administration over to another, similar, political machine. What gain will it be for this City if one political machine is replaced by another which represents the same methods, includes many of the same men, and will be used for the same ends? The cause of honest government will not be helped by a continuance of the base alliance between Politics and our City's Business. National Politics ought not to have been brought into any connection with our Municipal Election. We know from experience that the only influence of National Politics on Municipal Government is a debasing and corrupting one. Whether a man is a Democrat or a Republican has no more to do with his fitness for office in our City Government than the colour of his eyes, or of his hair. What we need is men who are qualified and capable and who will do their work honestly and faithfully. "Practical Politicians," as a class, have no such purpose. Their ideal, as we know only too well, is to work for the machine, to provide for their friends, and to enrich themselves. Surely the honest men and women of this City who work for their living have had enough of the shameless corruption and thieving of partisan municipal government. I hope that on November 7th our voters will go to the polls realizing that in this election the one all important question is this-Shall our City GovDIARY 159

ernment now be cut loose from the corrupting domination of a political machine, or shall it not? The answer to that question affects the welfare of every man, woman, and child in New York. If we are now to put an end to political patronage and to the spending of the taxpayers' money for partisan purposes, we must have a City Administration that is non-partisan.

One other matter I must mention for it would be impossible to speak of Bishop Potter's life and work without referring to the Cathedral, in which he took such intense interest, and to which he gave so largely of his time and strength. He did not initiate the Cathedral project, he inherited it from his great and revered predecessor Bishop Horatio Potter, but it fell to him to commence, and to carry forward, the realization of this immense undertaking.

It is interesting to note that in Bishop Potter's time, some fifty years ago, there was exactly the same sort of discussion that we hear occasionally today as to whether the Cathedral can properly be regarded, and referred to in its Constitution, as a House of Prayer for all people. The answer was then, as it still is, that the Cathedral is intended to be used, and is used, with the fullest degree of comprehensiveness that is consistent with the principles, and the canons, of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Cathedral is in literal fact a House of Prayer for all People as no ordinary Church can be. Any parish, or local Church, has a congregation of its own which belongs there and has prior rights in the building. The Cathedral has no such congregation of its own. It keeps no list of members, no register of communicants. It has no parochial organization. It is the Church of the whole Diocese and of all others who wish to pray and worship in it. Its doors are open, and its seats are free, to all, whatever their faith, or race, or color.

As to the peaching in the Cathedral, Ministers of other Churches are frequently invited to preach at special services, which is in accordance with the canons of the Episcopal Church, and leading Ministers of different Communions preach from the Cathedral pulpit every year. . . .

Men think of Bishop Potter as the able administrator, the great citizen, the fearless leader in public causes, the wise and far seeing statesman, and he was all of these, but he was more than all of them; before and above all else he was "a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ." He was the humble and believing Christian, the bold and fearless preacher of the Gospel, the true and faithful pastor of souls, the friend, and counsellor, and father, of his clergy.

Back of all his words and acts there lay his own deep, personal, living, faith. It was this which was the foundation of his life, and it was this which made him so true, and trusted, and beloved, a Chief Pastor. His clergy did not on all occasions agree with his views, it was far from his mind to expect or to desire this, but they always believed in him and were sure of his sincerity, his justice, and his generous, large-hearted sympathy.

The sermon won enthusiastic approval from a large number, notably the Rector of Grace Church, Walter Russel Bowie, one of the leaders in the opposition to the bishop. Bowie sent the bishop a note of warm and sincere gratitude for the sermon and also for the bishop's address the same week at the Catholic Congress in Philadelphia.

24th At work on Diocesan problems—In afternoon meetings of Fabric Committee and Cathedral Trustees. Took action authorizing work for the completion of the Nave and bringing it into use—Another great step in the progress of the Building in spite of the financial depression. This work will give employment to many men and will be a great blessing to them and their families.

25th At work in Office and Study—finishing my Address for the Catholic Congress in Philadephia.

26th At work in Office—Took train at 5.30 for Philadelphia. Van met me at 30th Street—Went straight to the meeting of the Congress—a great and inspiring gathering—with a marked desire to keep away from mere party spirit. I emphasized this need in my address and the response to it was quite wonderful—very different from what it would have been a year or two ago—Dudley Hughes came home with me—we arrived at 1.30 a.m. The trip was well worth while.

In the address to the Catholic Congress in Philadelphia he began by paying his respects to the evangelical movement and the liberal movement which play their parts, along with the catholic movement, in emphasizing essentials in the church's life. And he claimed for the catholic movement a central place in the church's tradition.

The Protestant Episcopal Church itself holds and teaches the Catholic Religion. The word Protestant in our name emphasizes this, for that word as used in our official title means that this Church protests against departures from the Catholic Faith as received and taught everywhere by the undivided Church during the early centuries. Every man who accepts the teaching of the Prayer Book as to the Faith, the Apostolic Ministry, and the Sacraments is a Catholic churchman.

And then in a departure from his text and with a twinkle in his eye he delighted his audience by interjecting "though some of us are more aware of this fact than others."

What then is our part and work, as members of this Church, for the Future of the Kingdom? How are we to help to bring Christ's Kingdom into this world?

First and before all else as members of the Holy, Catholic Church of Christ we must be true to our spiritual heritage, and faithful to the responsibilities and obligations which this lays upon us. . . .

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We must have always before us the vision of the One, Holy Catholic, Church of Christ. The God given opportunity of the Anglican Communion, its uniquely central position among the separated Churches of Christendom, lays upon us a sacred and special responsibility. We must never for the sake of some supposed local benefit do that which is inconsistent with the Faith or the Order of the Catholic Church throughout the World. If Bishops or others take action of this sort, in disregard of their obligations as Ministers of this Church, they are not taking a broad view of the issues involved, they are taking a local and limited view and are leaving out of account the world wide ideal of the Catholic Church. . . .

Second. We must see more clearly ourselves, and help others to see more clearly, the vision of the Church as it is shown to us in the New Testament. We cannot expect men to see the place of the priesthood, and the sacraments, and the worship, unless they see the New Testament vision of the Church itself. We must hold up more clearly before men St. Paul's great vision of the Church as the means which God has appointed for bringing to Himself all mankind in the fellowship of His dear Son. It is this glorious New Testament Vision of the Church which the world so greatly needs today, and it is this belief in the Church which men need to make Christ Himself real to them. Men lose their sense of the supernatural power of Christ unless they believe in Christ's continued presence and work among us in His Church. . . .

Third. It is, of course, the urgent duty of all who believe in, and belong to, the Holy Catholic Church to press for the realization of the ethical and social teachings of Christ's Gospel. We know how often, and how far, we have fallen short in this matter. There is a great call here to the Church at this moment. In the present World Movements for Justice, and Peace, and Brotherhood, the Church has a mighty opportunity. These movements are realizing the Will of Her Lord and Head. They are the marks of the Coming of His Kingdom, It must not be said with truth that the Church is so engaged in ecclesiastical matters that she leaves to others the building of a better world. We are not to bring politics into our religion, but we are to bring religion into politics and into the whole of life. It is for us to show that membership in the Holy, Catholic Church is a matter not only of theology and theory but of life and service. It is for us to let the world see that the Church is here not merely for the building up of an ecclesiastical organization but for the bringing in of the Kingdom of God.

Last. Let us remember always that while the truth which the Oxford Movement especially emphasized, the truth of the Divinely founded and Divinely commissioned Church as the organ of Christ's continued presence and work in this world, is vital and essential to the Christian Gospel, the truth which the Evangelical Movement especially emphasized, the necessity of individual conversion in Christ, is equally vital and indispensable. A Catholicism which is not truly Evangelical is dead and is nothing but an

empty shell. We need always in the Church a great emphasis on personal conversion, and no one ever preached this with greater earnestness than Dr. Pusey.

It was that great priest of our own Church, William Augustus Muhlenberg who suggested that we should call ourselves Evangelical Catholics. The Anglican Communion throughout the world, and our own Church in this land, are called to bear witness to a Catholicism which is wholly evangelical, which is not disproportionately concerned with religious externals, which has for its one aim the bringing of men and women to Jesus Christ, and which stands for full intellectual and spiritual freedom. . . .

It is by bearing our witness for the New Testament ideal of the Catholic Church, in all its largeness, in all its fullness, in all its faith, and in all its fearlessness, that we shall do our part for the Future of the Church and for the Coming of the Kingdom of God.

27th In Office all day catching up with arrears of Diocesan work.

28th St. Simon and St. Jude.

Florence and I drove out to Ridgefield to lunch with Mrs. Swords taking Mrs. Crawford with us—On the way home stopped at Bedford to see Percy Silver who is quite ill and obliged to be away from his parish.

29th Twentieth S. after Trinity.

At 225 anniversary of St. Andrews, Richmond. A very interesting service and large congregation. Lunched with the Mason Smiths and the Rector and his wife Dr. and Mrs. Godolphin—reached home about 4.30.

30th Interviews all the morning-

We dined with Elizabeth and Griff & the Crawfords.

31st Office and Study—At St. Edward the Martyr's at night for Confirmation & their 50th anniversary.

Nov. 1st All Saints.

At 10 Celebrated in Cathedral and consecrated the Altar and Reredos given by Mr. F. S. E. Drury in the Chapel of All Souls—Office and then to the Lawyers Club for luncheon with Bishop Roots of Hankow given by the Church Club. Back to office—signed 60 letters to the clergy of Westchester, etc., etc.

2nd Office and Study-

Lizzie's Birthday-Elizabeth & Griff here at dinner.

3rd Office—& then in Study preparing sermons.

4th Office—interviews, etc. Florence & I lunched with the Crawfords—the Cotton Smiths—Mr. Donegan, of St. James's, and his Mother—Gordon C's birthday—later—to Judge and Mrs. Finch's for the coming-out of their daughter.

5th Twenty-first S. after T. in Octave of All Saints.

At Cathedral at 8—preached there at 11—Spoke on the real issue of the Election, clean Govt. freed from politics.

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6th At office-Diocesan work-Others, etc.-

Attended luncheon of the N. Y. Churchmans Association and made address welcoming Judge Seabury as the speaker. He has made a splendid fight to break the power of Tammany and to free the City Government from the corrupting influence of partisan politics. The prospect looks hopeful but no one can tell what the result of the election will be. The introduction of National politics into it through James Farley, Roosevelt's Campaign Manager, is a serious mistake. What we need here is honest City Govt. freed from all connection with politics and this I have been saying publicly. At night we listened to Farley and La Guardia over the Radio. La Guardia's reply was simple, straight, and effective.

7th Election Day.

Voted for the Fusion Ticket—which was elected although Tammany retains a few offices of importance—

8th Officiated at funeral of John Jay Chapman. Painful interview with the Rev. _____ & fear that I must institute proceedings—am consulting the Chancellor.

9th Diocesan work. Bishop Moreland came to see me about a most serious and distressing matter. Had long talk with him.

10th Attended Dinner of the Pilgrims and said Grace for them—Sat next to Sir William Beveridge, Head of the London School of Economics and had a very interesting talk with him. He made an excellent speech and expressed his hope that, in time, we shall "recover from our recovery."

11th-Armistice Day-

Interview with Judge Van Amringe as to a most distressing matter relating to one of the clergy.

Frances and I drove out to Irvington to a Parish Reception which it is hoped will help to calm the parish after a little disturbance and give it a new start—& the prospects for this seemed to be good.

12th Twenty-second S. after Trinity.

Visitations at Wappingers Falls and New Hamburgh—Lunched with the Willis Reeses.

13th Diocesan work—letters—interviews.

14th Lunched at St. Barnabas House with forty or fifty of the City Clergy and members of the City Mission Staff.

15th Office and Study-Letters, etc.

16th In office much of the day—At 165th Annual Dinner of the Chamber of Commerce to which I have gone each year for many years. Sat next to Col. McCormick, editor of the Chicago Tribune who was the principal speaker and who made a strong address on "The Freedom of the Press." The Chamber is deeply disturbed and anxious as to the results of some of the Roosevelt financial policies.

17th In office until 11.45—Florence, Lizzie, Frances and I drove to Tux-

edo to lunch with the Hoffmans—Visited the stables to see Mr. H's wonderful horses—A very pleasant trip—got home about 5 o'clock.

18th At Astor Hotel spoke to 1700 teachers in the public schools as to their work for our boys and girls—A remarkable gathering. Bishop Woodcock of Kentucky arrived. He and I are to speak at the meeting tomorrow at White Plains.

19th Twenty-third S. after Trinity—At 8 in Cathedral and also at 11—In afternoon presided at great meeting of clergy and people from all our parishes in Westchester County gathered in the huge Community Centre at White Plains. A wonderful demonstration of faith and enthusiasm. Speakers—Bishop Woodcock, Canon Prichard and myself. The Revd. W. G. Peck of England preached in the Cathedral and lunched with us with the Revd. Dr. and Mrs. McGregor—Bishop Woodcock took the train at 9.30 for Louisville.

20th At office all the morning—Bishop Oldham of Albany with us at lunch. He is being maliciously and most unscrupulously assailed by A. G. Cummins of Poughkeepsie and thinks he may be compelled to take some notice of it. I have made it my rule to pay no attention to attacks from this source. They have little effect in this Diocese where the author of them is well known and those who share his theological views have, most of them, no sympathy with his methods. Dr. C. is making similar attacks on the Presiding Bishop. At meeting of Church Extension Society all the afternoon.

21st Diocesan work—letters, etc., all day. At night drove to Nyack and spoke at a meeting of men of that and the surrounding parishes—a pleasant and profitable evening. Got home about 11.30—

22nd Office and Study.

23rd Interviews, etc.—In afternoon gave a reception in the Synod House to the students belonging to our own Church in the various Colleges in the City—Last year the number was 160, this year 260—They all seemed to enjoy it thoroughly—The clergy of the Cathedral Staff and others assisted and Frances and Peggy Hughes poured tea.

24th In office most of the day—interviews, etc.

Drove to Newburgh for supper with the Clergy and Lay Delegates of that Archdeaconry after which we had a special service in the Church of the Good Shepherd. Bishop Gilbert took the service and made a brief address and I preached, afterwards invoking a special blessing on the Clergy for the united evangelistic effort which they are undertaking—a crowded Church and an inspiring service. Bishop Gilbert rode back with me—Got home a little before midnight—

25th Interviews, etc., at office. At St. Lukes Hospital for a time in the afternoon. Alonzo Potter, son of Bishop Henry C. Potter came to express in person the thanks of his family for my sermon on Bishop Potter and brought me a Private Communion Set which was given to Bishop Potter by the Teachers in his Sunday School in Troy, in 1861 with an inscription

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on it stating that it is given to me by Bishop Potter's children. A very touching and precious gift.

26th S. next before Advent—Service in my own Chapel—At 11 at Grace Church, White Plains—lunched with the Rector and his wife and other friends—home at about 4—

27th Interviews, etc., all morning—Chaplain Fell at lunch to talk over the possibility of his returning to St. Albans.

28th Diocesan work—Fabric Committee at 3, Cathedral Trustees at 4. 29th Diocesan work. A lynching at San Jose, California, aided and abetted by the Governor of the State, has stirred public feeling all over the Country—Dr. Darlington, Rector of the Church of the Heavenly Rest has most amazingly sent a telegram of congratulation to Governor Rolph. In view of this I have issued a statement which appears in the papers this morning.

The kidnapping of the Lindbergh child had occurred the preceding year and people were greatly stirred by it and by other kidnappings. "Lindbergh" laws began to appear in different states applying the most severe penalties. But in many cases people would not wait for the passage of such laws. In California some men who had engaged in an attempted kidnapping were apprehended and put in jail to be brought to trial. A large crowd assembled in gala fashion, removed the prisoners, and hanged them there and then. The governor was appealed to to send in troops to keep order in the community. He refused, and commended the lynchers. For this he was widely denounced; but some people, in confusion over the epidemic of kidnapping, applauded. Among them was poor Harry Darlington. The bishop's statement concerned itself with the lynching, and the appalling consequences of approval given by the chief law-enforcing official of a state. No mention was made of Darlington and his telegram. Perhaps this hastened the acknowledgement of the error and the apology reported on the 6th.

30th Thanksgiving Day—In Cathedral at 8 and 11—Elizabeth—"the Beetle" [Gordon Coale]—and others here at lunch.

Dec. 1st Diocesan work-office, etc.

2nd Office all morning-

3rd Advent Sunday—At Ch. of Redeemer, Pelham. Home late for lunch—Then to College of City of New York to speak at Mass Meeting in protest against California Lynching and Governor Rolph's action in the matter. Then to official interview with one of the clergy who is accused of immoral conduct. He signed a statement acknowledging his wrong doing and asking for deposition from the Ministry. A sad case.

4th In office and study-

Went to see Canon Prichard, Josiah Webster, and Dr. Rogers—all of them sick.

5th Annual Service and meeting of Woman's Auxiliary. Took "Preparatory Service" and Celebrated the Holy Communion—more than a thousand women present. Then to lunch in the Synod House and afterwards presided at the afternoon meeting which lasted until about four o'clock. Writing at night until late.

6th Office and Study—At St. Luke's Hospital and called to see Canon Clover who has been seriously ill—Writing at night. Dr. Darlington came to see me last Saturday. He realizes the seriousness of his mistake in regard to Gov. Rolph and on Sunday made a brief statement to this effect from his pulpit.

7th Diocesan work all morning—In afternoon at meeting of Cathedral Auxiliary—Heard of illness of George W. Wickersham—went at once to the house and saw Mrs. Wickersham—He is improving slightly.

8th In office all morning—At 3.15 took train for Atlantic City at invitation of Bishop Matthews to discuss the arrangements for the General Convention—Bishop and Mrs. Matthews, Bishop Taitt, Bishop Washburn and Admiral and Mrs. Belknap and Dean Dagwell of Denver were at Haddon Hall and Bishop and Mrs. Stires came in from another hotel. Admiral Belknap is chairman of the committee of arrangements for the Convention. Haddon Hall is to be the headquarters of the House of Bishops. I spoke to them of my plan for having the Consecration of the Nave of the Cathedral in connection with the General Convention and immediately following it, and they received the suggestion most warmly.

Dec. 9th Bishop Matthews took us to inspect the great Auditorium and other halls which are to be used for the different gatherings at the General Convention.

Took train for New York at 2.35.

Dec. 10th Second S. in Advent. Cathedral at 8.

In Bronx at Trinity, Morrisania, at 11. This parish is showing great revival under its new Rector. [Edward T. Theopold]. Some friends with us at lunch—Hoffmans, Sampsons, Belknaps and Miss Caroline White.

11th Diocesan work all day-Writing at night.

12th Anniversary of my ordination as Deacon in St. Luke's Chapel, Sewanee, and as Priest at St. Paul's, San Diego; also on this date I was elected Assistant Rector of Trinity Parish upon the nomination of Dr. Morgan Dix. Forty-two years in the Priesthood—Redlands—Sewanee, as Professor of Dogmatic Theology—Cincinnati, Trinity Mission,—Lansdowne, St. John's—Nashville, Christ Church—New York, St. Agnes, Trinity Church, and, in 1921, consecrated Bishop. The years as Bishop have been full of work, full of difficulties, full of interest and, in spite of difficulties, short-comings, and mistakes, full of real happiness. The spirit of the Diocese was never as good, as peaceful and united, as it seems to be at this time. We had some of the clergy here at dinner—Wallace Gardener and his two

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sisters, Fr. McCune, Crosby, the Dotys, the Spears, and Fr. Mabry. They stayed until 12 o'clock.

18th In office and study all day. Mrs. Dudley Gale, of Christ Church, Nashville, and her sister Mrs. Donnan here at lunch.

14th Diocesan work. Friends here in afternoon, Mrs. Frank Potter, Miss White and others—Florence, Lizzie and I ran down at 5.30 to call on the Flemings.

15th Office and Study all day long-

16th Made address at Luncheon of Grace Church in connection with the celebration of their 125th anniversary—An interesting occasion. Spoke of my relations with Dr. Huntington, and of fact that I have known four of the eight Rectors of the Parish.

17th Third S. in Advent—At old St. Johns in Waverly Place. The parish was almost dead but is reviving notably under the new Rector. [Walter P. Doty] Bishop Roots of Hankow preached in the Cathedral and came in to lunch with us—also Judge and Mrs. McCook, the Dean and Mrs. Gates, and Bishop Lloyd.

18th Diocesan work-In afternoon Church Extension Society.

19th-22nd Diocesan work-Office-Study-Sermons, etc.

23rd Preparations for Christmas.

24th Fourth S. in Advent—Christmas Eve. At Cathedral all day—Celebrated at 8—Preached at 11—At Carol Service at 4—the best I think that we ever had. The Dean and Mrs. Gates, Mrs. Jones and Miss Gill, and Dr. Rogers and his son with us at lunch.

Many lovely gifts & plants have come, and an avalanche of Christmas cards. We had our family gathering and gave our gifts at night.

Among my messages this morning was a telegram of good wishes from Archbishop Tourian of the Armenian Church—later I learned that he was murdered in the Church as the procession entered. Sent telegram to Bishop Garabedian assuring him and his clergy and people of our sympathy and prayers.

25th Christmas Day—Celebrated at 7 in the Cathedral—and there also at eleven. Offered special prayers for the clergy and people of the Armenian Church. Dr. Carr and Elmendorf, the Spears, and "Beetle" here with us at lunch.

26th St. Stephen's.

Much work at Office all day. Arranged for the Armenians to have the Archbishop's funeral service in our Cathedral on New Year's Day. Heavy snow.

27th St. John the Evangelist—Celebrated in Cathedral at 11 at Annual Service at The Cathedral Auxiliary—then at their meeting in the Synod Hall made an address—then at lunch with them in the Undercroft—then at Office for letters, etc.—At 3.30 special meeting of Finance Committee to discuss matters relating to the Budget—At 4 Annual Meeting of the Trustees—Long discussion as to the Budget—It developed that there was

a serious and unaccountable difference in the amount of the deficit as shown in the Budget prepared by the Dean, and as shown in the report made by the Treasurer, Lewis S. Morris. The Dean's statement showed a deficit of about \$11,000.00 for the past year; the Treasurer's statement showed a deficit of about \$30,000.00. The whole matter was referred back to the Finance Committee for further consideration and report. At 8.30 p.m. went to Temple Adath Israel the principal Synagogue in the Bronx to deliver a "Christmas Message" at the invitation of Rabbi Schorr—other speakers were Bainbridge Colby, Nathan Strauss, Mr. Macdonald, a Roman Catholic and Dr. Hunt. A most interesting evening and a great congregation.

