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DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS
OF

PRIESTHOOD AND SACRIFICE

*A Report of a Conference held at Oxford
December 13 and 14, 1899*

EDITED BY

W. SANDAY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
I. PRELIMINARIES	i
II. STATEMENTS AND DEFINITIONS	5
III. THE CONFERENCE	62
FIRST DISCUSSION	64
SECOND DISCUSSION	100
THIRD DISCUSSION	134



PREFACE

THE publication of this Report is felt to be an experiment. It was decided upon at an informal meeting after the conclusion of the Conference, not quite unanimously, but by a considerable preponderance of opinion; and the writer of this was entrusted with the duties of editor.

The publication was indeed open to drawbacks which, in some respects, have proved rather greater than had been anticipated. The shorthand report, on which the reproduction of the discussions depended, was not a complete success. It was a somewhat condensed version of speeches which, by the necessities of the case, were themselves condensed within the narrowest limits possible; so that the inevitable appearance of scrappiness in consequence has been increased beyond what it perhaps might have been.

I must, however, as editor, warmly acknowledge the help that has been given me by the several contributors, and by some in especial degree, in restoring the report of what they had said to a sufficiently full and readable form. The discussions were conspicuously marked, not only by the frankness which Archdeacon Wilson invited (p. 51) and of which he himself set an excellent example, but also by an effort after brevity and precision. And compressed as the result still is, I cannot but think that it will be found to map out the main lines of the important subject discussed, at once with a clearness and boldness of relief and—if I may say so—an accuracy of shading with which I doubt if it has ever been presented before.

The Conference arose out of the idea that the bitterest part of modern ecclesiastical controversy turned upon the associations of what is called 'Sacerdotalism'; and the further idea that much of this bitterness might be preventible by mutual explanations. It was felt that, outside the irreducible minimum of real difference, there was a great amount of misunderstanding as to what was really held and really objected to on either side.

For any effectual clearing away of these misunderstandings it seemed necessary that the Conference should in some degree represent not the Established Church alone, but the whole of English Christianity: only in this way was it possible to get at the root of current differences, and really to affect opinion at its source.

With this object in view it was decided to aim at bringing together three groups: a group of High Churchmen, a group of Nonconformists, and an intermediate group of Churchmen, who would not be called 'High.' In filling up a vacant place at the last moment this condition was not strictly observed; but, roughly speaking, the Conference fell into three equal groups of five.

To those who are familiar with the active life and with the formative elements of English religion the *personnel* of the Conference will explain itself. For those who are not so familiar it may be right to mention that three members of the first group (Dr. Moberly, Canon Gore, and Canon Scott Holland) had been previously associated together as contributors to the well-known volume of essays entitled *Lux Mundi*. Of the Nonconformist members, Dr. Salmond was representative of Scottish Presbyterianism; Dr. Davison was representative of the Wesleyans; Dr. Fairbairn, Mr. Arnold Thomas, and Dr. Forsyth were Congregationalists: but of these Dr. Fairbairn in particular was qualified by widely ramifying connexions to speak for other bodies besides his own. Great disappointment was felt at the absence from

the Conference of Dr. Moule. Mr. Headlam, who at short notice took the vacant place, did so rather as a friend of the convener than as representing a particular type of opinion.

It may be allowed to one who himself took a very small and neutral part in the actual discussions of the Conference to say a word as to the impression made upon him, and he believes also upon others, as to the course taken by the Conference. The most striking feature in it seemed to be, on the one hand, the propounding of a definite, coherent, and comprehensive view, embracing the whole subject of the Conference, by the three contributors to *Lux Mundi*, and on the other hand, the criticism of this by others (notably by Canon Bernard, Disc. iii. 13, p. 149), but mainly by the Nonconformist members. Yet along with the criticism and antithesis there seemed to emerge in the course of the discussions not a few points of contact and conciliation.