28th Holy Innocents. At work most of the day trying to get matters straightened out in regard to the Cathedral Budget and to ensure its proper presentation at the special meeting which is to be held. Made further arrangements for the funeral of Archbishop Tourian. Writing at night. Very cold and much snow. Florence kept indoors with a cold.

29th Met a number of my Candidates for Orders for a talk with them. Went down to see Percy Silver, Rector of "The Incarnation" who is seriously ill—found that he is not allowed to see anyone.

30th Diocesan work all morning—Study in afternoon—Working on matters relating to the Cathedral Budget—a difficult and trying matter. Florence in bed with her cold. Bishop Garabedian and one of his laymen, Mr. V. Kurkjian, called in person to express the appreciation of their clergy and people for my offer of the Cathedral for the funeral of Archbishop Tourian.

31st S. after Christmas—Visited Church of the Holy Rood and preached. Haskell DuBose and his wife and their son Haskell came to lunch—had a good talk about Sewanee. Florence still in bed. Mr. Hoffman came in at six to talk about the Budget situation. Sent telegram to our new Mayor, F. H. La Guardia, to reach him when he takes up work tomorrow morning at the City Hall. He has a tremendous task before him and will need all the support and encouragement that can be given him.

January First, 1934 "The Circumcision."

In my own Chapel—At 10 at Cathedral for the funeral of Archbishop Tourian. A wonderful and most moving service. The martyred Archbishop lay in the open coffin fully vested—Bishop Garabedian presided and pontificated—with many of their clergy present and other dignitaries of the Eastern Churches. I sat in my own stall and made a brief address after the Creed, as they requested. The anointing of the body, the farewell by each Bishop, Priest, Deacon and Sub Deacon and the whole service was an experience never to be forgotten. Not only the Crossing but the Nave also was filled with people, at least fifteen thousand, and perhaps twenty thousand, making the largest attendance ever yet gathered in the Cathedral. The Armenians came not only from this city but from all the places round about, The service lasted from ten until after one o'clock. Frances, Lizzie,

and "the Beetle" were in the Organ Screen, with some others.

Elizabeth and Griff came to lunch. Florence still in bed. A very appreciative reply from the Mayor.

2nd Usual round of work. Many letters and telegrams are coming, from Armenians all over the country, about the service yesterday.

3rd Frances and Elizabeth went in my car to Philadelphia to see Elsie Lea, taking "Beetle" with them to his school at West Town. Went to the studio of Mrs. Farnam—(Suzanne Silvercruys of Belgium) to sit for a portrait bust which she wishes to do—At dinner with the Aymar Johnsons—Florence unable to go—

4th Again at Mrs. Farnam's studio for a second, and final, sitting for the "bust" which is to be in bronze and is to be exhibited with others in Belgium, France and America. Frances returned from Phila.

5th Almost the whole day in my office. Florence is better and was up part of the day.

6th Feast of the Epiphany-

Spent most of the day writing—Struggling with a cold so went out as little as possible.

7th First S. after Epiphany-

At St. Martha's in the Bronx—Church crowded in spite of the hard rain. In these difficult times many are drawing closer to the Church. I see many signs of this—though there are also powerful influences making for paganism & materialism. Cold somewhat better but still troublesome.

Elizabeth and Griff here for supper—Bishop Gilbert and his son here at lunch.

8th In the papers this morning a most surprising address delivered by Dr. McBain, Dean of the Graduate Schools of Columbia University, at the Annual Service for the Commemoration of the Departed in the University Chapel—on the subject of "Immortality"—rejecting belief in a Future Life. A busy day—too busy.

9th Went to see Percy Silver who is seriously ill and had a very happy and touching little visit with him. No one else has yet been allowed to see him. On the way home stopped at St. Bartholomew's and had a talk with Dr. Sargent. Allan Chalmers came in from Scarsdale to see me about an important matter and stayed for lunch. In office all the afternoon.

A number of people here with us for Dinner—Donegan of St. James's and his mother, the Stephen Bakers, Willis Reeses, Crawfords, Dr. and Mrs. Warner Bishop, Dr. Karl Vogel, Elizabeth and Griff and ourselves—A pleasant evening.

10th Busy all the morning at Office—Important meeting of Finance Committee of the Cathedral in regard to difficulties about the Budget at 14 Wall St., Mr. Wickersham's office.

11th Many interviews. Received a visit from the Vicar Primate of the Armenian Church with some of his laymen to express thanks for our having the funeral service of Archbishop Tourian in the Cathedral. They

brought me a beautiful photograph of the Archbishop. Called at Mr. Wickersham's. He has been very ill but to my surprise was able to see me. I find that many people are much shocked and hurt by Dr. McBain's address on Immortality in the Chapel of Columbia University and as I am to preach there next Sunday I feel that I must speak on the same subject. 12th Diocesan work—and preparing sermon for Columbia University Chapel next Sunday.

13th Busy day in office and study.

14th Second S. after Epiphany—Celebrated in Cathedral at 8—At 11 in the Chapel of Columbia University preached on "Immortality"—Some of the newspapers had announced my intention to preach on this subject and the congregation was the largest I have ever seen in that Chapel. Also Dr. Butler and some members of the Faculty were there, which I have never seen before at a regular Sunday service.²

On Saturday Chaplain Knox telephoned me. He had seen the announcement of my subject in the papers and was quite nervous about it. I told him that I had no thought of mentioning Dean McBain's name but that after what the Dean had said in the Chapel a week ago I should feel that I could not come there without preaching on the subject. He accepted this but I felt that he, and Dr. Butler also, would have much preferred that I should not preach on this subject. The Chaplain rather weakly tried to defend Dr. McBain's utterance, in some measure, but he told me that he and Dr. Butler and Dean McBain had been receiving a great number of letters protesting against it.

The sermon on "Immortality" is in no way extraordinary. It may well have come out of "the barrel," though it is couched in language suitable for the learned persons before whom it was delivered. Its importance lies in the fact that it was exactly the time and place for just this sermon. In this sense the sermon was indeed timely.

15th Interviews—Many letters about my sermon at Columbia. Church Extension Society all the afternoon. Great trouble with our endowment funds in this Society and in all our organizations and institutions, owing to the continued financial depression—trouble especially with mortgages ceasing to pay interest and much of our endowment funds is in this form of investment which everyone supposed to be the safest form.

16th Diocesan business. Many letters and messages about my Columbia sermon. A letter from Professor Dixon Ryan Fox saying that the sermon is appreciated by many of the Trustees and members of the Faculties and asking permission for it to be printed, along with Dr. McBain's address, in the Columbia University Quarterly. I gladly gave permission for this. A remarkable letter about it also from Bernard Iddings Bell who knows Dr.

² There is some evidence however that President Butler was fairly regular in attendance at one time.

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McBain quite well. Letters still coming about the funeral service of Archbishop Tourian.

17th Still many letters about the Columbia Sermon. I am preparing for the mass meeting next Sunday night in the Cathedral in behalf of the Unemployed. Mayor La Guardia has promised me that he will speak at the meeting although he is under tremendous pressure. As this is to be a Mass Meeting of civic character, not a stated service, I have invited Ministers of all Churches, and Rabbis of all Synagogues, to take places in the procession and to sit in the Choir which seems to have aroused great interest.

18th Diocesan work-We dined at Mrs. Henderson's.

19th and 20th The usual round of work.

21st Third S. after Epiphany-In my own Chapel-

At St. Thomas's at 4 for the 25th anniversary of the Church Mission of Help which Father Huntington and I started and the first meeting of which was held in the old Trinity Rectory, 27 West 25th St. where we lived for 10 years and where Dr. Dix lived for 36 years until his death. At 8 in the Cathedral we had our Mass Meeting in behalf of the Unemployed with Mayor La Guardia, Judge Lehman, Bishop Gilbert and myself as speakers. One of the most wonderful gatherings we have ever had. An immense crowd estimated at 10,000. Very many unable to get in. Judge Lehman is the brother of our present Governor and the leading Jewish layman of the City. President of Temple Emmanu El.

The meeting was a great illustration of the function of a Cathedral on its civic side. The mayor made an excellent address, simple, sincere and effective.

22nd Diocesan business and many interviews. We dined with Dr. and Mrs. Fleming—the Burleighs and the Belknaps.

23rd The whole afternoon at the Fabric Committee and the meeting of the Cathedral Trustees. At night at a Dinner of the Alumni of St. Stephen's College at the Columbia University Club spoke on the work and future of the College.

Went downstairs, with H. Content, to another dinner of former Army Officers—29th Division—and spoke to them.

24th At Annual Luncheon of The Pilgrims—Then to the Annual Meeting of the Churchwomens Patriotic League—spoke to them on their work—

25th Conversion of St. Paul-

Diocesan work all day.

26th Thirteenth anniversary of my election as Bishop. In conference with Bishop Gilbert on reorganization of our Missions in the Diocese—Bishop Lloyd away for a rest—At 4 we all went to the studio of Mrs. Henry Farnam to see my "bust" which she has done—The family are not greatly pleased with it.

27th At work all day-

28th Septuagesima-Cathedral at 8-

At 11 preached at the Church of the Incarnation—spoke to the people at the door after the service—Then went to see Dr. Silver who is making some improvement—Then home for lunch where we had Mrs. Wm. Barclay Parsons, Mrs. Swords & Miss Clarkson and the DePeysters—Writing at night.

29th Office until 12—Then to lunch given to our Secretary of Labour, the Hon. Frances Perkins, who made a very able speech on Unemployment Insurance. In Office again until 5—Writing at night. Donegan of St. James's came to see me at 5.30.

30th In Study all morning—Wired congratulations to President Roosevelt on his 52nd Birthday. After lunch to St. Luke's Hospital—then to Office. Writing all the evening.

31st The usual round.

Feb. 1st Diocesan work all day. Many of our smaller parishes are in difficulties owing to the depression. We dined with the Willis Reeses—Judge and Mrs. Finch, Dr. and Mrs. Ray and others.

2nd Office and Study all day.

3rd Office and Study. We dined with Mr. and Miss Sampson—the Archibald Murrays, Paul Tuckermans, Sam Tuckers, Admiral and Mrs. Hunt.

4th Sexagesima.

At 11 preached at St. Andrew's, Harlem.

5th Office-interviews, letters, etc.

At night the Annual Dinner of the Church Club at the Waldorf Astoria. The Mayor and I were to have been the speakers but owing to the acute situation the Mayor had to be in Washington and his place was taken by the Comptroller, Major Cunningham, who made an excellent address. I paid tribute to Judge Seabury who was present, as well as to the Mayor and the new City Administration. A great gathering of men and women of the Church. Florence had at her table Dr. and Mrs. Fleming, of Trinity, Frances, Elizabeth and Griff, Ruth Delafield and her brother, Wallace Gardner of The Intercession, Dudley and Peggy Hughes and Robert Wood of Tuxedo.

6th At Staff Meeting at 9—then at Office. Mrs. Herbert Shipman came to see me about her work for cleaner streets and I gave her a letter to Judge Seabury. Sidney Evans, Chief of Chaplains came to lunch to tell me about the visit of the Fleet here next June and I arranged with him for a special service for the Officers and Men at the Cathedral on Sunday—June 3rd.

7th In Study and Office—In afternoon F. and I went to tea at Miss Mason-Manheims—with Mrs. James Roosevelt, the President's Mother—Col. and Mrs. Edward M. House, Mrs. Post, Helen Hooker, De Lazslo the great Portrait Painter, who has just painted the Archb'p of Canterbury, the Polish Ambassador, Admiral Fiske and others—

Called on Mrs. Richard M. Hoe who is far from well. Writing at night.

8th The usual round of Diocesan and other work. Severe cold causing much suffering among the people who are unemployed and in need.

9th Thermometer registered fourteen below zero. The lowest temperature recorded in the history of the City. Many appointments. Long interview with the Dean in regard to Windows which we have to put in the Nave. After lunch a long session with Bishop Gilbert as to rearrangements of our Missionary work.

10th In office all morning. Long interview with Mr. Sampson on Cathedral matters. Was served with a subpoena in the case relating to Mrs. Blodgett's will. Her physician is charged with having used undue influence causing her to leave much of her property to him and to ignore some of her relatives. Weather still very cold but moderating.

11th Quinquagesima.

In Ossining all day—Trinity Church in the morning and St. Paul's in the afternoon—excellent congregations in both Churches. Got word of the death of the Revd. Dr. Mansfield—After returning to the city went down to see his family and had prayers with them.

12th Lincoln's Birthday—Spent the day writing and making notes for sermons.

13th Diocesan work in Office—At 2.45 conducted Funeral Service of the Revd. Dr. Mansfield in the Chapel at the Seamens Church Institute assisted by his Rector, the Revd. Donald Aldrich. Many of the clergy and laity present, and a great throng of seamen in the Building—At 5.30 Mr. Hoffman came to see me about Cathedral matters. Writing at night.

14th Ash Wednesday. St. Valentine's Day.

At 7.45 Celebrated in my own Chapel—at 12 preached in Trinity Church—a great congregation in spite of the extreme cold and largely of men—Florence and Elizabeth there with me—We took Elizabeth home and went in to see Griff's portraits then home to lunch—At 5 preached at St. James's—Florence went with me.

15th Frances's Birthday—we gave her our gifts after breakfast. Got news of the death of Edward W. Sheldon, Treasurer of the Cathedral Building Fund since the beginning of our Campaign in 1924, one of the best and most upright men I have ever known and a sincere churchman. It is a great loss. In office and study. Birthday dinner for Frances—

16th Busy morning in office. Another interview with ______ on the painful matter of the charges against him made by the Rector and Vestry of _____. These cases of necessary discipline among the clergy are heart breaking and the number of them in the past few years has been dismaying __it is a part of the general weakening of faith and world upheaval.

17th Officiated at funeral of Edward W. Sheldon at Church of the Incarnation—then to see Dr. Silver who is making slow progress—then to Office—

18th First S. in Lent. Cathedral at 8—Matins in my own Chapel—At 4 in Cathedral for special service of the Protestant Teachers Association of

New York—an immense congregation—At 8 p.m. Confirmation at St. Ignatius.

19th Office—interviews, etc.—In afternoon meeting of Church Extension Society—many difficult problems owing to the financial situation but our Missions are carrying on most faithfully and with great courage.

20th Another tremendous snowstorm—traffic impeded all over the City. In office all the morning. The Rev. _____ came to my office and signed a statement confessing to immoral conduct in _____, waving trial, and asking for deposition—and this statement was signed by _____ and ___ as witnesses. Action on the other charges brought against ____ will therefore not be necessary. The papers relating to this and other similar matters are in my Safe Deposit Box in the Bank. We are all sorrowing

ilar matters are in my Safe Deposit Box in the Bank. We are all sorrowing over the sudden and tragic death of Albert, King of the Belgians—a true Christian man and a noble King—

At the time of my consecration as Bishop King Albert wrote me a letter which hangs framed on the wall—I have also the "Order of the Crown" conferred by him and in the Cathedral we have a Plaque which he sent to us which hung in the Private Chapel of his Father—the subject of which is The Descent from the Cross. King Albert's death is a loss to the whole Christian World.

21st At Office—Diocesan business—In Cathedral pronounced sentence of deposition on ______ in the presence of Dean Gates and the Revd. W. D. F. Hughes—

22nd Washington's Birthday—At 8.30 in Cathedral Celebrated at Corporate Communion of St. Andrew's Brotherhood. About 300 present in spite of the deep snow and bad travelling. Breakfast afterwards in John Jay Hall, Columbia University, where Dean Ackerman and I spoke to them.

Elizabeth and Griff here at dinner.

23rd Weather still very cold. Office and Study. At work on subjects, etc., for Windows in the Nave of the Cathedral.

24th St. Mathias Day. Office—Diocesan work—went to call on Fr. L. C. Rich, who lost his wife recently.

25th Second S. in Lent. Left at 8.30. At Grace Church, Middletown, at 11, Instituted the new Rector and Confirmed a class of 25—Church crowded in spite of bad roads and bad weather—Went to Highland Mills for a quiet service at 3 p.m. and found the Church filled—very surprising in view of the unusual hour of the service and the weather. George Dumbell is doing true and faithful work there—Left there in another snowstorm which made a bad journey back to New York. Six different people telephoned the house during the evening to know if I had reached home safely, among them the Dean and Mr. Wood of Tuxedo who was at the service at Highland Mills.

26th Another heavy snowstorm. Traffic of all kinds seriously impeded. In office morning and afternoon attending to Diocesan matters. Snowed all day.

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27th Roads almost impassable but snow has now stopped. Went to see Dr. Butler to ask him to act as Chairman of "The Friends of the Cathedral," an organization for which we are planning—Dr. B. accepted very willingly though he will not be able to do much active work. At 3 Fabric Committee—At 4 the meeting of the Cathedral Trustees—At 5.30 talk with Dudley Hughes as to the Cathedral Music.

28th Weather clear but snow everywhere. In Office and Study all day.

Writing at night.

March 1st Weather somewhat milder but still cold. In Study and Office. Much work on Diocesan matters. Received word of the death of Mrs. Whitredge, the daughter of Matthew Arnold, a noble and charming woman and a most devout churchwoman. It was her husband's request that I presided at the great meeting in Carnegie Hall in behalf of the Belgians at which Elihu Root, James M. Beck and others spoke—before we entered the War—see pamphlet in regard to this meeting—and ever since that time our friendship with Mrs. Whitredge has been very real. I was with her much at the time of her husband's death.

2nd Writing much of the day—Called on the Whitredge family and had prayers with them—

3rd Officiated at funeral of Mrs. Whitredge with the Rector, Mr. Bourne. Still much snow in the streets—Evensong at 5 at Cathedral.

4th Third S. in Lent. At 8 at Cathedral and also at 11 when the Presiding Bishop preached. He and Mrs. Perry came in to lunch, with the Fosbrokes, the Dean and Mrs. Gates, etc.—Writing in afternoon—At 5.30 went into the Deanery to see Dr. Mockridge—At 8 at the Chapel of the Intercession preached, confirmed a class of seventy and received four from the Roman Communion, which is now so frequent that it causes no remark, and is the more remarkable because our clergy make no effort to draw them away to us, they came wholly on their own motion. In this Diocese we "receive" them officially and publicly but do not reconfirm them.

5th Writing most of the day.

6th Office and Study—We dined at Judge Finch's—the Benson Sloans, Ex-Governor and Mrs. Miller, the Herbert Satterlees, Mr. and Mrs. Mumford (?) from Brazil who had just flown here with their whole family including a baby ten months old—and others.

7th Preparing sermons and addresses, etc. and getting ready for the Dedication of the Pilgrims Pavement in the Nave next Sunday.

8th In Study most of the day. Another heavy fall of snow. Writing at night. Got news of the death of Miss Maria B. Chapin, founder, and until recently head, of the School to which Frances and Elizabeth went—one of the best of our Girls Schools. While I was at Trinity Miss Chapin came there, from St. George's Church, and has been a member of Trinity Parish ever since. She was an able and a very noble woman.

9th Interviews at Office all the morning-At 4 p.m. officiated at funeral

of Miss Chapin at Trinity Church—Florence, Frances and Lizzie went with me. Elizabeth came to the service and we took her home afterwards. Another heavy snow.

10th Interviews at Office much of the morning. Preparing sermons, etc. Snow still continuing.

11th Fourth S. in Lent-

At Church of Heavenly Rest, Confirmed and preached—Church crowded in spite of the bad weather. At 4 Dedication of the Pilgrims Pavement in the Nave of the Cathedral. A great congregation and a memorable service. Another important step in the progress of the Cathedral. A number of people came in to tea after the service and the Crawfords stayed to supper.

12th The usual round—Preparing sermons, addresses, etc. Conference with the Dean about Windows in the Cathedral.

13th In Study all morning—Office in afternoon—At night Florence and I went to a Reception given for the Laymens Club of the Cathedral in celebration of the laying of the Pavement in the Nave.

14th Study and Office-much Diocesan work.

15th Dinner with Sam Shoemaker and the leaders of the "Oxford Group" and afterwards attended their meeting in the great Ball Room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel at which more than 3000 were present. I spoke briefly to them and offered a prayer at the close of the meeting. They seem to me to be trying to arouse the Church to believe and do more truly what we ought all of us to believe and do-As to some of their methods there is room for question, e.g., their views of "sharing" and of guidance are open to obvious spiritual dangers, but their central aim is to bring people to Christ and their great power is in their full faith in Him, in their insistence on the necessity of a real conviction of sin, and in their emphasis on the necessity of true conversion to Christ. The Church should certainly welcome, and show its sympathy with this Movement. Some people feel that it makes too little of the Sacramental Truth of our Religion and this is no doubt true in some of its representatives but not in all of them and its principles should I think, if sincerely followed, lead to a full realization of the need of the Sacraments and of the full life of the Catholic Church. We must not in this case make the mistake which the Church made in regard to the Methodist Movement.

16th Preparing sermons and Addresses for the Three Hour Service on Good Friday—At 8 p.m. Visitation and Confirmation at St. Mary the Virgin's—A large congregation for a Friday night.

17th St. Patrick's Day. Interviews, etc. in morning—Evensong in Cathedral. Elizabeth and Griff here at dinner—

18th Passion Sunday—Cathedral at 8—

Quiet time in my own Chapel—very restful and helpful—At 4 Confirmed and preached at St. Bartholomews—at door of Church spoke to many of

the large congregation—then went to their Community House and met a large gathering of young people. Writing at night.

19th Study in morning-then Office, letters, interviews, etc.

20th Frances motored to Philadelphia—Office and Study—Went to Mr. Wickersham who is improving slowly and will have to give up much of his work. Writing at night.

21st-22nd Diocesan work—Preparing sermons and addresses for Holy Week.

23rd In Study and Office—At night Confirmation at Chapel of the Incarnation. Church crowded with the poor people of the region—A real work is being done there.

24th Interviews-Office-Study, etc.

25th Palm Sunday—Celebration in my own Chapel. At 11 at Emmanuel Mission in the Bronx—Church packed almost to suffocation and a large class for Confirmation—Faithful work is being done. At 4 at Church of the Transfiguration, "the Little Church around the Corner."

26th Study and Office.

27th Getting ready for Three Hour Service on Good Friday and for Easter.

28th At 4 Confirmation in the Cathedral.

29th Maundy Thursday.

7.30 in Cathedral-Busy day-

30th Good Friday—Took the Three Hour Service in the Cathedral—then to Columbia Broadcasting Studios to make brief address introducing the Archbishop of Canterbury who at my request spoke to people all over this Country from the Cathedral at Canterbury—a most helpful address. 31st Interviews, etc.—At 3 p.m. Confirmation at Trinity Church—on way home called to see Dr. Silver & had a prayer with him. He seems to be improving—but slowly.

April 1 Easter Day. At 7 at Cathedral.

At 11 preached in Cathedral—one of the largest congregations we have ever had—many unable to get in—Mayor La Guardia and his wife came to the service. In Cathedral again at 4. Elizabeth, Griff and "Beetle" here with us. At Egg Hunt with the Choir boys at 2.30.

2nd In office all morning catching up with work. At 4 meeting of Com. on Diocesan Finance.

3rd At work on Diocesan matters all day—many of them financial difficulties of parishes and missions due to the continued depression.

4th Had a visit from Col. Fowler of the Police Dept. to talk about the great number of people killed and injured in our streets and to ask if I will ask the clergy to call the matter to the attention of our congregations. Put him in touch with the Revd. Dr. Van Keuren who will report to me on it. We dined at night at Mrs. Twombly's—the Everett Colbys, Wm. Church Osborns, Geo. Brewsters, Dr. and Miss Satterwhite, Myron

C. Taylors, Mrs. Henry White, Charles E. Sampson and others—twenty six in all.

5th Office, letters, telephone talks, etc.—At 10.30 meeting of Commission on Faith and Order at General Seminary. I have been attending these meetings now for twenty-four years, since 1910 when I offered the resolution in the General Convention, in Cincinnati calling for a World Conference. The movement has I think accomplished much, especially by promoting and arousing friendly discussion and by its insistence that we must have the faith and courage to face our differences and discuss them frankly if we are to move towards Reunion.

Dr. Wm. Adams Brown of Union Theological Seminary came to see me about having a service in the Cathedral to emphasize some of the different Movements for Christian Unity.

6th Seventeen years ago today America entered the World War. It was Good Friday, Father Huntington was preaching for me at the Three Hour Service in Trinity Church and in an intense silence we heard the bands go past the Church down Broadway and knew that the action had been taken. It was a moment never to be forgotten, though no one in that vast congregation could realize even faintly all that it was to mean.

At work in Study. Bishop Rhinelander came up at five for a talk—He is better and is here for a day or two.

7th Many interviews in morning-Study in afternoon and at night.

8th Low Sunday. On Staten Island all day—at Christ Church and St. Simon's Mission.

9th Diocesan work in Office and Study.

10th Interviews and preparing for Convention Address. We all went to a Tea given by Elizabeth and Griff in the Studio for the members of the Cathedral Staff and other friends—

11th The usual round.

12th Office—Letters—Interviews—Attended the Canonical Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders—then to Seamens Church Institute for 90th Anniversary Service, etc.—stayed to the luncheon—then back to Office—Writing at night.

13th Office work all the morning-

Annual meeting of the Cathedral Auxiliary at the Deanery-

14th Florence and I motored to Philadelphia to see Elsie Lea who is still far from well—took Kathleen Crawford with us—Good visit with Elsie and Van—called on Mrs. John Thompson Spencer—Got home about seven—making the return trip in just two hours.

15th Second S. after Easter—Cathedral at 8—Christ Church, Riverdale at 11—St. Cyprian's Coloured Church at 8—an immense crowd stretching out into the street & a very large Confirmation Class.

16th to 21st Overwhelmed with work—getting ready for our Convention—meeting Committees—writing my Convention Address, etc., etc.

22nd Third S. after Easter, At Trinity and St. Paul's Churches, New Rochelle. Λ busy day.

23rd Our 39th Wedding Anniversary—

Interviews and meetings much of the day.

24th Office and Study—Meeting of Trustees of Cathedral, Dinner of 22 for Elizabeth and Griff—for anniversary of their engagement—a very interesting company—

25th-28th The usual round of work.

29th Fourth S. after Easter. At St. Andrew's, Brewster, and St. Luke's, Katonah—

30th At the meeting of the Archdeaconry of the Bronx at Christ Church, Riverdale. Spoke to them on the Call to the Church at this time. A great meeting.

May 1st St. Philip and St. James. A very full day. Spoke to the Woman's Auxiliary at their meeting in the Synod Hall.

2nd and 3rd Getting ready for our Convention, etc.

4th At Installation of the new President of Hunter College with the Mayor and others.

5th The usual round.

6th Rogation Sunday. At Cathedral and in my own Chapel.

Preached to the Girls Friendly Society of the Diocese in the afternoon.

7th Getting ready for Convention.

8th Meeting of Diocesan Convention—the fourteenth at which I have presided.

9th Diocesan Convention—A good Convention; their response to my Address was remarkable especially in view of some matters which it touched upon. There was a good deal of ecclesiastical politics in connection with the election of Deputies to the General Convention.

10th Ascension Day. Cathedral at 7.30. Church of the Ascension at night. Busy all day.

11th At Commencement of the Deaconess School, etc., etc. Anniversary of my consecration as Bishop.

12th My sixty-eighth Birthday—The usual round of work—Elizabeth and Griff with us at dinner.

13th S. after Ascension. At St. John's, Larchmont. Our great Annual Service for Nurses in the Cathedral at night. This was the tenth of these services, I have been present and spoken at all of them and this was I think the most inspiring. It is a great sight to see this army of Nurses in their uniforms gathered for worship in the Cathedral.

14th A busy day—At night spoke to the Fellowship of Social Workers with the Mayor.

15th-16th Work as usual.

17th Bishop Perry came to see me about a number of matters. Spoke at Dinner for 225th Anniversary of Trinity School.

18th Busy day—Elizabeth and Griff's Wedding Anniversary—they came to dinner.

19th Office all the morning—At 2.30 childrens service for Presentation of their Missionary Offering in the Cathedral. A wonderful gathering. Van

Lea here for lunch. Elsie seems a little better but we are greatly concerned about her.

20th Whitsun Day. At St. Mary's Staten Island. Procession of Clergy, Choir and whole congregation through the grounds—Sermon—Confirmation—Holy Eucharist—followed by Parish Luncheons, etc., etc. Great enthusiasm and a large attendance.

21st Office-interviews, etc., all morning-

22nd Office and Study—At 2 p.m. attended meeting of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary—made a motion that the degree of S.T.D. be conferred on Dean Fosbroke which was adopted unanimously. At meeting of Trustees of Cathedral at 4—Writing and preparing sermons at night.

23rd Motored to Newburgh—one hour and forty five minutes to St. George's Church where I preached at the service for the Woman's Auxiliary of the Orange District—A great gathering—Stayed to the luncheon. Reached home about 4.15. Office—Study, etc.

24th Office-Interviews, etc.

Went to see Mr. Samuel Kress's wonderful collection of pictures, mostly Italian, at his home, 1020 Fifth Avenue.

25th Florence and Lizzie left for Somesville. Frances & I went to train with them.

26th In the afternoon dedicated Window in the Nave of the Cathedral given by Francis M. Whitehouse and other members of the family in memory of Mr. Whitehouse's Father, the Right Rev. Henry John Whitehouse—Second Bishop of Illinois and sometime Rector of St. Thomas's Church in this City—An interesting service and a good number present—all the Whitehouses—Mrs. Charles B. Alexander, Allison Armour, etc., etc.

27th Trinity Sunday—At the Cathedral, ordained eight to the Diaconate and six to the Priesthood. A beautiful and moving service and the largest congregation by far, we ever had at an Ordination—They all came to lunch with me, with a number of the Clergy—Presenters, Examining Chaplains, etc. After lunch I took the Deacons with me to Welfare Island where we had, as we do each year, most touching services first in the Chapel and then in the Wards of the Hospitals. Went to see Chaplain Dana who is seriously ill. Got home about 6 p.m.

28th-31st Work as usual. Overwhelmingly busy-

June 1st Office and Study. Went to the Mayor's Dinner to the Officers of the Fleet at the Commodore Hotel. An immense gathering. A great many of the officers spoke of their interest in the service next Sunday at the Cathedral and told me they were coming.

2nd Officiated at funeral of Cass Gilbert at Church of the Heavenly Rest—3rd First S. after Trinity—Cathedral at 8—

At 11 great service for the Officers and Men of the Fleet at which I preached. One of the most thrilling services we have ever had in the

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Cathedral. Admiral Sellers the Commander in Chief, eight other Admirals & some two hundred other officers in the Choir and the whole Cathedral packed with sailors. They marched from 96th St. with their Colours and Bands—

The fleet service gave the bishop just the proper opportunity he wanted to correct effectively a flabby and shallow advocacy of pacifism which was rife. Many clergy who had preached a holy crusade during the First World War went to the opposite extreme because of the great feeling of disillusionment which the results of the war naturally brought.

A considerable number of Ministers of Religion just now, carried away by a wave of extreme pacifism, are announcing that no matter what the circumstances or conditions they will never give their assent, or moral support, to the use of force, and that in case of war they will refuse even, as Chaplains, to give solace and comfort to the sick, the wounded, and the dying. Such statements are greatly to be regretted. They do harm to the cause of Religion, they repel strong men from the Church, and they reflect discredit upon the Peace Movement which we wish to see strengthened and advanced. This extreme pacifist position does not represent either sound thinking or true religion. . . . Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Master and Saviour of us all, stands not for peace at any price, but for righteousness at any cost.

4th Office, etc.—Attended a Conference on the Unemployment Situation called by the Mayor at the City Hall. Chaplain Evans came up to tea and was overflowing with enthusiasm about the service yesterday. Admiral Sellers has ordered my sermon printed in the Ships Papers and distributed throughout the Fleet—It was on "The true Pacifism and the False"—

5th At work on my sermon for Albany—Attended the Commencement Exercises at Columbia University.

6th Office, etc.—Took train at 2 p.m. for Albany arriving at 4.45—Bishop Oldham drove me out to see the new St. Agnes's School. At dinner they had Mrs. Van Rensselaer, Col. Rice and Mr. and Mrs. Fayerweather—Mrs. F. was Margaret Doane Gardiner—Service at 8 in the Cathedral when I preached. The Lieut. Governor and his staff, the Governor being absent, the Mayor and his Staff, and all the Judges of the Court of Appeals were present and all came to the Sacristy before the service. A large congregation. They are observing the 50th Anniversary of the Laying of the Corner Stone. Left on midnight train. A pleasant visit.

7th Catching up with matters accumulated in my absence. At work on matters relating to Cathedral Windows—

8th In office all morning dictating letters—Joint Meeting of Committee on Program of Church and Committee on Diocesan Finance—Writing at night.

9th Many interviews—Dr. Wallace Gardner at lunch to talk over various problems.

10th Second S. after Trinity—At St. Augustine's, Croton, preached and Confirmed a class from that congregation and from the Church of the Divine Love, Montrose—also Confirmed a sick man in his home.

11th St. Barnabas Day. Still receiving many letters as to my sermon to the Officers and Men of the Fleet on "The True Pacifism and the False"—The Navy Department is ordering the sermon printed and distributed throughout the Navy. It was a brief and simple statement, taking about fifteen minutes to deliver.

At night went to Mamaroneck to a Parish Dinner celebration the 230th anniversary of the first service of the Prayer Book held there—a large and enthusiastic gathering.

12th Long conference with Bp. Gilbert on Diocesan matters. Still at work on matters connected with the new Windows we are now to put in the Nave. Attended Dinner in connection with the Installation of Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase as Chancellor of New York University—Five College Presidents were there Dr. Conant, the new President of Harvard, Dr. Dodds, the new President of Princeton, Dr. Angell of Yale, Dr. Robinson of C.C.N.Y. and Dr. Chase. I sat between Dr. Chase and Dr. Conant and had a most interesting talk with both of them.

18th Went with Frances, Elizabeth, Griff and "Beetle," to visit the Lexington, one of the two great Air Plane Carriers of our Navy, as the guests of Chaplain Riddle—Govvy Hoffman and his wife also there.

The ship is 880 feet long, carries 76 Air Planes, has displacement 34,000 tons, is faster than any Ocean Liner—has Hangar 500 feet in length—and the Upper Deck has an area of 2½ acres—A marvellous machine. Lunched with the Chaplain. At work until late on Cathedral and other matters.

14th Interviews and Meetings. Prince Gagarian and the Grand Duchess Marie came to talk about the situation of the Russian Church in this Country.

15th and 16th Hard at work finishing up things many of which ought to have been done long ago.

17th Third S. after Trinity. At Tomkins Cove—visited the Chapel of St. John the Divine, the Cathedral Fresh Air Home, and the House of Prayer at Jones's Point. Very hot but a good day—

18th Still at work on matters relating to the new Windows we are to put in the Nave. In afternoon at meeting of Church Extension Society.

19th Made my annual visit to my Oculist, Dr. Conrad Berens—At work on Windows, and other matters.

20th Mr. Hoffman came up to say good bye before sailing. Signed the contracts for eight Clerestory Windows and six Aisle Windows in the Nave to cost \$289,000.00—The money was given for this specific purpose—and the work is a God send to the Stained Glass Makers—five different Firms

—Cram tells me it will save three of the Firms from going to pieces. A group of the younger Clergy and their wives with us at lunch—with Frances as hostess. The Donegans, Whites, Prices, Pipers, Klomans and Mr. Ackerman and Otis Rice. Dr. Fleming came up to say good bye before sailing.

21st At work in Office and Study finishing up. Had a talk with Judge Seabury. Thomas P. Browne who was my most faithful Secretary while I was Rector of Trinity came up to have a talk about the Parish—Writing at night—

22nd Long conference with the Dean as to Memorials in the Nave of the Cathedral. Bp. Gilbert at lunch to talk over Diocesan matters.

23rd Many interviews at Office—Luncheon at Choir School and the Annual Prize Day Exercises—Hard at work finishing up things—packing, etc., for quiet—and work—at Somesville.

24th St. John Baptist—4th S. After Trinity—At 8 in Cathedral—other services quietly in my own Chapel.

25th At Luncheon of Citizens Budget Commission. Sat next to the Mayor and had a good talk with him.

Office-Study-packing, etc.

26th Interviews with Dr. Sunderland—Committee from Trinity Church, Saugerties, and others—Bp. Lloyd came to lunch. Very hot.

27th Office and Study all day—At 8 p.m. officiated at funeral of the Revd. Albert E. Bentley at Grace Church in the Bronx. The Dean and Mrs. Gates left for Cohasset.

28th At work closing up and packing. Dudley Hughes with us at dinner. The extremely hot weather continues.

29th St. Peter's Day. Office—Study—packing, etc.

Left on Bar Harbour Express at 6.15 p.m. for Somesville.

30th After a hot journey reached Ellsworth at 9.45 a.m.—an hour late—Found all going well—F. rather tired from looking after the family—Elsie Lea still here but ready to leave for N.E.H.—where Lizzie has now also gone.

July 1st 5th S. after Trinity—A quiet Sunday with our own services at the house.

2nd-7th Resting—Unpacking—Getting things in order for work in my Study—Writing many letters on Diocesan matters—

8th 6th S. after Trinity—Celebration at 8 and other services quietly in the house as usual. Elsie seems much better than during her first week or two here—

9th-19th At work on Diocesan matters-sermons, etc.

A good many callers and visitors—On the 16th we lunched with Edith Miller at Bar Harbour—the Endicotts, the Bordens and Mr. Coles—

20th At work on Cathedral and Diocesan matters much of the day—The dry weather continues and rain is greatly needed.

21st-24th Reading-writing-etc. Many letters.

25th St. James's Day—News came today of the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss in Austria—just 20 years from the day on which Austria delivered to Serbia the ultimatum which precipitated the World War. The situation is a very dangerous one.

26th Dined with Gilbert H. Montague in Seal Harbour—Several men connected with our present Government were there—Donald Richberg—James Landis, Justin Miller—also Henry Morgenthau, father of the Secretary of the Treasury, D. H. Morris, Ambassador to Belgium, Mr. Stimson, former Minister to Argentina, Dr. Angell, President of Yale, Dr. Hopkins, President of Dartmouth, Elliott Wadsworth, William Procter, Mr. Turner and Draper Lewis, Dr. Little, etc.

27th A heavy rain last night which was greatly needed. The Drought is serious in this State and in a number of the Western States it is calamitous and is accompanied with almost unprecedented heat.

28th Van Lea arrived, having motored from Philadelphia, stopping one night at Stonington. This is Elsie's birthday—she and Lizzie and Elizabeth Child came over in the afternoon—The welcome rain still continues. 29th Ninth S. after Trinity. Celebration and other services quietly at the house—Isabel Benjamin and Mrs. Barnes, of Philadelphia came in to see us—

30th At work on Diocesan and Cathedral matters much of the day.

31st Van drove us over to tea with Mrs. Barnes and Isabel Benjamin in Bar Harbour—the Sampsons, Miss Angelica Livingston, Mrs. Sturgis, Mrs. Mansfield Patterson, Miss Cross, etc. Called on the Wickershams.

August 1st Reading and writing much of the day.

2nd Florence's Birthday—the family here from "Northeast" in the afternoon for the party and presents. Mrs. West Roosevelt and others called. 3rd-7th At work on Diocesan Matters—Letters, Sermons, etc.

8th Writing all the morning. Still getting letters about my sermon to the Officers and men of the Fleet in the Cathedral—one yesterday from the Archbishop of Canterbury and one from Admiral Cluverius the day before. F. and I went to Bar Harbour to a Tea at the Rectory and made many calls—the John Hampton Barneses, Miss Fannie Norris, Edith Bowdoin, the John M. Glenns, Miss Mollie Hoffman and Miss Livingston, etc.—and after the Tea to the Wickershams at the Malvern Hotel.

9th Writing much of the day—Frances and "Beetle" and his friend Alfred Barnes arrived about 7.30 p.m. having motored from Stonington, about 360 miles in Frances's Ford Car. They left Stonington at 8 a.m.

10th Reading—writing—and preparing sermons. Mrs. Barclay Parsons arrived yesterday and Florence took her to Bar Harbour today to the Procter's Lunch and Musicale—Frances and the two boys are running about the island and enjoying it all—

11th Writing letters—preparing sermons, etc. Bishop Lawrence and Mrs. Slattery came over to see us.

12th Eleventh S. after Trinity-Celebration in the house as usual at 8-

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Preached at St. Mary's, Northeast Harbour at 10.30—a crowded church and many young people—Spoke to many old friends at the door after the service.

13th Dr. and Mrs. F. Warner Bishop came over to see us. They are at Northeast, with their daughter Dorothy and her young friend, until tomorrow—F. and I lunched with the Sampsons at Bar Harbour—the Wickeshams, the Hurds from Pittsburgh, Dr. and Mrs. Robbins from Philadelphia, etc. Mrs. Parsons drove us over and we took her to Jordan Pond for tea where we met our young people with Dorothy Bishop and her friend—They all went to Northeast for dinner, the Movies and a Dance—Am getting some remarkable letters about my sermon yesterday at Northeast—which was on the need of Conversion.

14th Got off 26 letters today—Miss Louise Whitin called, also Mrs. Tufts —Frances, Van, and the two boys went fishing—and to the movies at night.

15th Writing and reading.

16th The two boys—"Beetle" and Alfred left for Stonington. A telegram came telling us that Nick and Florence van Antwerp and their daughter Greta from Cincinnati will arrive tomorrow—They have been on a camping trip in Canada.

17th Nick, Florence and Greta arrived and Frances moved over to the Clifton House at "Northeast" with Lizzie and Elsie—

18th The visitors are having a busy time here and at Northeast—swimming—fishing—lunches and picnics—

19th 12th S. after Trinity—Celebration at 8 in the house as usual—At 10.30 Van Lea and I went to the little Church at Southwest Harbour—the others went to Northeast—

20th Writing, etc.—The visitors still very busy—

F. and I lunched at Northeast with Mrs. J. West Roosevelt. I took back the manuscript—with comments—of a book by her son Nicholas which he wanted me to read—title "The Heritage of Hate—Europe's Curse."

21st Reading and writing.

22nd At 12 Van and I went to a party on the Trail at Somes's Pond given by the Wilsons to Gordon and Kathleen Crawford—From there we went to the "Grey Guinea" beyond Ellsworth to a luncheon given by Van—the Mayor and Mrs. Wilson of Cincinnati, Mrs. Parsons, Nick, Florence and Greta van Antwerp—Frances and Lizzie, Mrs. Spear, the Crawfords, Florence and I—

In the 14 miles from Somesville to Ellsworth I have seen an Ox Team, Horse drawn vehicles, Steam Engines, Motor Cars and Air Planes—also Sailing Vessels and Steam Yachts—all the means of travel known to history. Coming back from Northeast Harbour the other night the light from the Motor Car shone full on a beautiful deer which stood quietly for a few moments and then went into the woods—Many deer have been seen this season.

23rd At work in Study. In the afternoon Frances drove me over to Bar Harbour to see about tickets, etc.

Called on Bishop Lawrence—he showed us his wonderful collection of photos of the family from the time of his Father and Mother—169 in number, including more than forty in-laws. The Crawfords came in at night for a farewell visit as they leave tomorrow.

24th St. Bartholomew's Day-

At work on sermons. Florence lunched with Mrs. Angell wife of the President of Yale. The Crawfords left at 4.30. I went in to see Mrs. Tufts, who is a great sufferer from arthritis, in the cottage next door.

25th At work in Study most of the day.

26th 13th S. after Trinity—Celebration at 8 and read Matins at home—Florence, Van and I went to Northeast to lunch with Frances and Lizzie and Elsie at the Clifton House.

27th Van left this morning for Philadelphia and will stop at Stonington on the way—At work on sermons, etc. A few friends came in to tea with us—the Wickershams, the George B. McLellans, Mrs. Dickey, Mrs. Barclay Parsons, Mrs. Murray Young, Edith Miller, etc.

28th-31st The usual round—Working on my two sermons for the General Synod of the Ch. of England in Canada.

CHAPTER ELEVEN REDIAS RES

ANNING worked consistently throughout his ministry to uphold a strict construction of the marriage canons and to strengthen these canons. His basic principle is that the sanctity and permanence of the marriage bond is the essential foundation of the Christian family. He stood firm against remarriage after divorce. It is a common misunderstanding that forbidding the remarriage of a divorced person means, or is the same thing as, forbidding divorce. In his consideration of individual cases Manning quite realistically recognized the necessity in hard cases of the complete separation of divorce. This does not mean in the eyes of the church any power to contract a second marriage while the life of the original partner continues. He gave permission for remarriage only in cases clearly allowed by the canons, strictly interpreted in accordance with the teaching of the Prayer Book, and he spoke out firmly whenever occasion warranted against divorce.