Although, generally speaking, the agreement in the *Lux Mundi* section was most marked, and covered the whole of the main subject, a certain divergence appeared upon a side issue—the mode of defining or describing the ultimate significance of the Atonement (Disc. ii. 38, 39, p. 131). And in like manner, but more noticeably, the Nonconformist criticism presented an interesting variety of shades and stand-points.

It was, I believe, felt on all sides that the Conference culminated, as it might have been expected to culminate, in the Third Discussion. It was evident that there was here a real feeling about for points of approximation, as well as a real effort frankly to define points of difference that was hardly less helpful.

The weighty speech of Dr. Salmond at the end of this discussion (iii. 58, p. 172 f.) took hold of three points in particular on which there seemed to be an encouraging amount of agreement.

1. The Nonconformist members were evidently struck

by the unqualified recognition on the other side of the absolute completeness and uniqueness of Christ's work and our entire dependence on it. It appeared that they had come with some misgivings on this head, but that in the course of debate these misgivings had been removed. The language used was indeed both explicit and repeated (GORE, ii. 8, p. 113; i. 62, p. 98; MOBERLY, i. 45, 65, pp. 96, 98; ii. 29, p. 129; SCOTT HOLLAND, iii. 19, p. 153; HEADLAM, ii. 15, p. 122). The expressions used by Mr. Lang (ii. 14, p. 121 f.), taking up Father Puller, and by Mr. Headlam (ii. 17, p. 123) were entirely consistent with this.

A step will be gained if it is distinctly understood that in speaking (e.g.) of the eucharist as a sacrifice, there is no intention on the part of High Churchmen to derogate in the slightest degree from the sole efficacy of the one Great Sacrifice. It is not regarded as having any virtue in itself independently of this.

2. Another point that struck Dr. Salmond was the general assertion of 'the great truth of the priesthood of the Christian people.' Nothing could have been more spontaneous than the assurances that came from all sides of the Conference on this head. The cordial acknowledgement of Dr. Salmond was in response to a previous acknowledgement, not less cordial, by Canon Gore (iii. 12, p. 147). Here, again, it is to be hoped that the Conference may leave behind it something permanent. Dr. Moberly's definition of the clerical order as 'ministerial organs of the Church's priesthood' was generally welcomed. And Canon Gore (iii. 12, p. 148) and Mr. Headlam (iii. 26, p. 161 f.) joined in an invitation to Nonconformists to meet them on what might be common ground. It was clear that if there were some High Churchmen who were in danger of losing sight of this important truth, the more thoughtful members of their own party were ready to do all in their power to correct them.

3. The third point noted by Dr. Salmond was the degree

of agreement as to 'the real essence of the unity of the Church'—the identification of this essence with the presence and work of the Holy Spirit.

The question how far the maxim holds, *Ubi Spiritus ibi ecclesia*, is no doubt crucial, and in regard to this it was not to be expected that all would think alike. Still it is well that attention should be called to the carefully weighed words of Dr. Moberly (iii. 43, p. 168). While declining, in answer to Dr. Fairbairn, to accept the simple converse of the proposition that the Spirit of Christ makes the Church to be what it is, he guarded himself as follows :

'I do not think it would be right to say *simpliciter*, or in the way of definition, upon earth, that where the Spirit of Christ is, there is the Church. In other words, I believe that, while the whole meaning of the Church is Spirit, there is, none the less, such a thing as a *true* and *proper* outward organization of the Church; and that in the orderly continuity of that organization is the due historical expression of the Spirit on earth. In respect of the status of those who are separated from it, and otherwise organized, I do not pronounce anything. I do not define that their position is exactly this, or is exactly that. But so far as they are sundered from the true historical order, I should certainly not be willing to make the assertion that they were, or were a portion of, the Church. At the same time, I freely recognize the working of the Spirit amongst them; I do not dream of denying spiritual reality in their ministries, and have, indeed, no basis for delimiting the methods or possibilities of the working of the Spirit amongst those whom I must still consider to be, in respect of their refusal of the true organization of the body, irregular.'