In 1926 the Vatican Tribunal handed down a declaration that the marriage of the Duke of Marlborough and Consuelo Vanderbilt in 1895 was annulled. The marriage had taken place in Saint Thomas Church in New York City with the rector and the Bishops of New York and Long Island officiating. The couple lived together for twelve years and had two children. They then separated for twelve years, made some effort at reconciliation, but failed and were divorced. Each then remarried, the duchess to a French Roman Catholic. Application was later made on her behalf and for the relief of her Roman Catholic husband. There was much about the circumstances of the marriage of wealth to high title in 1895 which was unedifying but a declaration of nullity thirty-one years later brought no credit upon those concerned. It certainly did nothing to uphold the sanctity of marriage.

The bishop inquired of the Archbishop of Canterbury whether he intended to make a statement and, receiving a negative answer, decided that it was his responsibility as the bishop in whose diocese the marriage had occurred, to do so. He preached on the matter in the cathedral on Thanksgiving Day.

This whole proceeding is a discredit to the Christian Church and an injury to religion. It has done more than any event in years to weaken the sanctity of marriage.

If marriages are to be declared null and void on pleas so unreal as this, no marriage, and no home, can be regarded as safe.

At this time when so many influences are at work which threaten to destroy Christian marriage, the outlook is serious indeed if the Roman Catholic Church is to take such a position as this decree represents.

For Rome's opposition to Divorce we have been accustomed to give thanks. But of what effect is opposition to Divorce if those who wish to escape from their marital obligations can obtain decrees of nullity on such pretexts as this.

If couples who have lived years in wedlock can procure annulments merely by discovering that undue pressure in some form was used at the time of their marriage, divorce will become unnecessary. In the light of this annulment, and others that are now rumored, on trivial and puerile grounds, what becomes of the claim of the Roman Church that it stands for indissoluble marriage?

If this is to be its policy the Sacred Rota Tribunal will be likely to receive many applications for dissolution of the marriage bond.

By all who wish to see the sacredness of marriage upheld, and by all who recognize the great moral and spiritual opportunity of the Roman Catholic Church, this action by the Tribunal of the Vatican should be openly condemned, and most deeply deplored.

These were strong words from one against whom an effort had been made, and was to be made again, to show that he was about to submit to Rome. He received letters both of praise and blame, some of the former coming from Roman Catholics.

Manning's most dramatic stand in upholding the sanctity of marriage came in the episode of Judge Lindsey in 1930. This was concerned however with more than the Christian standards of marriage. The matter was one of a series used by a small group of clergy of the diocese to make as much trouble for the bishop as possible. Manning's determination to exercise discipline firmly and definitely was infuriating to them. The group probably did not number as many as half a dozen but they were unscrupulous in their methods and successful in leading the press. *The Churchman*, which had made such trouble over Saint John's Chapel twenty years before, though under different

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editorship, was the mouthpiece of the group. Dr. Robbins saw to it that interest did not flag. In October, 1930, the bishop preached at the consecration of Bishop Gilbert, not unnaturally on the subject of the apostolic ministry. It was the kind of a sermon one would expect to hear at the consecration of a bishop but with the clarity of wording and forcefulness of delivery which were typical of Manning. The group raised immediate outcry. What the bishop said was no longer tenable in the light of modern scholarship and it was insulting to speak of the necessity of episcopacy in the presence of Protestant ministers who had been formally invited to be present. No explanation was given as to why they were more insulted by the expostion of the meaning of the act than by the invitation to see it performed.¹

A statement was drawn up and signed by thirteen clergy of the metropolitan area. The statement was so cautiously worded that Manning stated publicly he would have been glad to sign it, had he been asked. But the impression was given to the press by those in charge of it that it was in protest against, and in correction of, the bishop's sermon. This caused acute distress to at least one of the signers who hastened privately to make his apology to the bishop.

A few days later another occurrence gave this little group what they considered a favourable opportunity to exploit their position. There is in New York an organization known as the Churchman's Association, made up of clergy of the Episcopal Church of the metropolitan area, who gather periodically to lunch together and hear a speaker. It is a rather colorless body. The majority of the clergy of the area belong but the attendance is apt to be meager. Most rectors serve their time as president; Manning had done so in the past. In 1930 the president was the newly consecrated suffragan, Bishop Gilbert, and the chairman of the program committee was a presbyter associated in a somewhat informal capacity with Grace Church, and of whom the kindest description would be that he was a minor poet. The usual custom was to announce at each meeting the speaker for the next meeting. In November, without the usual advance notice, postcards were delivered to members announcing as the speaker at the next meeting, only a few days off, Judge Ben B. Lindsey. Judge Lindsey had had a flamboyant career in Colorado and the far west. He was chiefly notable

¹ The following note is in the bishop's file:

I repeated the statements & emphasized them in my sermon at the meeting of the Gen. Com. (in 1934, at a service in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the consecration of Bishop Seabury)—& so far as I know no one there protested or questioned them.

see Strong in the Lord (Morehouse-Gorham, 1947), pp. 103-117.

at the time for his advocacy of companionate marriage, a device by which he felt he could fit the voke better to twentieth century necks. Others declared it was merely free love. On receiving his postcard the bishop took immediate action. He telephoned to Bishop Gilbert, who was out of town, and found that he agreed that it was improper to give Lindsey the support of being able to report he had been invited to address the clergy. At Bishop Gilbert's suggestion he telephoned the chairman of the program committee to ask that the invitation to Lindsey be withdrawn. Much was made afterward of the fact that the bishop did not so much "ask" as "demand" and "direct." Whatever may have been his tone of voice on the telephone the communication he gave, coming from the bishop of the diocese and a former president, was of necessity authoritative. The group, who all belonged to the association, felt that they had an attractive issue in the matter of "free speech," and they encouraged the poor minor poet to stick to his guns, defy autocratic and obscurantist dictation, and refuse to withdraw the invitation. Drums were then beaten, dust thrown in the air, and the issue of giving support to the doctrine of free love successfully obscured by the charge that the bishop was attempting to dictate to grown men what they might hear in making up their minds on important moral issues. An attendance of two or three times the usual number came to the meeting a few days later and in a passion of supposedly moral fervour voted to hear Lindsey. The opposition was elated. But they had overreached themselves. The bishop preached in the cathedral on the following Sunday, "on certain issues now before us and on the meaning of so-called 'Companionate Marriage.'" He dealt very fully and definitely with their behaviour.

There is in this Diocese a little group of clergymen who, with what motive I do not venture to say, have been doing whatever lay in their power to make difficulties for their Bishop and to place him publicly in embarrassing situations. This group is a very small one relatively to the whole number of our clergy. It figures little when our Diocese gathers in Convention, but it figures largely in the newspapers, and it has the constant and active support of a Religious Journal miscalled Liberal, published in this city, which I think few can read without observing its personal animus and its extreme partisan prejudice. It is time for this unseemly agitation to cease.

He gave an account of their actions culminating in the matter of the Churchman's Association. The bishop and Bishop Gilbert had joined in asking that the invitation be withdrawn.

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In conference with Bishop Gilbert and myself on this matter Bishop Lloyd said and I quote him with his permission, "I do not believe that any of our clergy will vote to uphold what is the most unclean thing I have ever heard of."

The issue of free speech is not involved here. I hold that it is both the right and the duty of the clergy to hear, and read, and inform themselves on all sides of these questions, but I hold that it was a grave mistake and a shocking thing, for a gathering of our clergy to give their countenance and endorsement to the former Judge Lindsey by inviting him in this way.

He then went on to a description and denunciation of Lindsey's program as destructive of the Christian teaching about marriage and summoned parents to call to account those responsible for encouraging it. Lindsey was in the cathedral and jumped on a table placed under the pulpit for the convenience of reporters to reply at the close of the sermon; whereupon a tall, burly usher (Lindsey was a very small man) grasped him round the knees, laid him over his shoulder, and marched out of the cathedral!

The sermon was effective in calling attention to the need for greater definiteness in the teaching of Christian standards and more alertness in recognizing plausible and persuasive attacks made upon them. There was wide and enthusiastic response to the bishop's summons. It was also effective in sweetening the atmosphere in the diocese. People were shocked to discover how far the organized opposition was willing to push things. No less a person than a future regius professor of the University of Oxford had been led into the endorsement of Lindsey. The poor chairman who was encouraged to persist in his invitation later went to such extremes in an effort to justify himself that his connection with Grace Church was terminated, to his understandable dismay. But the power to deceive the elect was broken. The bishop felt at the time, and referred to it more than once in later years, that a better spirit prevailed in the diocese after the Lindsey sermon.

Six years later he preached on the matter of the abdication of King Edward VIII, pointing out that the difficulty over the king's marriage arose not from the fact that the proposed mate was a commoner, or an American, but a divorced woman with two husbands living, and driving home the lesson that the manner of handling the constitutional crisis in England had given great support to Christian moral ideals everywhere. He received privately the thanks of each of the two English archbishops for the sermon.

Early in 1940 Bertrand Russell was appointed to teach philosophy at City College in New York. The bishop publicly denounced the appointment of one whose moral teaching is so entirely inconsistent with Christian standards. Contest ensued. The matter of academic freedom was of course raised. The Board of Education refused to cancel the appointment. A taxpayer's suit was instituted and the courts voided the board's action. The bishop spoke at length on the matter at the Diocesan Convention, fully recognizing the dangers of interference with teachers, but also plainly pointing out the dangers of irresponsibility, in the name of academic freedom, on the part of those responsible for education.

Much has been said and written in this case about Academic Freedom. Academic Freedom is a vitally important principle and we should all be eager to see it rightly maintained. But Academic Freedom has its natural, necessary, and common sense limits. Academic Freedom does not include the right to make the class rooms of our Universities, directly or indirectly, centres of influence against religion and morality. There could be no more grave disservice to the principles of Academic Freedom than the exaggerated claims made for it by some representatives of the Academic World. . . . The Moral Law is the only foundation for Justice, Liberty, and Peace among men; it is the only foundation for Democracy and the sacredness of human personality; it is the only foundation for civilized life and for a true World Order. Without this foundation there is no true education, no education that will develop character, no education that will fit our young people for the duties and the work of life.

In 1941 a proposal was made in Congress to increase income tax income by requiring all married couples to file joint returns. This would place the combined incomes in a higher tax bracket. The bishop campaigned vigorously against the proposal as being an attack on marriage by its offering a tax advantage to the divorced or the unmarried. In 1943 he notes indignantly in his diary,

Received today an urgent plea from one of our clergy to find some way in which a marriage contrary to the Law of the Church can be allowed because the persons concerned are socially prominent and the Bride is to be given in marriage by David Bowes-Lyon, brother of Queen Elizabeth of England—an amazing and most immoral request but significant of the times in which we are living. This request came from the clergyman who wished to perform the ceremony, not from David Bowes-Lyon, who would, I think, have known better than to ask it.

In 1945 an incident occurred which attracted attention because of the prominence of the individual involved. After the death of PresiIN MEDIAS RES 193

dent Roosevelt one of his sons was elected to take his place on the vestry at Saint James, Hyde Park. He was twice divorced and married to a third wife. When announcement of this election was made by the vestry and reported to the bishop he sent word that the individual was "not in good standing" in the church and the election must be withdrawn.

His last public stand against divorce came after his retirement. For many years there had been a determined effort to change the canons of the church so as to allow the marriage of divorced persons. In 1943 a "liberal" canon was almost adopted and its supporters felt that success was near. The 1946 General Convention was largely taken up with the proposals to unite with certain Presbyterians but the important matter of change in the marriage canon was also before the convention. The demands of the "liberals" were such that the House of Bishops could not swallow them. There was a feeling that something must be done about the church's marriage laws and a small committee of bishops was appointed to prepare a canon which would be acceptable to both sides. It was reported at the time that the committee was locked up over night in a hotel room with the threat that they might not come out until they had something which could be passed. The report may have been erroneous but what they produced —the present canon—was certainly the result of extreme pressure, a compromise so worded as to appear to each side to contain what was needed to uphold its contention. In an attitude of impatient determination the House of Bishops adopted the report of its committee unanimously; and the House of Deputies was almost unanimous in agreeing. The unanimity was to any thoughtful person an indication that the canon was bad law. It meant that persons whose teaching and principles were diametrically opposed had accepted a form of words patient of mutually exclusive interpretations. Manning was ill and did not attend the convention.

Within less than a year there occurred the marriages, under the new canon, of two priests of the church to divorced women. By an ironic coincidence one of these involved the first wife of the Roosevelt whose election to the vestry at Hyde Park the bishop had vetoed. Manning was retired but nevertheless spoke out to express the consternation and grief of church people at the scandal. He wrote to one of the bishops

In your position on this matter you have divorced the Canons from their necessary relation to the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church, and based your action upon a legalistic, and mistaken, interpretation of the

Canons alone. You, and your advisers, have strangely failed to realize the following facts:

- 1. No canon can be rightly so interpreted as to contravene and nullify the Constitution of the Church. If the Canon did this, the Canon would be ultra vires and without force.
- 2. The Prayer Book is an integral part of the Constitution of this Church and your action, in marrying a priest to a divorced woman, contravenes, and holds up to ridicule, the Prayer Book Doctrine as to Marriage.
- 3. No priest need marry a divorced woman, and if he chooses to do this he shows himself unfitted for further service in the Ministry of this Church.
- 4. Whatever may be the provisions of the Canon, no Bishop of this Church can, with loyalty to the Doctrine and Teaching of the Prayer Book, sanction the marriage of a priest to a divorced woman.

The marriage standards of the Episcopal Church are very low. They have deteriorated grievously since Manning's time. The fact of his speaking out in 1947 had, at the time at least, a sobering effect.

Miss Elizabeth McCracken was for many years a reporter and associate editor of the Living Church. Her literal, dead-pan reporting of the fatuous contributions to the discussions of the National Council by some of its members used to delight readers of the paper in the thirties and forties, and undoubtedly helped to improve that body. She was also a frequent and welcome visitor in the bishop's household. Returning on one occasion from General Convention she regaled the family with the report of a conversation between two bishops which she had overheard. Both were of a school of thought having little in common with their brother of New York. One remarked that they would never make any progress as long as Manning remained Bishop of New York; the other replied that they would never make any progress as long as he lived. The bishop laughed, not uproariously for he did not laugh that way, but with a special heartiness with which he always recognized and greeted an absurdity, particularly if it applied to himself. The incident is in itself unimportant but it accurately illustrates the extent of his influence and also his complete lack of concern about himself and his personal, as distinct from official, reputation.

When Manning became Bishop of New York in 1921 the practice of intinction was not widespread in the diocese and there had been no special agitation for it. However at Saint Bartholomew's in 1918 Dr. Parks, because of the influenza epidemic, began the practice of

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administering in one kind; and no communicant there was allowed to receive from the chalice at the principal service on the first Sunday in the month. Manning pointed out to Parks that this was not tolerable and Parks prepared an "open letter" to the bishop, distributed with the bishop's consent to all members of both Houses of General Convention in 1922, asking that relief be given by the House of Bishops, or by convention, to the difficulty which people felt over the common cup by making provision for communion in one kind. Manning promised to ask for careful consideration of Parks' proposal and did so, though he himself did not at that time support it. Parks had not given sufficient care in his proposal to safeguarding the normal method of receiving the sacrament and the right of any communicant to receive in the normal manner. In his correspondence with Manning he expressed great dislike for intinction; and also willingness to stand trial for his practice at Saint Bartholomew's if need be. Manning vehemently repudiated the possibility of a trial and, declaring that he felt Parks had put his case as strongly as it could be put, expressed the hope that a "solution satisfactory to all" could be found. The House of Bishops did discuss the matter fully and passed a resolution (as Manning reported to Parks, "unanimously") stating that the law of the church required administration of the sacrament in both kinds.

Intinction was never allowed at the cathedral in Manning's time. His answer to those who wrote protesting that it was not allowed was that there was no authority for it in the law of the church—while the House of Bishops had formerly passed a resolution declaring intinction was "permissible in cases of actual emergency such as an epidemic," authorization of the practice by General Convention was asked in 1937 and refused—and at the cathedral the law must be obeyed whatever might be done elsewhere. In a letter to the Bishop of Lund, Sweden, in 1936 he writes.

For my own part I do not favour the use of Intinction in ordinary parish life. There are many practical difficulties in regard to it and in some cases it leads to pactices which are unseemly and irreverent.

About this time he proposed for discussion in a closed session of the House of Bishops the following,

Resolved that the Bishops in Council recommend to the House of Bishops the adoption of the following—Resolved that in order to relieve the minds and consciences of any who are in uncertainty this House of Bishops declares that for reasons which he, or she, believes to be sufficient a communicant of this church is at liberty to receive the Holy Communion

in one kind and the House of Bishops holds that one who so receives in faith and sincerity does truly receive the Sacrament of the Holy Communion.

Manning was surprised at the strong support which was given in discussion. He declared afterward that it would probably have passed but he was not willing to allow it to be voted on without lying over for a year for consideration. He therefore prevented a vote by withdrawing it and the matter did not again arise in that form. An important reason for avoiding immediate action was that it was in the nature of altering, or at least defining, the faith and order of the Anglican Communion by one province of the church without waiting for universal approval. If this were to be done in one matter it could be done in others, with results which might well be undesirable. In 1941 the Archbishop of Canterbury requested a statement on the matter of intinction in the American Church for the next Lambeth Conference. Manning was asked to prepare this statement and submitted the following.

There is much disquiet of mind among our people in the Episcopal Church in regard to receiving from the Chalice. As a result of this the practise of Intinction has grown considerably in our parishes. This method of administering the Holy Communion has not been authorized nor sanctioned by our General Convention but a resolution was adopted some time ago by our House of Bishops indicating that in the judgment of the Bishops the practise of Intinction is permissible in a case of emergency such as an epidemic and this has been taken by some to warrant the practise of Intinction under ordinary conditions.

In this Diocese the practise of Intinction is not sanctioned by the Bishop but it is nevertheless used in some of our parishes and I am told that in some of our Dioceses it is sanctioned by the Bishop and is almost universal.

The practise of Intinction is open to grave objections, the methods used seem all of them to be unsatisfactory and are often unseemly and irreverent and I believe that many of those who practise Intinction feel this.

There is a decidedly growing feeling among our people and especially among our clergy that Communion in one kind is the true solution of the difficulty and that this is more justifiable than the use of Intinction.

All Catholic Theologians, and also many Protestant Theologians, will I believe agree that one who receives the Holy Communion in one kind does truly receive the Sacrament. Few would hold that the people of the Roman Catholic Church have failed to receive the Sacrament during the centuries in which it has been administered to them in one kind.

It would I believe be action in the right direction, and action which

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would relieve the minds and consciences of many, if it were officially declared that one who in faith and sincerity receives in one kind does truly receive the Sacrament of the Holy Communion.

At present a small but increasing number of our people are exercising their liberty in this matter by refraining from receiving from the Chalice and receiving only in one kind. In my judgment this matter and other important matters such as the proposed approaches towards organic union between the Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church in the United States serve strongly to emphasize the necessity of some definite agreement and statement to the effect that no Church of the Anglican Communion will make any change in the Book of Common Prayer in any way affecting Faith or Order without previous consultation with the other Churches of the Anglican Communion.

Immediately after the present World War I believe the time will be ripe for this and such an agreement and statement would tend towards World Wide Christian Reunion by emphasizing and strengthening the fellowship between the Churches of the Anglican Communion and so among English speaking Christians throughout the world.

The bishop had no hesitation in speaking from the pulpit on political questions when he felt it proper and he was not deterred by the frenzy of opposition which his words aroused. He delighted in the absurdities which sometimes resulted, as in the case of the woman who wrote him,

Bishop Manning, I am a Christian woman which it is very obvious you are not,

or the man who exploded

half the lies you tell aren't so.

But he was also prepared to face the distress which his political utterances caused some of his strongest supporters. In 1937 he used the occasion of the noonday sermon on Ash Wednesday in Trinity Church to speak out against the president's plan to "pack" the Supreme Court. It was clear to him that the president was proposing to remove an important and fundamental safeguard of individual rights and liberties and he sounded the alarm. Among others some of the clergy present were horrified at this use of the pulpit, especially on such a day. He continued to take a leading part in this fight, joining a "Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government," but he declined urgent invitations to appear personally before congressional committees.

The period between the two world wars was perhaps more notable than others for the matter of persecutions. Meetings of protest were organized in this country and had inevitably political implications with possible serious consequences. A protest against the persecutions of the Christian Church in Russia or of Jews in Germany may well be twisted by people who are irresponsible or wrongly motivated into attacks upon Russian or German people in a way which is unwise in the circumstances of the time and possibly quite unintended by the protestants. Manning was usually called upon by those who organized meetings to give his support. On several such occasions he received warnings beforehand from responsible persons as to the dangers involved. His response was not to withdraw from the protest but so to speak as to make plain that he was aware of the possibility of a wrong attitude and repudiated it. In 1933 a meeting was held in Madison Square Garden to protest against Hitler's treatment of Jews in Germany. It was a question in the minds of many reasonable people whether the matter at issue was not in reality support of Communist Russia against the German nation. The bishop emphasized the fact that it was really persecution against which he protested by dealing rather more with the persecutions in Russia than in Germany-for which of course he got boohed! His words are so little confined to the particular circumstances of 1933 and so generally applicable that they seem worth quoting in full.

We are here tonight, all of us together, Jews and Christians, Catholics and Protestants, in a common cause.

We are not here to arouse animosity or to appeal to passion. We are here to assert together the great basic truth that God has made of one blood all nations of men on the whole earth, and that because we have one Divine Creator and Father, we are all brothers. That is the foundation truth of the religion of every one of us, and it is the foundation of all that is noble and true and worthy in human life.

Upon that fact of the common Divine Fatherhood, we base the truth of our common brotherhood, our common humanity, the quality of all in the sight of God, the equal right of every human being to justice, to liberty and to life. And we are assembled here because this basic truth of humanity, this common right of all men, has, we believe, been transgressed. This right has, we believe, been transgressed by anti-Semitic propaganda and inflammatory utterance, and also by acts of violence and persecution.

We are told that these acts have been exaggerated, that some of the reports are untrue, and that any further acts of this nature will be prevented.

We most earnestly trust that these utterances will be justified. Without claiming to know all the facts, and with nothing but good-will toward

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the German people, we are here to lift up our voices against the possibility of any such acts anywhere, and against any policy, or propaganda, or utterance, that might encourage or induce such acts.

We are here to condemn and denounce racial or religious persecution, whoever may be guilty of it, in Germany or elsewhere, and we must not forget the tyrannical and cruel persecution carried on against those representing all religious faiths, and the brutal attempt to stamp out all religion, which still continues under the Soviet Government in Russia. Lifting up our voices against such wrongs, we cannot be silent against the tyrannies and persecutions of the Soviet Government. We declare that such persecution in Germany or in Russia or anywhere is inhuman, intolerable and unworthy of civilized men. And I take this opportunity to say that in my judgment such action against the religious rights of men as that now continuing in Russia should not be condoned or countenanced, or given moral support, by any country which stands for liberty, or by any individual who loves right and justice.

None of us, whether we are Jews or Christians, none of us who call ourselves Americans, have the right to be indifferent to such acts. Such action against any race or group of men anywhere in the world is the concern of all of us because those men are our brothers and have the same rights before God that we have. I say again that we have nothing but good-will toward Germany. We make our protest here for the sake of Germany herself, because we wish to give our moral support to her right-thinking people. We feel confident that the real Germany is as deeply opposed to acts of racial or religious persecution as any of us are. We make our appeal to the real sentiment and the true idealism of the great German people and we believe that these acts will be suppressed. All of us today are longing and hoping for the advancement of peace and brotherhood in the world.

The Christian religion calls upon men not only for justice but for brotherliness toward all, and in these days of world crisis we see clearly that we must sweep out the spirit of hate and fear and banish war and draw all nations together in brotherhood and fellowship if civilization is to be saved.

Race prejudice, oppression, religious persecution, have no right to exist anywhere in this world, and we have no right to condone or countenance them.

We appeal here tonight for their cessation everywhere in the name of right, of humanity and of religion.

A Jewish lawyer wrote to thank him

for your asserting to the entire world 'that God has made of one blood all nations of men.' . . . I know that you are liberal, not only in words, but by deeds, as we live . . . near your Cathedral, and know that you draw no religious distinctions in your business dealings.

* 1

The Board of Missions was succeeded in 1920 by the National Council. For a brief time the bishop was a member of the council but his record of attendance was quite as bad as in the case of the trustees of the cathedral before he became bishop. However he had no hesitation in injecting himself into the affairs of the national church as occasion warranted. The problem of carrying on the work of the church's central agencies in a manner to take full advantage of the opportunities offered, while maintaining financial soundness in the budget, is a difficult one, at times apparently insoluble. The new council did not do better in this respect than the old board. By 1925 a deficit of nearly a million and a half had built up for the work of the national church. The Diocese of New York undertook to raise a quarter of a million dollars toward the liquidation of this debt and did so, though the bishop reported to the 1937 convention that it had been

one of the most difficult pieces of work I have ever undertaken, for many people felt that the deficit should not have been incurred.

In spite of the fact that the officials of the National Council were under a mandate of General Convention to avoid deficits these tended to recur. Much criticism, friction, and irritation ensued. Manning's chief demand, especially in the depression years following 1929, was that solvency must be maintained by reducing or even eliminating the various good works done by the National Council beyond its primary responsibility to support missionary work in the strict sense. Both in private meetings of the bishops of the second province and in letters to the church papers he was outspoken in his criticisms and charges of irresponsibility, to the dismay of the Bishop of Rhode Island, who became the presiding bishop in 1930 and who proved quite incapable of restraining the juggernaut over which he presided.

While making these criticisms Manning used all his influence to encourage the contributions to missions, diocesan and general, in his own diocese. As has been already pointed out, he emphasized the fact that the great drive for the cathedral building fund had helped rather than hindered giving to missions. As the effects of the great depression increased Manning was appalled that the central organization showed no sign that it was aware of the realities of the situation by giving up the various fringe activities. By 1937 the situation had become serious.

¹ See pp. 39 ff. For his general attitude toward the missionary work see also a sermon in 1937 at a missionary rally in Baltimore. Strong in the Lord, p. 135.

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The bishop spoke very bluntly at the convention about the possibility that General Convention might

be urged to discontinue the "Pay as You go Policy" which was established for the Missionary and General Work of the Church by the General Convention in 1925.

He suggested that the Diocesan Convention express itself on the matter, which it did by passing unanimously a resolution to send a copy of the bishop's statement to each house of General Convention, requesting that it be read in the debate, and to each individual member of the National Council. This was strong support and placed the bishop in a powerful position in the matter.

At the 1937 convention in Cincinnati the bishop played a leading part in quiet preparation for the election of the Bishop of Virginia, Henry Saint George Tucker, as presiding bishop. At that time the presiding bishop was elected for a term of six years. The Bishop of Rhode Island, James DeWolf Perry, had served since 1930. being elected to a full term in 1931. It was generally supposed that he would be re-elected. Manning had come to feel considerable lack of confidence in him. Most important was his apparent inability to control the officials of the various departments of the church's work in the interests of financial responsibility. His statement to the New York convention did not name Bishop Perry but was aimed at him. He was also disturbed at what he considered the irresponsible manner in which the presiding bishop had handled the strange case of Dr. Torok.² In connection with the work of the 1937 convention two matters indicated disturbing weakness in the presiding bishop. There existed an organization called the "Church League for Industrial Democracy." This was patterned after the League for Industrial Democracy and consisted of clerical and lay members of the church who held radical views on political, social, and economic matters and who were determined to preach their views militantly at the convention and elsewhere. There are many organizations devoted to special causes. It is neither unusual nor improper for them to appear and press their points of view at General Convention. But the C.L.I.D. managed by aggressive planning on the part of its officers and unusual complacency on the part of those arranging convention details to create the impression that it was a quasi-official body and had formal approval. Manning sounded the alarm; the entirely unofficial nature of the organization

² See pp. 9 ff.

was emphasized before convention met. In somewhat the same manner as the Panama Conference of 1916, the officers and speakers of the C.L.I.D. were on their best behaviour and no great harm was done. But Manning felt that the presiding bishop had not been forceful in preventing a false impression of the importance of the C.L.I.D.³ Another matter came to light quite by chance at a meeting of the Faith and Order Commission. Dr. Frank Gavin and Dr. Robbins had advised the presiding bishop to recommend membership of the church in the Federal Council of Churches. Manning reports in his diary,

We told Bp. Perry very strongly that we should oppose this, that it was contrary to the understanding arrived at, and that whatever views one held it would be most inopportune & would jeopardize the plans for the proposed World Council of Churches. . . . After some discussion Bp. Perry changed his plan and consented to recommend that in view of the proposal for a World Council action as to the Federation of Churches be deferred . . .

But for this accidental discussion at our Commission Meeting the Presiding Bp. would have made the recommendation & the action would very probably have been taken.

Manning canvassed the situation thoroughly but quietly and on arriving at the convention decided to act.

There is a strong feeling that we should have a change in the office of Presiding Bishop—Bishop Perry will probably not be re-elected—Have conferred with quite a number of the Bishops, including Bps. Francis, Stewart, Gray, Wing, Fiske, Matthews, Moore, and Gardner, and we feel that the best course is for us to vote for Bp. Tucker who we believe can be elected and thus have in the office a conservative and non-partisan low churchman, and a man of deep devotion, rather than an aggressive, and perhaps partisan, liberal or radical Bishop.

Bishop Tucker was not among those nominated by the committee appointed for the purpose but received a large number of votes on the first ballot and was elected on the second.

The episcopal office has of necessity difficulties both for shepherd and for sheep. For a variety of reasons these difficulties seem to have been more numerous and more onerous in the life of the American

³ There is an interesting entry in Manning's diary at the time of the convention. "Attended mass meeting of Dept. of Social Service to hear Mr. Seebohm Rowntree of York, England, speak on 'Christianity and Industrial Relations'—a most remarkable address, the best, I think, that I have ever heard on this subject—This seemed to me one of the highest points of this Convention."

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province of the Anglican Communion. In Manning's time two proposals were made to give relief in these difficulties. To both Manning was opposed on constitutional and theological grounds. The first was the "translation" of bishops, the second was compulsory retirement. In 1933 Manning said in his convention address

A question of great importance to the life of the Church comes to us from the General Convention and will be presented to you by our Committee on Canons. I refer to the proposal to authorize the Translation of Bishops so that when the office of Bishop becomes vacant in any Diocese the Bishop of any other Diocese may be elected and transferred to fill the vacancy. This would be a change in the practise of our Church from the time of its beginning. The proposal has not, I think, received the general consideration in the Church which its grave importance demands, and there is danger of its adoption without its possible effects being fully realized.

This Convention will of course act in the matter as it may see fit, but I feel it right to tell you what my own judgment is in regard to it and I will summarize this as follows:

- 1. The most permanent and stable factor in the life of our Church at present is the Bishop. In our land both the clergy and the laity are more or less migratory. The Bishop of the Diocese represents permanence of work, and continuity of policy.
- 2. The fact that with us the relation of the Bishop to his diocese is regarded as a life relationship has helped greatly to maintain the sacredness, dignity and responsibility of the Bishop's office, and has strengthened him immeasurably in his work. It places on the Bishop proper responsibility for his plans and policies, as he is committed to them for life and must see them through.
- 3. Departure from our present system would have a weakening, disturbing, and unsettling effect on the whole life of the Church. Each time one of the larger dioceses became vacant there would be speculation and uncertainty in other dioceses as to whether their Bishops might be elected. The possibility of such a change in the minds of the people, or in the mind of the Bishop, would not be helpful to the life and work of the Church. We have had illustrations in our Missionary Districts of the weakening effect which the possibility of change may have upon the relation between the Bishop and his clergy and people. A Bishop's truest work can be done when it is felt that he is committed to his Diocese so long as life, or health and vigour, shall last.
- 4. It is not likely that this possibility of change of diocese would give much relief in the case of a Bishop who has proved to be a misfit. The Bishop who is a misfit would be the least likely to be called to another diocese. The proper course for a Bishop who is truly a misfit is to resign, in which case any diocese that wishes to do so is now free to elect him.
 - 5. The fact that Translation of Bishops takes place in England has

little bearing upon our case even if it is really desirable and for the best there. The conditions of Church life are quite different in England and in our land, and the whole system of appointments to Bishoprics in England is so different from our system that there is little if any analogy. Objectionable as is the English method of appointments it probably escapes some of the features of possible Translation which might be most undesirable and harmful under our conditions.

I may say that a distinguished Bishop of the English Church who was visiting here last autumn told me that in his judgment our practise in this matter is far better for the life of the Church than the English practise, and that he would like to see the Translation of Bishops discontinued in the Church of England.

6. Instead of favoring action which would tend to weaken the relation of the Diocesan Bishop to his diocese, my belief is that it would make for stability and spiritual strength if our Missionary Bishops should commit themselves for life to their fields. As an illustration of this I would cite the spiritual power and influence which his steadfast determination to give his whole life to his Missionary field has given to Bishop Rowe.

In my judgment we should think long and earnestly, and should be very fully convinced of the necessity for a change, before we depart from a principle which has been adhered to throughout the whole life of our Church in this land, and which has played so great a part in the life of our Church as has the sacred and lifelong relationship between a Bishop and his Diocese.

Translation failed of adoption and in 1940 there was proposed in General Convention an amendment to the constitution of the church which requires that a bishop resign at the age of 72; this was finally adopted in 1943. Manning did not put up any particular fight in the matter, perhaps because his attention and energy were occupied in 1943 by the presbyterian proposals, perhaps because he recognized the futility of trying to resist an impatient body in its determination to provide an immediate remedy for irritating defects. But he recognized that the requirement was a novelty in the history of Christendom and irreconcilable with any orthodox theory of the ministry. Being over 72 himself he announced that he would disregard the provision on the basis that legislation cannot apply ex post facto.

Since the number of active bishops over 72 was small and would decrease rapidly in any case no attempt was made to force the matter in his case or that of any other bishop already over 72. But Manning made two further proposals; one that the provision should not be held to apply to any bishop consecrated before its enactment, the other that the church should reconsider the whole matter with much more

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care than had been given to it. The first proposal was merely a delaying tactic to encourage such consideration. No real consideration has ever been given to the matter. Like the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, adopted to deal with the evil of drink; or the present acceptance by many in the church of divorce as the way to deal with the difficulties of marriage in the present condition of society, the cure is worse than the disease. For the future consideration of the matter it is worth while to recall that in 1832 the church adopted a canon which virtually forbade the resignation of a bishop under any conditions whatever; and to quote the argument which Manning addressed to the presiding bishop and to each member of the House of Bishops in 1944,

The relation between a Bishop and his Diocese is one of deep sacredness and spiritual reality and this relationship exists between the Bishop and his Diocese—not between the General Convention and the Diocese. One of the most universally established and accepted principles in the whole history of the Episcopal Church, in the whole of the Anglican Communion, and in the Holy Catholic Church throughout the world, is the Autonomy, and Integrity of the Diocese. Everything in our Constitution and Canons asserts, maintains, and insists upon this principle, and upon this principle the whole system of Anglican and Catholic Church life rests. The Diocese is the unit of the Church's life. Never before, I believe, in the history of the Holy Catholic Church, never even under the Papal System, has any power outside the Diocese undertaken to say to the Diocese that its relationship with its Bishop must be terminated.

But now our General Convention enacts legislation which requires that hereafter when the Bishop reaches the age of seventy-two his relationship with his Diocese shall be automatically severed, and that he shall resign.

Is this in accord with the sacredness and significance of the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, and will the spiritual life of the Church be strengthened by this action?

Would the spiritual life of the Church have been strengthened by compelling Bishop John Williams of Connecticut, Bishop Frederic Dan Huntington, Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Bishop William Croswell Doane, Bishop Rowe, or Bishop Tuttle to resign at the age of seventy-two? I do not think so.

Considered only on the lower plane of business methods and practical efficiency, is not this legislation an instance of the present tendency towards the exercise of centralized power in spheres where hitherto the power has always been exercised locally, and can be exercised locally with greater wisdom and fuller knowledge of the facts in the case?

Compulsory Retirement on reaching a certain age may be proper in the Army and Navy, or in the Business World, but is this a fitting procedure in

the case of Bishops of the Church? And has not the Diocese rights in this matter which should be respected and preserved? The Bishop is elected by the Diocese, he lives and works in relation with his Diocese. Surely the Bishop's relation with his Diocese should not be terminated by an authority outside the Diocese acting, quite possibly, against the judgment and desire of the Diocese. The rights of a Diocese are analogous to those of a Sovereign State under our American Constitution, and by this legislation, for the first time in any branch of the Catholic Church, the rights of the Diocese are encroached upon by the General Church.

The occasional case of a Bishop who becomes incapable physically or mentally and does not resign his office should be provided for, but this should be done in some better way than by compelling all Bishops to resign upon reaching the age of seventy-two. Bishops may at any age become physically or mentally unfit to carry on their work. Canonical provision should certainly be made for dealing with such cases at whatever age they may occur, but this is not accomplished by compelling all Bishops to resign at the age of seventy-two. It would seem that this recent action of our General Convention needs to be most carefully reviewed and further considered.

This action is out of accord with the age-long standards of the Church as to the office and work of a Bishop, and there is grave doubt as to its wisdom, as to its spiritual and practical effects, and also as to its canonical validity.

If the Bishop were only a Business Executive, or a Superintendent, the case would be different. But in view of the spiritual considerations involved, in view of the dignity and sacredness of the Bishop's Office and of the sacred relation of the Bishop to his Diocese, in view of the universal principle of the Autonomy and Integrity of the Diocese, and in view of the immemorial practice of the Episcopal Church, of the Anglican Communion, and of the Holy Catholic Church everywhere, it may well be questioned whether our General Convention had the right to take this action.

The bishop was not specially interested in the details of business administration of the diocese, though he had a thorough grasp of the significance of such details and a willingness, even in his old age, to face the need for changes in the interest of soundness and responsibility. A considerable reform of business administration took place in his later years. It began with the bishop's realization that the affairs of the cathedral were in serious shape. From its beginning the cathedral had been hard pressed for income for running expenses. The offerings of the congregation which worships at the cathedral form an insignificant amount. The diocese has never contributed to, or been taxed for, its support. The campaign for the building fund does not tend

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to bring in money for endowment.4 Dean Gates was not able to cope with the problem of operating a large, and growing, plant on an income which, never large, was not growing. In his later days the bishop realized that the situation was acute and he brought onto the staff, as bursar without salary, a layman, Edward Kunhardt Warren, the son of a former Rector of Saint James, who thus combined the points of view of the rectory and the business house. Matters were greatly improved at the cathedral but Warren also proceeded to interest himself in diocesan affairs with equally good results. A proposal was made in the middle thirties for a survey of the various agencies connected with the diocese in varying degree and receiving some proportion of their support from the diocese. There is always the problem of keeping such agencies in proper touch with the diocese and in a reasonable state of efficiency. Several laymen with wide business experience took part in the work of revamping the diocesan machinery. In addition to Warren there may be mentioned Clarence Michalis, Richard Mansfield, and G. Forrest Butterworth, the chancellor of the bishop's later years. The bishop's part was not so much to give the lead as to assess what was proposed and to support sound plans. As in the case of the people who managed the campaign for the cathedral building fund, these men were impressed with the bishop's clear and immediate grasp of the fundamentals in the proposals made and his readiness to support those whose judgement he felt good reason to trust. Out of this work grew important reforms in the work of the various diocesan agencies, a well ordered business administration of the diocesan missionary work and funds, and a diocesan investment trust to manage profitably the funds of parishes, missions, and agencies, as well as the diocese itself. In all this it was not the bishop who planned and developed matters himself: but he kept things always on the right track because of his sound critical judgement.

It was a delight to witness the bishop's management of the Annual Diocesan Convention. It is a very large body of people. A great many matters are discussed in a short space of time. There is ample opportunity for confusion. This never happened in New York under Manning. He always knew what was going on. He was unfailingly fair to all sides but it was impossible to impose on him or to mislead him in the conduct of business. His entire relaxation in the arduous work of presiding was made evident by the occasional flashes of humour with which he would comment on proceedings or introduce anecdotes by

⁴ For the only notable, and vitally important, exception to this, see p. 137.

way of illustration or diversion. And he had an uncanny knack of knowing when to shut off debate and when not to. He sensed accurately the willingness of the convention to listen to the braying of an ass at times, and at other times its desire to have him silence, even peremptorily, persons of some importance. His rulings were never successfully questioned; indeed they were rarely questioned at all.

The relationship of the bishop to his secretary is not the least important illustration of his entire impartiality and his single-minded pursuit of the important goal. Bishop Greer brought with him his former secretary at Saint Bartholomew's, Miss Ada Barr. On Bishop Greer's death she retired from the work but Manning, instead of bringing with him his secretary from Trinity, to whom he was devoted however, summoned Miss Barr to return.⁵ This she did; and they worked together in great harmony for over fifteen years when Miss Barr retired because of illness, though she continued as long as he was bishop to manage the accounts of his various discretionary and private funds. On Miss Barr's retirement the bishop entered into an unusual and in some ways astonishing arrangement. There was in the diocese when Manning became bishop a priest named Harrison Rockwell, who had definite business ability. He was for some years the New York correspondent of the Living Church, under Frederic Cook Morehouse. He fell into serious heresy, being influenced by Christian Science, and was deposed from the ministry. The bishop, having of necessity deposed him, took steps at once to wean him from his error and to prepare for his return to his ministry. He gave Rockwell an office in the Synod House and employed him in lay capacity in matters which were sometimes manufactured for the purpose, all in order to keep Rockwell near him. More and more he assisted in the clerical work of the bishop's office and when Miss Barr retired he became the bishop's secretary. It was a strange situation, the bishop of a great diocese having in the necessarily confidential position of his secretary a priest under inhibition from his priestly office. Having been some years at the cathedral I felt that I was privileged, and that it was my duty, to point out to the bishop the possibility of embarrassment in such a situation. In typical manner the bishop listened patiently to what I had to say and thanked me for speaking. But he made no change and Harrison Rockwell continued, though never restored to the priesthood, a devoted and efficient assistant until the bishop's retirement.

 $^{^5\,\}mathrm{Miss}$ Barr was thus for many years the cause of the clerical quip about "crossing the bar" to get to the bishop.

CHAPTER TWELVE REUNION



ANNING became the head of our Faith and Order Commission in 1922 and held the office until his resignation as bishop. But he did not direct the reunion movement in the way he had done up to that time. A considerable portion of his work for reunion during the rest of his life was in opposition to various plans put forward which led away from the goal rather than toward it. This was not because he lost interest in the cause or changed in any way his point of view with regard to it. He continued always to keep the subject of reunion before people's minds, to work to bring as many as possible together for the consideration of the basic questions of faith and order, and to do what he could to promote an atmosphere of understanding and of desire for accomplishing what is the mind of Christ for the church. But those who became interested in reunion matters interpreted the work and the goal in ways that Manning felt to be fundamentally false and he would have none of it. To many earnest but mistaken people Bishop Manning appeared the chief obstacle to the progress of the reunion movement all through his episcopate. For he was unwilling to lose sight of the fact, or to refrain from constant proclamation of it, that Christian reunion means the coming together of all who acknowledge Jesus Christ as God; and that every step along the way must be taken deliberately, and considerately, by free consent, and with the ultimate goal always in view. Many of the leaders of the reunion movement in Manning's time felt this to be unrealistic. Discussion of reunion is impractical or impossible at the present time so far as some are concerned, so runs their argument. This is notably true of Roman Catholics; but it also seems to be true of the Orthodox

of the East and of some Protestants. To wait for a meeting of all minds means in reality doing nothing. And we must be moving. From this it becomes a perilously easy step to forget almost the existence of those with whom we cannot at present negotiate and to plan as though they were not there. Again waiting for all in any given group, such as the Episcopal Church, to be in agreement before taking a concrete step is impractical. What is needed is the *fait accompli* to which the objectors will become accustomed sooner or later. The *fait accompli* to Bishop Manning was like the hare to the beagle hound. He spotted, gave tongue, and pursued relentlessly, undiscouraged by the angry outcry of protest he aroused. It was not what he wanted to do but it was what the times required.

Manning's positive contribution to the reunion movement was notable and continuous during his episcopate in spite of the need for opposition. His policy with regard to the use of the cathedral pulpit was carefully designed to promote a proper basis of unity. It was a fully established practice to invite Protestant ministers to preach at the cathedral before Manning's time. He continued the practice and used it to show what the church should be doing in the matter. There are many services during the year, often at the regular hours, of specially civic character. More often than not on such an occasion the preacher was a Protestant minister. There were also meetings which were not services at all but public gatherings properly held under church auspices. At these the speakers were chosen because of the positions they occupied or the significance of what they had to say with no restriction whatever as to religion. In January, 1934, there was a mass meeting on the subject of unemployment. The chief speakers were Mayor La Guardia and Judge Irving Lehman, of the Court of Appeals of the state, a Jew. In February, 1937, there was another mass meeting, followed by a conference the next day in the Synod House, on the subject of slum clearance. In the pulpit three of the speakers were Michael Williams, a Roman Catholic layman; Nathan Strauss, Ir., a Jew; and the Reverend Robert W. Searle, a Presbyterian minister.

On Sunday, 22 March, 1925, the bishop preached in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church; and that evening the pastor of the Fifth Avenue Church, the Reverend G. Campbell Morgan, preached at the cathedral in the second of a series of evangelistic services addressed by Protestant ministers. The bishop's sermon was on the subject of reunion, in the course of which he said,

We need a synthesis of that Truth of Religion for which St. Patrick's Cathedral, the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Russian Cathedral of St. Nicholas, and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine all stand.

On 2 December, 1934, there was held a service at the cathedral in the interest of the cause of reunion at which five of the international movements which came to be merged in the World Council of Churches were represented. This service followed shortly after a sermon by the bishop at General Convention in Atlantic City in October on the occasion of the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of Bishop Seabury, in which the bishop made his usual clear, forceful exposition and defense of the apostolic succession.

The bishop wrote often on the subject of reunion. An important statement appeared in 1936, "The Sin of Disunion." Various leaders of the catholic party in England and elsewhere began to discuss, during the '30s, the wisdom of giving a positive lead in the matter of reunion as a corrective to the work of pan-protestants. It was decided to hold an International Convention in 1940, the year of the Lambeth Conference, and an International Committee of the Church Union was formed to make preparation. The intention was to get Christians of all persuasions to explain themselves and to discuss "what Reunion ought to mean." It was decided to issue a series of twenty-eight essays for information and to be used by study groups. This took place during 1936 and 1937. Dr. Bernard Iddings Bell was the chief American representative on the committee and he suggested the appropriateness of asking Manning to do the first essay. The committee agreed enthusiastically. There was nothing specially new for Manning to write but in "The Sin of Disunion" he made a solemn statement of the sin of our divisions and the need for confession by all of common responsibility for this evil state; warned against the danger of pretending that union could be obtained by intercommunion among Christians not yet united; and ended with an assurance that "God will fulfill his purpose." The essays of the series were of a high order and were well received but they have been rather forgotten due to the fact that the World War prevented the holding of the convention. Leadership was not forthcoming to revive the idea after the war.

Three comments on Manning's essay are worth noting. Henry Smith Leiper, a Presbyterian, at the time the American Secretary of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, wrote

J wish that point of view could have much wider dissemination and pene-

trate the minds of a good many people who are at present apparently indifferent or hostile.

William Pierson Merrill, of the Brick Presbyterian Church, wrote

It could not be expected that complete agreement in every detail would be found between you, a convinced Catholic, and me, a convinced Protestant. But I was very happy at finding myself so largely in agreement with what you say and the way you say it. You write in so fine a spirit of appreciation and consideration, and with so steady an aim on the great objective of unity, that I found it very satisfying. . . .

And the President of the Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. J. Ross Stevenson, wrote

In stating your views so clearly and forcibly you have made a real contribution to the movement . . . With your statement regarding the sin of disunion I am in entire accord. However, you would not expect a firm believer in the Presbyterian episcopate to concede that an essential institution to be incorporated in the united church is the historic episcopate.

The World Conference on Faith and Order, envisaged in the 1910 resolution, met at last in Lausanne in August, 1927. Manning attended but was not in any sense in the position of directing the proceedings as he had been at the beginning. He spoke in the full sessions of the conference only once, briefly, to emphasize two points, the significance of the absence of the Roman Catholic Church, and the importance of the attack upon Christian standards of sexual morality and marriage. For the rest of his life Manning did battle for these two fundamental points, being often in conflict with members of his own household who were able or willing to forget or ignore them.

Two years later conflict arose in acute form in Saint George's Church, Stuyvesant Square. In 1928 there was formed, under the leadership of the Revd. Peter Ainslie of the Christian Temple, Disciples of Christ, Baltimore, the Christian Unity League, which affirmed its "active interest in all conferences that are working for the reconciliation of the divided church," acknowledged "the equality of all Christians before God," and proposed "to follow this principle as far as possible." By way of illustration of the meaning of equality the league stated that

One communion posing as being superior to another because of this, that, or the other, and, therefore, refusing membership, the Lord's supper, and its pulpit to another because he is not the same communion is the behavior of worldly and ordinary men.

And to demonstrate what was considered "possible," announcement was made of a conference to be held in Saint George's in November,

1929, which should close with a communion service at which the celebrant would be a Presbyterian, the Revd. Henry Sloan Coffin, President of Union Theological Seminary. The first word the bishop had of the matter was from the newspaper. He tried at once to see the rector, Karl Reiland, but found he was abroad. On his return Reiland went to the country because of illness in the family and was not available to his bishop. Only a week before the day appointed for the service was the bishop able to catch up with him by going to the rectory. The bishop asked that the arrangement be changed. The rector gave a variety of reasons as to how the matter had come about and as to its justification, but firmly declined the bishop's request first orally and again in writing the next day. The bishop then summoned the rector to bring the wardens and vestrymen with him to meet the bishop. Patiently and at length the bishop pointed out that both the teaching of the Prayer Book and the provisions of the canons of the church clearly forbade what it was proposed to do; and that the vestry, as well as the rector, had a duty to see that it should not be done. George W. Wickersham, the bishop's admirer and supporter, was one of the wardens. He was, like all the vestry, anxious to uphold the rector and by conviction strongly disposed to feel that what was proposed was a good and desirable thing. But he recognized that the bishop was right. As members of the Episcopal Church they must uphold the church's law and teaching. The bishop wrote, and made public, a formal letter describing the situation fully and saying that

... in the discharge of my duty as Bishop, and for the sake of peace and unity in the Church to which we belong, I must earnestly beg of you, and I do hereby officially admonish you, not to carry out your plans for the ... Communion Service at St. George's Church and not to "permit any person to officiate therein without sufficient evidence of his being duly licensed or ordained to minister in this Church."

The members of the vestry made it plain to the rector that they could not support him, however much they might want to, and the service was transferred to the chapel of the Union Seminary.

As always the bishop had prepared his position with care. The answer to the contention that the church's law does not forbid a person who has not received episcopal ordination to act as a priest, or to a declaration of intention to defy the law, is comparatively simple. But a precedent was found in another direction. It sometimes happens that an Episcopal Church is loaned to another body deprived of a place to worship by some calamity such as a fire. Or an arrangement

may be made for the rental of an Episcopal Church for a time or in extraordinary circumstances. The Christian Unity League, it was maintained, could be allowed the use of Saint George's Church and rector and vestry absolved of responsibility for what then occurred. The chancellor, George Zabriskie, gave his advice and later incorporated it in a formal letter dealing fully with the various points. As to the rector freeing himself of responsibility he wrote,

it is apparent that the persons present in the church, who constitute the Congregation at any particular time, are regarded by the Church as Dr. Reiland's congregation within the meaning of the Prayer Book.

It is significant that what was contemplated in the Saint George's case is still deemed improper by the World Council of Churches.

Three weeks later, on Advent Sunday, the use of the revised Prayer Book began at the cathedral. In his sermon on "What the new Prayer Book ought to mean to us," Manning stated again the church's position, without any reference to current or controversial events,

Without passing any judgment or criticism upon other Christians and their ways, the Prayer Book holds to the Faith and Order of the Catholic Church throughout the whole world before the present divisions took place, and it is to be remembered that the position held by the Prayer Book as to Holy Orders is still held by seven-tenths of all Christians in the world today, and it would therefore not be a move in the direction of Christian Unity for the Prayer Book to depart from this position.

The league was quite determined to "put on" a service in an Episcopal Church and planned the following year to do so in Saint Bartholomew's in New York. As neither the law nor the bishop had changed the plan withered. But in 1932 a service was held in the Cathedral of the Diocese of Missouri with a Methodist minister, the Revd. (afterward Bishop) Ivan Lee Holt, as celebrant, the Bishop of Missouri giving the blessing, the bishop coadjutor being the preacher, and the dean aiding and abetting. There were many who felt that some definite reply must be made to this. The New York branch of the Clerical Union for the Maintenance and Defense of Catholic Principles, commonly known as the Catholic Club, came to the conclusion, with the assistance of Manning's advice, that a brief statement should be circulated by a committee as widely representative both in churchmanship and geography as possible, for signature by the clergy and for presentation to the House of Bishops. The bishop gave a great deal of thought to the whole project and to the exact wording of the statement. Two thousand, one hundred and fifteen of the clergy from

every diocese in the Episcopal Church, except three Japanese dioceses, signed the following,

To the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

We, the undersigned clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, desire respectfully to express to the House of Bishops our conviction that with loyalty to the provisions of our Book of Common Prayer and of our Canons, and with Christian consideration for the consciences of our brethren in our own Church, our clergy cannot participate in Celebrations of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by ministers who have not had episcopal ordination, and we feel bound to state that if Celebrations of the Lord's Supper by Ministers not episcopally ordained are permitted in our churches this will precipitate a crisis in our own Church, will break the fellowship of our Church with the Anglican Communion, and will endanger the present hopes of Christian Reunion.

No action was asked of the House of Bishops; but the statement, with the names arranged by dioceses in a booklet, sent to every bishop and widely distributed otherwise, had an impressive effect in causing a good many second thoughts as to the wisdom of lawlessness and in restraining precipitate action.

In November, 1936, the bishop addressed a dinner meeting in New York held to arouse interest in two world conferences to be held in 1937, a conference on life and work at Oxford, and the second conference on faith and order at Edinburgh. (Manning did not attend either of these.) He was careful to point out that the two conferences were complementary parts of work toward a common end, and that we can live and work together only by facing frankly the differences of our belief and practice.

We cannot reach Reunion by ignoring or disregarding the deep and sacred convictions of the different groups and Communions. . . . Christian Reunion must include the whole of Christendom, not only a part of it. . . . We must believe not only in the possibility of Reunion, but in the certainty of it—because it is the Will of God.

One statement which he made was profoundly untrue of some who heard him and of those who were assuming the leadership of the movement for reunion.

We have discovered that the cause of Reunion is not helped by well meaning but ambiguous statements which cover up real differences.

An anonymous "sad listener" wrote him,

I attended the dinner last night of the Worlds Christian Conference. It was a wonderful meeting until you threw the monkey wrench into the machinery.

More and more the emphasis and interest were with life and work rather than faith and order. The former were regarded as the important matters. Difficulties over the latter must not be allowed to delay them. If the frontal attack of the Christian Unity League was not successful indirect methods must be tried to achieve the same results. In 1937, following the two conferences, there began a campaign which continued with great intensity for nine years, until the end of Manning's episcopate. His part in its defeat was one of his final achievements. The campaign was one to make it plain that the Episcopal Church is indeed a Protestant Church in the sense in which that term is generally understood by Protestants and to accomplish this by amalgamating the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America on terms acceptable to, if need be dictated by, the latter.

The General Convention of 1937, in Cincinnati, adopted the following declaration, which was then also adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in Philadelphia in 1938,

The two churches, one in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Word of God, recognizing the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith, accepting the two Sacraments ordained by Christ, and believing that the visible unity of Christ's Church is the will of God, hereby solemnly declare their purpose to achieve organic union.

This is one of those loosely worded statements which invite great variety of interpretation and which say either too much or not enough. In the debate in the House of Deputies it was pointed out that the declaration committed the church to a good deal more than members realized or were then prepared to accept. Howard Chandler Robbins, who became the vice chairman of the commission handling the negotiations, solemnly assured the house that it committed the church to nothing and was only an expression of good will to assure the Presbyterians that our commission had official support in its exploratory work. But from the time of its passage in 1937 until the collapse of the negotiations at the General Convention in Philadelphia in 1946 it was always claimed by the spokesmen of our commission, and those who supported their plans, that this resolution, and a similar one passed in 1940 in Kansas City, were mandates to the commission to carry out what was the final and considered decision of the church. Indeed it

rather seemed that those who set the pace in the subsequent proceedings believed, and wished the church to believe, that union was accomplished by the action of 1937, the function of our commission being to arrange details. In 1938 there was published a document, "Proposals Looking Toward Organic Union between" the two churches issued jointly by the "Department of Church Cooperation and Union of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and the Commission on Approaches to Unity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." While the proposals began with the disarming statement that "they are not in final form. No member of either body is under obligation to support them as they stand," they proceeded to a "Proposed Concordat" of very definite nature.

The immediate purpose of this agreement is to provide means whereby each Church may wherever it seems locally desirable assume pastoral charge of the members of the other church and offer them the privilege of the holy communion, thus establishing one congregation. The primary difficulty lies in the differing views of the ministry. But there is large agreement. . . . Both (churches) believe in episcopal ordination, the one by a bishop, the other by a Presbytery acting in its episcopal capacity.

The form of "commissioning" for use in the case of both Presbyterians and Episcopalians was thus described,

In the case of a minister of the Presbyterian Church, the Bishop of the Diocese concerned, when satisfied as to the qualifications of the candidate, with attendant Presbyters, shall lay his hands on his head and say: "Take thou authority to execute (exercise) among us the office of a presbyter in the Church of God, committed to thee by the imposition of our hands. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." In the case of a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church the moderator of the presbytery concerned shall proceed in the same manner and use the same sentence.

This looks very much like "ordination" but was not so called. The Christian Century, a leading Protestant periodical, tried to give as much approval to the concordat as possible but was obliged to comment

It would seem that the concordat should have been drawn up with greater candor and clarity. The document bears certain marks of studied ingenuity. It is courageous, but not sufficiently so.

In fact it was difficut to make clear what was in the minds of the majority party of our commission, and it was difficult for them to be candid even with themselves, because what they planned was a reversal

of the practice of the church without saying so or even admitting it. Bishop Parsons of California was the chairman of the commission. He had been in correspondence with Manning on the subject of the ministry for some years. As early as 1930 he began writing Manning to say that he was wrong to claim that his belief about the ministry was the church's official belief. He felt that Manning's interpretation was

that the historic ministry stands in a position parallel to or equal to that of the Sacraments and the essential faith in the Incarnation.

This could not be the church's position, Parsons maintained, because he and many others did not believe it and were not required by the church to believe it. Manning replied to say that,

While various theories of Episcopacy are held by individuals in the Episcopal Church, yet the Church herself is plainly committed to the theory that Episcopal ordination is essential, and she requires all of us to act as though we held this theory. This I think is made unmistakably clear by the fact that the humblest Roman or Eastern priest coming to us is not reordained while the most eminent and godly Protestant Minister coming into our Ministry must be reordained. . . .

The Bishops of the Anglican Communion certainly took this position (that the Historic Ministry stands in a position parallel to or equal to that of the Sacraments and the essential faith of the Church) when they issued the Lambeth Quadrilateral and included the Historic Ministry as one of the four necessary foundations in any approach to Unity. . . If the Historic Ministry is not essential, it seems to me that the Episcopal Church and the Catholic Churches of the world ought to be willing to surrender it at once as an unwarranted obstacle in the way of Unity with our Protestant brethren.

Bishop Parsons and his cohorts were now looking for a way to make their action about the ministry fit their belief without attempting the hopeless task of reconstructing the Book of Common Prayer and the whole constitutional structure of the church. Bishop Wilson of Eau Claire, a member of the commission who consistently opposed the majority plans, wrote in 1939 to President Sills of Bowdoin, another member of the commission,

There has been some impression that after the passage of the resolution [of 1937], the Concordat emerged as an effort to follow instructions. This, however, is not the case. The original draft of the Concordat was prepared and sent to members of the Commission nearly a year before this declaration was presented to General Convention. As a matter of fact, the declaration itself was part of the Concordat in its original form. Those who devised the Concordat followed up their idea with the declaration though

the Concordat itself was not mentioned to General Convention when the declaration was offered.

Of course not, for it would have killed the declaration!

In September, 1939, Manning issued an "open letter" to the commission pointing out the hopeless weakness of the proposal and asking that it be withdrawn in the interest of peace and unity in the Episcopal Church. The proposed concordat

1. would work untold harm to the cause of Christian Reunion in its larger and wider aspects....

2. [is] not in accord with the faith and doctrine of the Episcopal Church and if adopted it will bring not only discord but actual division in the Church....

3. is one of those well meant but mistaken efforts to promote unity by the use of ambiguous phrases which cover up fundamental differences. . . .

4. will sow dissension in our ranks where now there is peace and harmony and a steadily deepening spirit of understanding between the more Protestant-minded and the more Catholic-minded members of our Communion.

He quoted the official statement of the Presbyterians to the World Conference on Faith and Order to show that the two churches use the words

believe in Episcopal Ordination . . . in entirely different senses and with quite different meanings.

He cited a former moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, Dr. McCartney, and Dr. William R. Huntington, "that apostle of true unity," in support of his position and rebuked Bishop Parsons for trying to silence legitimate criticism by charging "the spirit of schism." The Second World War had begun and this reinforced the necessity for withdrawal of the divisive proposal.

In January he preached at the Philadelphia Divinity School and renewed the attack, pointing out that the Presbyterian Church concerned was only one of several in this country. Much of the argument of the proponents of the concordat was based on a book, The Primitive Church by B. H. Streeter, published in England a few years before, in which he had undertaken to show that all forms of ministry known today have equal authority in the New Testament. This book was supposed to remove the bogeys of "apostolic succession" and "historic episcopate" but the bishop cited the Lambeth Conference of 1930 and Archbishop Temple of York as still upholding these very things in spite of Dr. Streeter. And he added,

if it were true, as this proposed Concordat declares, that "both Churches believe in Episcopal Ordination" we might well ask why was this fact not brought to light long ago.

Bishop Parsons thundered forth from California, replying to every statement and giving assurance that all was proceeding with the full approval of the two official committees. In private correspondence with Manning he upbraided him for "contributing to hysteria" and tried to reassure him about the ministry.

No man would celebrate the Holy Communion for our people or in one of our Churches who had not received the laying on of hands of a bishop, and if you or those who think as you do believe that he was not ordained before, this would be an entirely adequately ordination.

Manning in reply asked whether he would "be willing to state this publicly to the Presbyterians" and the subject was dropped. Parsons also returned to the argument of ten years earlier that either Manning must take steps to see that Parsons and those who believe as he does are removed from the church or admit that their teaching is the Church's teaching. He wrote further,

You cannot, if you have had any experience of men and scholars, you cannot for a moment believe that the Protestant world is coming to hold your view....

Every single movement in the Christian world for the last fifty years has been in the direction of breaking down the barriers which such a doctrine of the ministry as you hold has interposed among Christians.

Manning was the chief spokesman in defense of the church's position but he did all he could to get others to speak also. Whenever he found a response to his statements from a layman he urged him to make his own public utterance. He was in cordial correspondence with Presbyterians who were as scandalized as he at what was going on. The Presbyterian published his principal statements in criticism of the commission. He remonstrated privately with Dean Fosbroke

that the General Seminary appears to the Church Public to be strongly identified with the movement in behalf of the proposed Concordat. Some members of the Seminary Staff seem to be definitely campaigning for this Proposal and at present there has been no word so far as I know from anyone connected with the Seminary representing the other side of the question and thus giving a more balanced position in the matter. In view of the official relation of the Seminary to the whole Church this situation seems to me to be unfortunate and indeed serious.

The poor dean replied at length to dissociate himself personally from such support but the bishop indicated he did not feel this was enough. Bishop Stewart of Chicago made a notable charge to his diocese on the matter of the concordat at the Diocesan Convention of 1940. It proved to be his last utterance for he died suddenly in May. Manning arranged for a group of clergy to circulate the charge, in a pamphlet with a telling brief introduction, to all members of the General Convention.

Feeling and tension mounted during 1940. Manning, members of the commission who were in opposition to Bishop Parsons, and many others who had inside knowledge of the situation, were convinced that the Bishop of California and his supporters were determined to force some positive action through General Convention. Dr. William H. Nes, Dean of the Cathedral in New Orleans, wrote Manning in July

What seems to me very patent is that, whether in Reunion schemes, or in regard to marriage, or in a number of other ways, there is a concerted drive by Liberals to commit the Church to a position which will cut the roots of all Catholic orientation. I think they feel that it is now or never. The Forward Movement syllabus on the Concordat, in its article describing the Episcopal Church, was clearly written to support such a position.

Among the bishop's papers is a pencilled note of exactly what he would say in case a resolution on the subject were offered at his own convention; but no trouble arose. It developed that the commission was quite divided and too strong a report might produce a minority report. As a result the concordat was not brought before the convention. Instead the commission was continued with expressions of good will; an amendment to the canon "of persons not ministers in this church officiating in any congregation thereof" was adopted authorizing the bishop to give

permission to a Minister of any Church with which this Church has entered into a declaration of purpose to achieve organic union to preach the Gospel;

and it was voted to join the Federal Council of Churches. Manning came down with influenza at the time of the convention and could not attend. Dr. William Adams Brown wrote to rejoice over the Federal Council matter and insisted that the council was now no longer a merely partisan, Protestant body; but Manning declined to agree with him. There was also passed by the House of Bishops a resolution advising

members of this Church so situated that the ministrations of this Church are not accessible, to associate themselves with a Presbyterian congregation...;

but when debate in the House of Deputies indicated defeat the resolution was withdrawn; and another in very general terms was adopted in its place.

The strategy of the majority of the commission was to magnify what General Convention had done. It had adopted what the commission had put forward. Nothing which had been allowed to come to a vote had been turned down. Therefore convention fully approved all that the commission was doing, and proposed to do. The concordat. so far as the title and the exact text were concerned, passed into oblivion: but reappeared in a proposal for "joint ordination" in 1941. Manning was one of many who continued to point out the inconsistencies and contradictions. In particular he dwelt on the fact that matters of such delicacy and such vital importance should not be forced through in time of war, and without reference to the Lambeth Conference. Manning was quite impartial in his rebukes to those who erred in the contest. Clifford Morehouse, editor of the Living Church, gave some support to the joint ordination proposal, not so much because he was satisfied with it as to encourage discussion in the church which would bring out the fact that the majority of the commission did not have the support they imagined. The bishop telegraphed

I hope most earnestly that you will not take this position;

and when Morehouse persisted, showed his disapproval by definite coolness for a time, in spite of the fact that the *Living Church* was an important medium for the bishop's statements and the mouthpiece of the catholic party.

In June, 1942, the two bodies produced a set of "basic principles" for discussion by the members of both churches and for presentation to General Convention for adoption. This was a restatement of the position which had been taken all along. But shortly before its publication Bishop Parsons executed a bold manoeuvre which might have had extraordinary results had not Bishop Manning been immediately aware of the implications. Some time in the summer of 1942 apparently Bishop Parsons wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, reporting on the work of the commission and asking for a general expression of approval from the archbishop. This the archbishop gave, saying that he was not passing judgement on any particular scheme. Following his usual tactic Bishop Parsons assumed

that the letter would be generally considered an endorsement of whatever the commission should propose in the future. Many a man has given a general endorsement in this manner and regretted it. But it is not certain that the archbishop was unaware of what he was doing for he, like Bishop Parsons, was a believer in the *fait accompli* method of reunion. Manning promptly called attention publicly to the serious impropriety of the archbishop's action.

Although the Archbishop says in his letter that he does not wish to form any judgment at present upon any particular schemes . . . [it] will be understood by all as giving support to the Proposal now under discussion. . . . I feel compelled to express publicly my surprise, and my great regret, that the Archbishop should have allowed himself to write this letter. . . Would it have been permissible for Archbishop Temple to send for publication a letter opposing this Movement? Manifestly this would not have been permissible and on the same principle it is an act of ecclesiastical intrusion for the Archbishop to send a letter which will be generally understood as giving support to the Movement and which is evidently so understood by Bishop Parsons who publishes it. . . .

The archbishop sent a private reply to Manning in very cordial personal terms but somewhat naively declaring that he had not intended to support "any propositions before the committee at the time." Bishop Parsons' audacity was matched by Bishop Manning's alertness and courage, for to rebuke the Archbishop of Canterbury in public is brave indeed if it is justified but foolhardy if mistaken. As usual Manning acted quite impersonally addressing himself to the issue of the moment. In his diary for 27 September, 1948, he records

Finished reading the Life of William Temple—an admirably written record of a truly great Christian and Archbishop.

and on 11 May, 1949,

Finding much help in Wm. Temple's Readings in St. John's Gospel.

Manning dealt with the "basic principles" in letters to the church papers, in his convention address in May, 1943, and in a sermon in the cathedral in September. He carried on a wide correspondence and urged others to express themselves publicly. The majority of the commission felt that it was time for definite action and prepared a report for General Convention of such nature as to require a minority report dissenting completely from what the majority wrote in support of "basic principles" and from the implementing resolutions proposed. The situation was serious in the extreme. The majority faced either a

clear defeat or a victory with opposition of such proportions as to be tantamount to defeat. A compromise was arranged. Convention received both reports, thus giving as much approval to the objections as to the matters objected to; it was indicated that changes in the personnel of the joint commission should be made; and the commission was directed to ask the counsel of the Lambeth Conference. Manning wrote out and kept the brief statement which he made in the House of Bishops.

In view of the terms of these Resolutions and of the fact that they do not commit us to any of the provisions either in the Majority Report or the Minority Report, and that they cannot be interpreted as giving any sort of approval to the suggested "Basic Principles," I second the motion for the adoption of these Resolutions.

If it could not be said that the majority of the commission had suffered complete defeat it could certainly be said that they were not able to produce anything which they could carry through General Convention. Yet both Bishop Parsons, now retired from the Diocese of California and from the commission, and Dean Zabriskie of the Virginia Theological Seminary tried desperately to rescue something for their cause by minimizing what Bishop Manning had said. From long experience of the manner in which the debate had been carried on Manning recognized the necessity for nipping this effort in the bud. He wrote publicly

Dean Zabriskie says—"It is true that in supporting the resolutions Bishop Manning said he did so because they committed the church to nothing," and he adds that my statement was immediately corrected by Bishop Sherrill. . . . I make two comments—first, I did not make the statement which Dean Zabriskie attributes to me, second, Bishop Sherrill did not "correct" the statement that I made.

He then quoted his exact statement and added

After Bishop Sherrill's statement I expressed my agreement with him that these resolutions do not close the door to the possibility of eventual reunion with the Presbyterians and with other bodies of Christians.

Dean Zabriskie wrote him privately to say that he was sorry that the bishop felt he had misrepresented him and that he had no intention of doing so but he by no means altered his own interpretation of what had taken place nor did he make any public statement by way of correction.¹

¹ See additional note at the end of this chapter.

The new commission, after the 1943 convention, was more evenly balanced but a bare majority still remained faithful to the policies and plans of the original group of 1937. There was very little publicity about its work until just before the 1946 convention. In 1945 Manning dealt with a pronouncement of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., on the subject of the reunited church of the future.

It would be the Church of the Living God. Its terms of admission would be love of God, as He is revealed in Christ and His living spirit. . . . Its atmosphere would be one of warmth, freedom and joy. . . . It would pronounce ordinance, ritual, creed, all non-essential for admission into the Kingdom of God or His church. . . . Its object would be to promote applied religion, not theoretical religion.

Manning exhorted the Diocesan Convention to

pay no heed to those who tell us that the Creed and Sacraments are unimportant for Christians today, and that we can have Christian Unity by casting aside the Christian Creed. . . . A Christian is one who believes in and prays to Jesus Christ and strives by the grace and help of Christ to follow His teachings. The Christian creed it what the Gospel itself tells us about God and about the Lord Jesus Christ. A Unity without the Christian creed would not be Christian Unity. Anyone who advocates a creedless Christianity is, consciously or unconsciously, striking at the very foundations of the Christian Religion.

In March, 1946, Manning announced his retirement at the end of the year. His convention address was therefore to be his last. In it he appealed for loyalty to the position and opportunity of the Anglican Communion in the work of reunion. He returned to his favourite war cry, the words of Bishop Hobart, "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order," and twice quoted the late Archbishop Temple (he died suddenly in October, 1944) to warn against the mistakes of haste and expediency and to remain faithful to true catholicity.

Not until the summer was the plan of the two bodies made known. It was entitled the "proposed Basis of Union" and contained nothing very different from the various pronouncements since the concordat of 1937 except to go further in making it plain that the Episcopal Church was to be assimilated to the Presbyterian Church in a manner satisfactory to their department. Eight only of the fifteen members of the commission signed the report. It was said that some did so without approving and there was talk of the possible defection of some one of the eight, in which case there would have been technically no report. The minority of seven issued two reports, one of them a closely

reasoned statement, from the point of view of a lawyer, of the inconsistencies and contradictions of the majority report. It was the work of James G. Mitchell, a communicant of the Diocese of New York, who had been encouraged by the bishop in 1943 to publish his criticisms of the proposals of that year. The plan of the commission leadership was to ask not that the proposed basis be approved by convention, but that it be referred to the church for study during the next three years, presumably with the 1937 tactic in mind to claim that what has been referred for study has thereby been adopted. Manning at once published a brief but clear statement.

The issue which this Report presents is whether the Episcopal Church shall remain true to the Faith and Teachings of the Prayer Book-or . . . shall now repudiate its principles as to the Apostolic Ministry, and shall be merged into a United Church which will be essentially Presbyterian. . . . The Presbyterian Church officially and definitely maintains the doctrine of "Parity of Orders," which means that all ministers of the church have exactly the same spiritual powers and spiritual authority, and that Bishops have only the same spiritual powers and the same spiritual functions that Presbyters have. It is this doctrine which is expressed and maintained in the "Proposed Basis of Union." . . . I am not criticizing the Presbyterians for maintaining their beliefs and convictions. I respect them for doing so. I say simply that this "Proposed Basis of Union" is not a unification of the positions of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, it is a surrender of the principles for which the Episcopal Church stands, and has always stood. . . . The Prayer Book itself . . . is to be put aside and discarded. If the Episcopal Church were to accept this Proposal it would become a different church from which it has always been, it would repudiate its spiritual heritage and its whole history, it would separate itself from the rest of the Anglican Communion, it would completely cast away its opportunity to serve the cause of Christian Reunion as a "Bridge Church" between Catholicism and Protestantism, and, as the Minority Report says, would "become merely one of several hundred other Protestant sects."

The statement was given wide distribution, including all the members of General Convention. The Rector of Trinity, Dr. Fleming, reported after a trip to the west that there were some who wished a warning might be given to the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, who was coming to the convention. He was to speak at a dinner given by certain liberal groups which were supporting the proposal and it was felt he might be jockeyed somehow into making a statement which could be interpreted as committing him to that side. Manning at once sent a note, enclosing his statement. It was unnecessary. The archbishop was not, like Temple, a believer in the fait ac-

compli; and had no intention of taking sides, inadvertently or otherwise. But his address to the convention was nevertheless generally supposed to have strengthened some waverers who were willing to go along with a scheme which was supposed to promote reunion.

The archbishop preached at the cathedral in New York on his arrival but the bishop was too ill to come to receive him or to attend the convention. After the convention was over Manning discovered that proper arrangements had not been made to pay for the archbishop's trip and he was able to relieve what would have been an embarrassment by a large cheque.

The issue was clearly drawn at the convention in Philadelphia. The argument of the pro-Presbyterians was that the declaration of 1937 had in effect established reunion between the two churches; the function of our commission had been to secure the best terms possible. After nine years of discussion it was essential that some definite sign of good faith should be shown. In effect they emphasized that the answer of this convention must be taken as final. By this they doubtless hoped and expected to drive a sluggish and timorous church into action. Once more they failed to carry the convention to a positive vote. Clifford Morehouse telegraphed Manning in Maine

Deputies have killed "basis of union" by substituting resolutions receiving majority and minority reports, calling upon both our commission and presbyterian department to prepare statement of faith and order upon which further negotiations may be based. Lambeth asked to appoint standing commission on reunion to consider all specific approaches in which any Anglican Church concerned. Although this was a compromise resolution with a few questionable features it is in general a great victory for our cause and is so regarded by both sides.

Manning replied

No words can express my thankfulness for this news. We must thank God and take courage.

The majority of the commission were accurate in their judgement that the answer to what had been brought forward thus far must be considered final. The commission turned its attention in other directions after 1946.

Who defeated these proposals? Does chief credit go to Manning? The account given here does not profess to be a full history; it is an effort only to recount Manning's part. This was indeed an important one. He had been concerned and active quite as long and quite as much, in the cause of reunion, as those he was opposing. It was im-

possible to carry conviction with the charge that he was insincere or out of touch with the main stream of Anglican thought. The catholic party when it is ably led, as by Manning, is near to the aim and intention of the whole church as no liberal or protestant party can ever be. Manning's leadership in the fight was unwavering and untiring. He dealt always with the fundamental points. He was effective in spurring others on and in giving them new courage when things seemed to go badly. But it would not be accurate to claim the victory as his. It was rather that of the great central body of the church which was unwilling to surrender to the Presbyterians in the twentieth century that which it had successfully defended in the seventeenth. And Manning regarded the victory only as a necessary step to proceed to the true cause of Christian reunion which he regarded as the special opportunity and duty of Anglicanism.

Seventeen years have passed and the signs are plainer every day of the rightness of his position. The advocates of pan-protestantism decrease in number. The conviction grows that that is neither the goal nor even a step toward the goal. More and more there is a return to the principles behind the resolution of 1910. It is significant that the visit in 1961 of the Anglican "pope" to his brethren in Constantinople and Rome has had no opposition or adverse criticism of any real importance. The theological equipment, background, and outlook of him who now occupies the chair of Saint Augustine indicate an adherence to the intent and method of 1910 and justify the bishop's work both in earlier and later days. Were he here today it is safe to assume that he would rejoice but that he would also repeat a warning. If it be true that we must never be discouraged by the slowness of our progress, it is also true that we must not be misled into a false optimism by success. The way is still long; the important thing is not the progress we seem to be making, but the certainty of the road we travel.

We must not try to run ahead of grace.2

ADDITIONAL NOTE

The episode of 1943 is of importance because it is one of three incidents in which Zabriskie seems to show personal animus toward Manning and in which, while privately professing a friendly attitude, he was unwilling to correct false statements made publicly which tended to put Manning in a very unfavourable light. In an article in the Southern Churchman in June, 1940, Dean Zabriskie expressed his

² See p. 89.

lack of concern over gloomy predictions of the consequences of adopting the concordat.

Threat has been raised often before by people who felt some of the interpretations about which they felt deeply were imperilled. If I am not mistaken, Dr. Manning raised it himself in the famous Briggs case over the issue of ordaining men who doubted the Mosaic authorship of all the Pentateuch.

Zabriskie was quite mistaken as Manning pointed out. He had made no such protest and had been on friendly terms always with Dr. Briggs. But Zabriskie made no public correction or apology.³

Most serious of all was misrepresentation of the relationship between Bishop Lloyd and Bishop Manning during the fifteen years the former was Manning's suffragan, from 1921 until Lloyd's death in 1936. In view of the positions of the two men in the Panama Conference controversy of 19154 it would not have been unnatural to expect difficulties. In fact there were none. Bishop Lloyd was possessed of a lovable and loving personality. Though a Virginia low churchman he became especially popular in the catholic parishes of the Diocese of New York. He was indeed a highly impractical man in business, who in his time at the Board of Missions had given serious concern to associates who greatly admired him. Business judgement did not count in his work as suffragan and there was always an especially happy relationship between the three bishops, first with Bishop Shipman and later with Bishop Gilbert. In his later years the bishop became infirm, especially after the death of Mrs. Lloyd, and was not always able to keep appointments. For some time before his death it was necessary for Bishop Manning to have always an alternative arrangement available in case at the last moment Bishop Lloyd could not make the visitation assigned him in the schedule. Three times in the last three years Lloyd sent a formal letter of resignation but Manning refused always to give any consideration to it, knowing how deeply Bishop Lloyd loved his work and all the contacts of his office. This was in no sense a burden to Manning, who was scarcely aware of the extra responsibility and work for himself which were involved. His feeling about Lloyd is expressed in his diary on the day of the latter's death,

22nd July (1936). Received news of the death of dear Bishop Lloyd. Tele-

³ For Manning's opinion, publicly expressed in 1933, of the ordination of Dr. Briggs, see p. 157.

⁴ See pp. 79 ff.

phoned the Haddens at Darien, Connecticut, to arrange for the funeral at the Cathedral but found that the family wish to have the service in Virginia so we shall have a Requiem at the Cathedral, and a Memorial Service there later. Bishop Lloyd was beloved by all of us and by the whole Church. We shall greatly miss him. I was deeply touched by my last talk with him just before I left the city. He was most affectionate—as he was always—and insisted upon telling me how much he appreciated my refusal to consider his resignation, which he had several times offered on account of his health. He told me again how much this meant to him—and I told him how much it meant to all of us to have him still at his post and that I would not even listen to anything else, though he said he could not feel it right to go on much longer. And so he continued to the end. May light perpetual shine upon him.

About Christmas, 1942, Zabriskie published a life of Bishop Lloyd. In the portion dealing with the Diocese of New York he went to some length to give the impression that Lloyd was unhappy, and rather shabbily treated by Manning. Some of what he wrote represented conclusions he drew from letters of Bishop Lloyd, or reports of conversations, which he did not quote. And he cited as facts certain things which were simply not so. Thus he reported that most of Bishop Lloyd's "Manhattan visitations were to the smaller congregations and missions." The present Bishop of New York, then Rector of Saint James', one of the largest and most important of the Manhattan parishes, reminded Bishop Manning that Bishop Lloyd had made the official visitation to St. James each year for the last twelve of his fifteen years. Again Zabriskie reported that Bishop Lloyd visited Dobbs Ferry on the 5th of July, only about two weeks before his death, and had another service that night in New York. The bishop's own report in the diocesan journal showed that he visited Dobbs Ferry, not on the 5th of July but the 3rd of May, and made no further visitation until his death. Zabriskie did not consult Bishop Manning or Bishop Gilbert before writing.

Manning felt that a serious injustice was done to Bishop Lloyd by what Zabriskie wrote of him but because the injustice was also to himself his usual policy prevented any public correction. He contented himself by writing privately to various officials to set things straight. Bishop Tucker, the presiding bishop, and Dr. John W. Wood, Lloyd's close associate of the Board of Missions days both wrote to agree with his protest. Manning notes in his diary that

Bp. Gilbert told me that he agreed entirely with all that I have written to Chorley (the historiographer of the diocese) and Zabriskie and said,

"You and I know, of course, where that misinformation came from." He expressed astonishment that Zabriskie should have published these statements without any conference in regard to them with him (Bp. G.) or with me, and said, 'I can bear witness from my own close contact with Bishop Lloyd that many of these statements are entirely untrue and they give a wholly wrong impression. Bp. Lloyd never cherished or expressed any such feeling and our relations and work together—all three of us—were always singularly happy.'

Again Zabriskie wrote to protest that he

would not try deliberately to misrepresent . . . the Bishop by whom I was ordered deacon and at whose hands I received many kindnesses, certainly not the valued and trusted friend of my father.

He justified himself for the conclusions he had drawn but indicated that the frustration was in large measure due to the essential nature of the office of suffragan as defined by canon and to the feeling that there seemed no abiding result to his work, statements giving a very different impression from the book. The errors as to ascertainable facts he ignored. No public correction or withdrawal was ever made.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

FINALE |

Ir it be the duty of a chief pastor to show his people how to live, it is also his duty and privilege to show them how to retire and to die. This Bishop Manning did in fullest measure. His retirement came in a manner which might well have caused bitterness and surrender. It had the appearance of serious defeat in what he regarded as an important campaign. At the Diocesan Convention in May, 1944, he announced that he would not be in any way bound by the legislation of the 1943 General Convention requiring a bishop to resign at 72 and that

I shall continue to serve you as your Bishop so long as I am given health and strength sufficient,

a statement which he noted in his diary

was received with most gratifying demonstration of assent and approval.

He was of the school of thought which believes it to be the bishop's duty to remain at his post as long as he lives, a belief unpopular in an age enamoured of business efficiency in church methods. Almost at once however illness came upon him, an illness which could not be altogether ignored though for his five remaining years he carried it with a cheerful gallantry. In November he was incapacitated by

pain & stiffness in my back, arms and legs, and moving about as little as possible.

He was obliged to cancel all appointments and on 7 December he went into Saint Luke's Hospital where he remained until 13 March, 1945. Slowly he got back into harness. He did most of the work of his

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office but he was not able to make a parochial visitation until the following September. He had cancer. His diary records his frequent treatments but he never mentions the cause. He writes always of going to the hospital for "radio treatment." This may be a humorous euphemism for x-ray or radium or it may represent the contempt the bishop always had for unimportant details. It was astonishing how little the treatments were allowed to interfere with what he was doing and how little aware those around him, even quite close to him, were of his state. By March of 1946 the bishop realized what he must do and made his decision. He took twenty-four hours to inform those closest to him, beyond his own household. The first of these was his chancellor, Forrest Butterworth, who wept. But the bishop noted in his diary,

He so expressed himself that it almost undid me.

Then he wrote his letter to the standing committee and gave the word to the press, recording again in his diary

the relief to feel step is definitely taken.

But once the decision was announced he seemed almost to forget it, going on with his work much as usual in spite of interruptions for visits to the hospital, sometimes for only a few hours, sometimes overnight or for a few days. He directed the final battle in the Presbyterian fiasco during this period and notes that his last convention address in May took an hour and six minutes to deliver. The summer in Maine relaxed and refreshed him and though he did not come back to receive the Archbishop of Canterbury or to attend the General Convention he took up his work quite normally at the end of September. As the autumn proceeded more attention was given to final details. He notes in his diary in December that the standing committee had asked him to call a special convention to elect his successor.

I am glad to have this news for I had decided that if the Standing Committee did not make this request I would call the Convention anyway—as provided by Article III of the Constitution.

A special service was held on the third Sunday in Advent; he wore his cope and mitre to officiate in the cathedral on Christmas Day and again at the carol service the following Sunday; he presided at the annual meeting of the trustees of the cathedral; preached his last sermon as bishop; and on the last day of the year made the final arrangements to turn things over to Bishop Gilbert. On the 25th of January he notes in his diary

Finished clearing out desk and files and left the Office in the Synod House where I have administered the affairs of the Diocese for more than twenty-five years. Went over to the Cathedral and spent an hour there quietly.

He declined to preside at the convention in January at which Bishop Gilbert was elected bishop of the diocese but went to give his good wishes on receiving the news. It was decided that Bishop Gilbert was to occupy the deanery as the bishop's house and the palace was no longer used for that purpose. Bishop Gilbert moved in in March and the Manning family arranged to rent the small house he had occupied in Washington Mews. They moved on 29 April, twenty-six years to the day from the time of their moving into the

house in which I have spent nearly one-third of my whole life.

The solemnities and tributes on his retirement gave him the greatest joy and there was satisfaction even in the pain of separation. One letter may be quoted as representative of what was said. It came from the Rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati, Dr. Burroughs, who was himself consecrated bishop two days before the bishop's death.

I want you to know that even way out here in the middle west we have seen in you an example of leadership that, in my opinion, has not been matched anywhere else in the Church. There is no greater task in the Episcopal Church in the United States than that given to the Bishop of New York. The manner in which you have carried it on and pushed it forward, the dignity with which you have endowed the office of Bishop, the keen judgement and nice discernment of major and minor issues whenever difficult decisions had to be made, and most of all your pastoral care of your clergy and their people have given us all an example to follow in our own minor positions, and have been an inspiration which will last as long as we live.

When it was over and he had gone to live very simply in a tiny house in a back street it was to be expected that he would give himself up to nursing himself, fretting over his changed state, and soon collapse into invalidism. It is often what happens. But on the contrary he was in no time concerning himself with new affairs. He took great pleasure in settling into the house. A small altar was prepared for him in his room and here he celebrated on occasions and said his offices. The little house was now home and gave him as much pleasure as had the great palace.

He took up the scandal of the marriage of clergy to divorced women with as much vigour as ever, making his own protest and urging others to do the same. A group of clergy went off to Yugoslavia to inspect afFINALE 235

fairs under Tito and came back with a glowing report as to the state of religion in that country. The bishop wrote at once and vigorously to the press to denounce this absurdity. He protested strongly about the trial of Cardinal Mindzenty in Hungary; and about the participation of a Unitarian minister in a service in Saint James' Church. These matters required comparatively little time but in another of local interest he gave a great deal of time and energy. This was a project to try to preserve the character of Washington Square, both park and buildings. The bishop had lived in the Square as Rector of Trinity and was now on the edge of it again. He joined with a group of artists and local residents to form an "art centre" which would preserve the simple charm of the region. For eight months an intensive campaign was waged. The meetings of the committee were often held in the bishop's house. On one occasion he went to the hospital at noon for a treatment, which always tired him greatly, but returned and attended a meeting of the committee from 4:30 until 7! On June 28, 1948, the bishop records in his diary

Announcements in N. Y. Papers today that we have given up the effort for the "Art Centre"—as the option on the property is ending and there is not enough money in sight. The effort however has been well worth while and has done good in several ways.

In 1947 the Rector of Saint James, Madison Avenue, Horace William Baden Donegan, was elected suffragan bishop. He was consecrated on the Feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, the same day as Bishop Gilbert seventeen years earlier. Manning was obliged to send word that he could not attend. When the day came he was in the hospital and the new bishop came to his bed from the cathedral to ask his blessing. Just two years later Bishop Donegan was elected coadjutor and Bishop Manning was thus able to know of two of his successors, an unusual circumstance.

Through the years several foreign governments had bestowed decorations upon the bishop. Others were given him after his retirement, of which the most notable was the appointment by the British Government as sub-prelate of the order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem. The insignia of this was conferred on Saint George's Day, 1948, before a small but distinguished company, including Bishop Gilbert and Bishop Donegan, at the residence of the British Consul General. And once again he was subjected to malicious and slanderous reports such as had been circulated over thirty years before that he was about to submit to Rome. Shortly after his retirement he received

a letter from a prominent, but unscrupulous, Roman ecclesiastic requesting an interview. The wording was cleverly chosen to bear the implication that this was for the purpose of discussing the bishop's submission while sufficiently vague to allow repudiation. The bishop made no direct reply but prepared a scathing denunciation of the trickery in a letter signed and sent on his behalf by one of the clergy of the diocese. At the same time others wrote him of rumours which were about and urged him to make a public statement. In particular a lady, not personally known to the bishop, wrote, with apology for intruding upon him, to ask whether he could reassure her. She had heard from sources she could not easily doubt that the bishop was under instruction by Roman Catholics and that he had had to have special dispensation from Cardinal Spellman to be present at the installation of Bishop Gilbert! The bishop scorned any public statement, as he had before, but he wrote personally to reassure each one who wrote him.

As to the "rumour" of which you speak, I hope all who meet it will denounce it suitably as not only preposterous but also quite slanderous and impertinent.

The bishop had always taken pleasure in the visitors to the household, whether to himself or to Mrs. Manning or his daughters. These visits grew more numerous both at the house in the Mews, in spite of its limited accommodation, and especially at the summer house in Maine. Ever since the Trinity days the summer holidays had usually been spent on Mt. Desert, first in a house at Seal Harbour, and since the early thirties in a rambling old house at Somesville, at the head of Somes Sound, which had been an inn in earlier days. The bishop stayed at Somesville for five months in each of his last two years. Here visitors, over night or for a few days, were welcome and came in considerable numbers. Athenagoras came to the Mews in January, 1949, to bid him farewell as he left for Istanbul to ascend the throne of the Ecumenical Patriarch. In August Dr. Kirk, the Bishop of Oxford, made a special pilgrimage to Somesville to meet the bishop whom he had never seen personally before.

A deeply interesting and delightful visit. . . . At night after dinner we sat and talked until midnight.

The bishop enjoyed all the charms of the island. He notes in his diary the times when an eagle sits for hours in a tree near the house; his witnessing a fight between the eagle and an osprey; his talks with

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Mr. Fernald, the patriarch of the village, in the store across the way; trips about the island; and the continued interest of the farm boy in agricultural matters.

Frances and I drove over to the Gilpins & had a pleasant visit. Mr. G. is much interested in the culture of earth-worms for the improvement of the soil—a very important subject.

It was suggested to him that he prepare a history of the cathedral and he toyed with the idea of writing his own autobiography. But he was not enthusiastic at recalling the past except as it provided material for pushing forward into the future. He wrote an introduction to a book on Dr. DuBose's theology, The Word Made Flesh, by Professor Marshall of Sewanee and wrote to the papers to draw attention to the fact that thoughtful scientists are turning again to faith and to the Christian religion.

During his last year he was hard at work giving assistance to a campaign for evangelism in the church. At the time of his retirement the national church was planning such a campaign. It was distinctly a jejune effort as evidenced by the fact that the chief instrument devised for its prosecution was an expensive radio program, called "Great Scenes from Great Plays," which would serve as the magnificent introduction for an announcement by the rector of each local church of the hours of service on the following Sunday, with an invitation to attend, as a result of which it was confidently expected

to bring 70,000,000 "unchurched" Americans into the Episcopal fold.

As these grandiose plans were developing the bishop wrote to the press a searching letter inquiring as to the foundation on which it was being built ending with the devastating quotation of the words of Joab¹

My son, wherefore wilt thou run seeing that thou hast no tidings?

The result of his concern was the publication of an article, "The Turning of the Tide," which he began to write in March, 1949, and the distribution of which he was working on at his death.

There are three current books which should be noted by thoughtful Christians, as signs of the times. These Books are *Human Destiny*, by Lecomte du Noüy, *Civilization on Trial*, by Arnold Toynbee, and *Miracles*, by C. S. Lewis. It is significant that these books have all appeared at this time and that, although not of the type that is ordinarily popular, two of them

¹ II Samuel, XVIII, 22.

have, for many months, been in the lists of "best sellers." They represent three great and different fields of human knowledge, the field of Science, the field of World History, and the field of Philosophy and the Humanities. The writer of each book is a recognized master in his own field.

And all three of these writers give their testimony definitely for God and Religion, and repudiate the Secularist Philosophy which largely dominates the thought and teaching in many of our institutions of higher learning—and which has been a chief factor in the weakening of the sense of personal responsibility, and the lowering of moral standards in our life generally.

After discussion of his theme he concludes with a listing of eight "Christian Imperatives," the duty of the Christian to preach to his world today.

- 1. We must tell men plainly—and especially the secularist teachers in our universities and colleges—that the secularist philosophy is not only unintelligent but is deeply and definitely evil—destructive of the foundations of human life—destructive of that which gives human life its sacredness and worth and dignity—destructive of belief in God, in the moral law, and in the soul of man.
- 2. We must call upon men to see that the one hope of this world is belief in the Living God and in His moral law the same for all men everywhere—and that it is Jesus Christ alone who can bring the world to God, and so to world brotherhood and peace.
- 3. We must call upon men to believe the Christian Gospel not only because it is declared by the Church and the Bible but because it is the absolute truth—the absolute truth about God, about man, and about the relation of men to God and to each other. The Gospel is not true because the Church and the Bible say so; the Church and the Bible say so because it is true.
- 4. We must preach the whole Gospel. We cannot convert men to Christ by preaching only the social half of the Gospel, or only the ethical half, or only the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount. The whole Gospel has power to convert the world; half the Gospel has no power to convert anyone.
- 5. We must preach the glorious fact of the Incarnation in all its Divine truth and splendor. We must show men that this stupendous event illuminates, and orders, and gives reason and meaning to all our other knowledge of God, of the universe, and of ourselves; that it shows us the boundless love of God, and the greatness of His purpose for man; that it shows us the depth and tragedy of human sin and what God has done to rescue and redeem us from sin.

We are "boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel." We are to declare to all men that "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man"—

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that He "reveals God to us, and reveals us to ourselves." We are to show men that Jesus Christ is the One who "was in the beginning and was with God, and was God"—the One who "was made flesh and dwelt among us"—the One in whom we see "the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth"—the One Who today offers to all who will receive Him, and believe on His Name, "power to become the sons of God."

6. We must preach more faithfully the divine Wonder of the Atonement—the Transcendent Glory of the Cross. We must preach that which is the very truth of the Gospel—"that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," that He "suffered death upon the Cross for our redemption," and that He "made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world." We must call men to truer realization of the meaning of the Cross, and to truer thankfulness for all that Christ has done for us.

Jesus Christ suffered for us and for the whole world. He did for us what no other could do. He broke down "the middle wall of partition" and overcame everything in our human nature that separates us from God. He lifted up our human nature into perfect union with God. He made His glorious sacrifice for us, but not instead of us. He offered Himself for our sake, but not as our substitute. He suffered in our behalf, but not in our stead. To accept Him as our Saviour means that we ask Him to do in us what He has already done for us, so that we may "grow up in all things into him which is the head, even Christ" and may be brought into at-onement with God by Him who "loved us and gave himself for us"—and who "ever liveth to make intercession for us."

7. We must preach the Divine Reality and Mission of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, the Church which our Lord Himself founded, the Church of which the New Testament tells us such glorious things, the Church in which we declare our belief each time that we say the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed.

Jesus Christ Himself founded His Church, chose and commissioned His Apostles, instituted the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, and promised to be with the Church "alway, even unto the end of the world." He is "the head over all things to the Church, which is His Body." The Gospel without the Divinely Instituted Church is not the Gospel of the New Testament. The Gospel preached by the Apostles and declared by the whole New Testament is the Gospel of Christ and His Church.

Christ's power is not circumscribed. He is the eternal Word "by whom all things were made." He is "the Light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." He promises His help to all who call upon Him. But the Church is the divinely constituted means and the visible pledge of His continuing presence and work in this world and of our fellowship

with Him. The Church is the pledged sphere of His grace and help given to men. In spite of its sinful divisions, in spite of its weakness and shortcoming on its human side, the Church is still "His Body" in which He lives and ministers to us, and in which He seeks to manifest Himself to the world. And so evangelism means that we are to bring men to accept Jesus Christ as their Saviour, and to follow Him as their King "in the fellowship of His Church."

We must tell all men that the Anglican Communion and the Episcopal Church hold and teach the Gospel of Christ and His Church, that they believe in the Church Divinely Instituted, the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, and that they therefore hold steadfastly to the Apostolic Faith and Sacraments and—in common with all the Catholic Churches of the World, both of the East and of the West, which today include the great majority of all the Christians in the world—to the Apostolic Ministry which has come down in unbroken succession "from the Apostles' time" as our Prayer Book declares.

The Church, and the Sacraments, and the Ministry are not the ends. They are the means to bring men to Christ. But they are the divinely appointed means. And history shows two facts. First, that where these means of grace are used faithfully they do bring men to Christ and hold them near to Him in faith and life. Second, that where these divinely given helps are rejected or neglected, this leads toward loss of faith in Christ as God, and to a religion of vague subjectivism, or rationalistic humanism, as is shown today only too clearly in much of modern Protestantism. Men tend toward loss of faith in the presence and power of Christ when they cease to believe in Christ's presence in the Church and the Sacraments.

8. We must make clear—clear beyond all doubt or per-adventure—that we preach not a philosophy, not merely an ideal, or a doctrine, but a Person—no less a Person than the Eternal Son of God, the Living Christ, the Lord and Redeemer of the World. The Christian religion is personal faith in a personal Saviour.

We who preach the Gospel must preach Jesus Christ not only as He was here on earth but as He is now at the right hand of God, not only as teacher and example but as God and Saviour. The Gospel that we preach is Jesus Christ Himself. We must preach the Jesus of History, the Jesus of the Apostles, of the New Testament, and of the Holy Catholic Church from the beginning.

We must preach the Christ of the Annunciation, the Christ of Bethlehem, the Christ of Calvary and the Resurrection and the Ascension into Heaven, the Christ who with the Holy Ghost still ministers in His Church on earth and in His holy Sacraments still blesses us with His living touch. We must preach the Christ who is both God and man, the Christ who feels for our infirmities because He is one of us and "hath FINALE 241

Himself suffered being tempted," the Christ who is able to give us His grace and strength, able to hear our prayers and answer them, able to fulfill all His promises to us for this life and for the life to come, because He is "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God." We must preach the Christ "who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man," the Christ to whom, before the Altar as we celebrate the Sacrament of His own institution we say "Thou only, O Christ, art most high in the glory of God the Father." This is the Christ who speaks to all mankind as no other ever has, or ever can. . . . It is this that is required—the simple, fearless preaching of Christ and His Church—if our Campaign of Evangelism is to have any reality and power.

This is the bishop's final statement to the church and the world. It will be noted that it is not new, largely a repetition of things he had been saying all through his ministry; that it draws heavily on the New Testament and especially the Prayer Book. This was always his method. He had no fear of repetition and quotation; he used both deliberately. He never tired of commending the Prayer Book to catholics and evangelicals alike because it had in it all that each wanted or needed and because it kept both closer together; and to liberals because it furnished the standard by which they must always measure their reinterpretation.

The bishop returned to New York on 20 October, 1949. The last entry in his diary is ten days later in the same clear, bold handwriting of earlier days.

Twentieth S. after Trinity. Celebrated at 8.30 but found the physical effort quite severe. Am thankful that I could to (sic) it Dr. & Mrs. Newman (he the vicar of Trinity church) with us at lunch. Spent much of the day on the bed.

A few days later he was taken to Saint Luke's Hospital, next the cathedral. A number of those close to him came to take farewell. His great friend, Bishop Nicolai of Ochrida, who had stood nearby when he was consecrated bishop, sat holding his hand for two hours one day and reported that he could feel tremors, supposedly of pain, pass through his body. On the 12th he was anointed by the Rector of Saint Peter's, Westchester, Leslie Lang, and thereafter one of the priests of the diocese was always by his bed, the last being William Good of Trinity Parish. The end came on Friday, 18 November, 1949.

The body lay in state before the high altar of the cathedral until Tuesday, watched continuously and with frequent requiems said at the high altar or at one of the chapels. Bishop Donegan said the burial

office and Bishop Gilbert the final requiem at noon in the presence of a large and distinguished congregation. The bishop's body was cremated and the ashes deposited temporarily in Saint Ambrose Chapel, near the high altar. In 1954 they were put in the final resting place, a tomb in the northeast corner of the nave beneath a recumbent effigy of the bishop. There is a temporary altar in this bay which it is expected will be replaced by a permanent one, with a stone screen over the tomb.

The Bishop of Oxford wrote of him in his own diocesan magazine,

One of the happiest twenty-four hours I had in the United States was spent with him and his family at their lovely summer home by the sea on the coast of Maine. I have rarely, if ever, met anyone in whom saintliness, shrewdness, courage, and an unquenchable sense of humour were so wonderfully combined. He had an unshakable grasp of the deepest principles of our religion, and expressed them with unfailing vivacity and an infectious use of humorous anecdote, often at his own expense. He was unanimously regarded, even in his old age, as the dominant figure in the Episcopal Church of America; and though I only spent so short a time with him I shall always think of him as one of the greatest bishops in the Anglican communion I have ever been privileged to meet. At times of anxiety and difficulty it is a great source of strength to learn from personal experience that the Christian church can still, as in past ages, produce leaders of pre-eminent power-true men of God, equipped with all the gifts and graces needed for the tasks with which spiritual statesmanship confronts them, R.I.P.

BEATE GUIGLIELMI THOMA ORA PRO NOBIS



CHRONOLOGY

1866	12 May	born—Northampton, England
	1 July	baptized—St. Katherine's Church
1878	14 November	confirmed-Moulsoe School, Buckinghamshire
		-Bishop Mackarness of Oxford
1882		family came to Nebraska
1886		San Diego, California—St. Paul's Church
1888	12 April	matriculated, University of the South
1889	12 December	ordained deacon, St. Luke's Oratory, Bishop
		Quintard for Bishop Kip of California
		curate, Calvary Church, Memphis, Tenn.
1890	December	Florida with Dr. DuBose-Soteriology of the
		New Testament
1891	Autumn	St. Matthews, National City, California
	12 December	ordained priest, Bishop Nichols, coadjutor of
		California
1892		rector, Trinity Church, Redlands, California
1893	September	Professor of Systematic Divinity, University of
		the South
	December	first visit to Cincinnati, Ohio
1894	December	Trinity Church, Cincinnati
1895	23 April	married to Florence Van Antwerp, Cincinnati
1896	July	rector, St. John the Evangelist, Lansdowne, Pa.
1898	October	rector, Christ Church, Nashville, Tenn.
1901		deputy to General Convention, San Francisco
		called to New York & Overbrook, Philadelphia
	December	elected to National Missionary Council
1903	22 March	vicar, St. Agnes' Chapel, Trinity Parish, New
		York City
	7 May	received into Diocese of New York

1904	30 November 12 December 16 December	elected Bishop of Harrisburg elected Assistant Rector of Trinity Parish accepted Trinity election
1908	29 April 4 May November	death of Dr. Dix elected Rector of Trinity Parish announcement of closing of St. John's Chapel
1909	April	St. John's Chapel closed sermon on policy of Trinity Parish
	May	vestry requests investigation of property by New York Charity Organization Society. Miss Din- widdie chosen.
1910	January	Trinity mortgages cancelled
		Conference on reunion
	February	Miss Dinwiddie's report
		Church Mission of Help organized
	October	Faith and Order Commission established by
		General Convention
1911	March	work begun on All Saints Chapel
		duplex envelopes introduced in parish
1912	March	suggests freeing of pews in vestry meeting
	June	trip to Great Britain in interests of faith and order
1913	June	body of Dr. Dix removed to All Saints Chapel
	October	"two-thirds" proposal at General Convention
	30 November	All Saints Chapel consecrated
1914	January	Chapel of the Intercession opened
	May	churchyard cross dedicated
1915	May	Chapel of the Intercession consecrated
	October	resignation from Board of Missions in Panama
		Conference controversy defeated as deputy to General Convention
	December	"The Protestant Episcopal Church and Christian Unity" published
1916	January	Garden City Conference on Faith and Order
	February	new choir stalls and altar rail dedicated Panama Conference
	March	Conference of Mayors of St. Louis
	October	St. Paul's Chapel sermon on the war
1917	February	relations with Germany broken
	June	elected Bishop of Western New York
	December	chaplain to 302nd Engineers, Yaphank, N. Y.
1918	March	visit of Archbishop Lang of York
	September	funeral of Cardinal Farley
1919		Congregational Concordat

	January	pews of Trinity Parish free
		Citizen's Committee holds welcome to troops in
		Madison Square Garden
		election of Bishop Burch as Bishop of New
		York
1921	26 January	elected Bishop of New York
	11 May	consecrated Bishop
		Bishop Lloyd and Dr. Shipman elected suf- fragans
1922	October	elected president of Faith and Order Com- mission
	December	announcement of dancing at St. Mark's-in-the-
		Bouwerie
1923	January	Grant case
	November	Dallas pastoral letter
1924	June	resignation of Dr. Grant
		illness of Dean Robbins
1925	18 January	inauguration of cathedral building campaign in
	•	old Madison Square Garden
1926		Vatican annulment of Marlborough marriage
1927		sermon at 1300th anniversary of York minister
		Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order
1928		Baptistry consecrated
	September	Clergy Conference inaugurated
	December	Dean Robbins resigns
1929		proposal of open communion by Christian
		Unity League at St. George's, Stuyvesant
		Square
1930	January	Dr. Gates installed as dean
1500	23 March	death of Bishop Shipman
	28 October	consecration of Bishop Gilbert
	7 December	sermon on companionate marriage—Judge
	, Beechiser	Lindsey
1931		Athenagoras arrives in New York
1932	October	re-opening of All Souls, Harlem
1933	00.000	vestry of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie seeks disso-
1555		lution of pastoral relation with Dr. Guthrie
	27 March	meeting in Madison Square Garden to protest
	47 March	persecution of Jews in Germany
	October	sermon on Bishop Potter at Grace Church
	October	La Guardia elected mayor
	November	lynching at San Jose, California
1934	March	Pilgrim Pavement dedicated
1994	Maich	election of Dr. Torok as suffragan in Eau Claire
1935		war in Ethiopia
1933		wat in Ethiopia

	3 June	service for officers and men of U.S. Fleet	
1936	07 7 1	"The Sin of Disunion" published	
	27 July	death of Bishop Lloyd the blessed sacrament reserved in aumbry in	
		St. Martin's Chapel	
1937	February	Slum Clearance Conference and exhibit in the	
	1001441)	nave	
		sermon at Trinity on Supreme Court "pack-	
		ing" plan	
1937	May	performance of Bach St. Matthew Passion in	
		nave (also in 1938)	
		Dr. Guthrie resigns	
	October	election of Bishop Tucker as presiding bishop	
		Presbyterian Unity Resolution	
1939	March	services held in nave (until December, 1941)	
		open letter on the proposed concordat with	
	27 November	Presbyterians death of Dean Gates	
1940	27 November	appointment of Bertrand Russell to City Col-	
1940		lege	
	23 June	Dean De Wolfe installed	
1941	30 November	opening of full length of the cathedral	
		W. T. M. remains at cathedral all summer	
		(September, 1941 to July, 1943)	
1943		retirement of bishops at 72 voted by General	
		Convention	
1944	7 December	in St. Luke's Hospital until 13 March, 1945	
1946	March	decides to resign	
	September	General Convention withholds approval of	
		commission plan for reunion with Presby-	
	01 D 1	terians	
1047	31 December	resigns as Bishop of New York	
1947	January 13 May	Bishop Gilbert elected Bishop of New York Dr. Donegan elected suffragan	
	28 October	Dr. Donegan consecrated Bishop	
1949	20 October	"The Turning of the Tide"	
1313	October	Dr. Donegan elected coadjutor	
	18 November	William Thomas Manning died in St. Luke's	
		Hospital	

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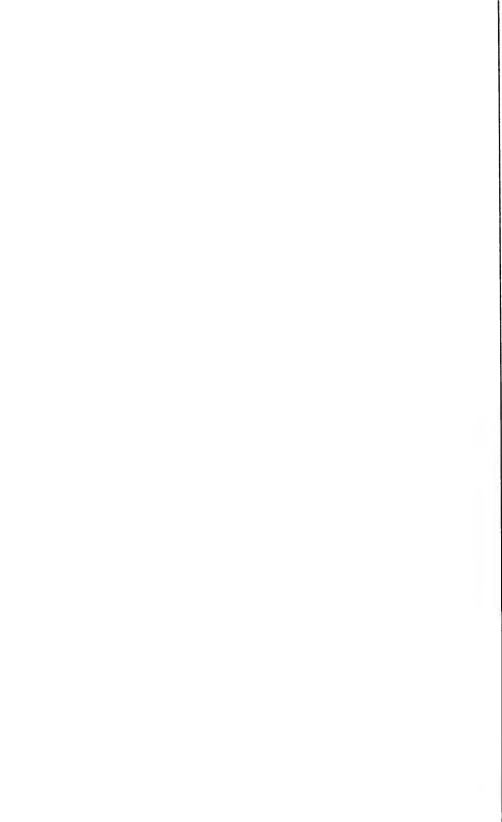
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