It is difficult to see how one who believed that there was 'such a thing as a true and proper outward organization of the Church' could help going as far as this; but it is important to note the scrupulous care with which he restrains himself from going the least step further than the premises absolutely demand. If all controversialists were as careful much natural soreness would be avoided.

So far I have followed Dr. Salmond, and he has undoubtedly singled out points of real and great moment. There are perhaps two additions that may be made to his list, one on a comparatively minor point, the other on a point of first-rate importance, but both illustrating the attitude which the members of the Conference assumed towards matters of controversy, an attitude which it is to be hoped may be found capable of imitation.

4. Among the points which the Conference did not reach in any detail was the question of transmission in relation to orders. It might have been expected that there would be differences of opinion in regard to this; but the noticeable thing is the stress laid on Continuity, as the essential idea lying behind transmission, by those who could not accept a stricter theory (see for this the conversation between Dr. Fairbairn, Dr. Salmond, and Mr. Headlam, with the speech of Dr. Forsyth which followed, on p. 162; compare Dr. Fairbairn, iii. 32, p. 164, and Archdeacon Wilson, p. 57 f.).

5. But I am not sure that the most impressive feature in the Conference as a whole was not the persistent effort on all sides to give to the doctrines or practices contended for a moral meaning; and not only a moral meaning, but the very highest and most truly Christian meaning attainable. The significance of this becomes the more apparent, when we consider how much of the keenness of controversy has at all times turned on the more or less latent suspicion that opponents were aiming at objects that were really immoral. We draw consequences for them that they would not draw for themselves; we press these consequences to the furthest logical extreme of which they are capable; and then our indignation is roused by a picture that is more than half our own creation. The process is often quite honest, but none the less disastrous for the peace of the world.

Against any such tendency it seems to me that the proceedings of this Conference are a standing protest. It is not as though the effort of which I have spoken characterized one party more than another, or as though it were the result of any conscious posing. It was certainly not this; it was more often felt than expressed. But no one, I think, could be present at the Conference without being aware that it was the deep underlying motive of every one who was there.

It will of course be understood that this identity of aim may admit of very different practical conclusions. There was a cleft running through the Conference as to the relation of the inward to the outward, and of the moral to the ceremonial. The division of opinion was happily described by Canon Scott Holland:

'It has been implied that the moralizing of sacrifice lies in dropping the "outward" expression and in accentuating solely the "inward" act of will: so that Christ's perfect sacrifice is wholly inward, "of the heart." But is it not essential to sacrifice that it should be the outward act by which the inward intention is realized, is pledged, is sealed? The inward self-dedication only becomes sacrificial when it has discovered the appropriate offering by which it can verify itself. Only through attaining this expression, in outward realization, does the language of sacrifice apply to it. It has somewhat to offer, by which it can pledge its loyalty of self-surrender: there is its relief, its reality. The process by which the sacrifice is moralized is, not by dropping the external offering, but by raising the moral quality of that which it expresses. This can, for ever, be rising higher and higher; but always, as it rises, it will need to make its external offering; and Christ completes all sacrifice because He gives perfect outward expression to the inner motive' (i. 17, p. 85).

This is a plea for the acceptance of one side of the alternative. It may be observed that the arguments on this side, as in the extract, are in the main philosophical, or *a priori*, turning upon the relation of inward to outward

in the nature of things; or else historical, going to show that a particular form of outward expression is historically legitimated. On the other hand, the counter-arguments are in the main Biblical—inferences from the language, or more often from the silences, of Scripture. It ought not to be impossible to reach an understanding on this head, at least to the extent of recognizing what follows as legitimate inference from the fundamental principles of the opposing parties. There were not wanting signs in the Conference of that sympathetic appreciation of divergent views which is the first condition of peace and amity.

It would not be right to speak only of the agreement brought out by the Conference. I have said that in some ways the strongest impression left by it was that of the statement by the High Church members, and especially by those who were jointly concerned in the *Lux Mundi* volume, of a comprehensive theory of Sacrifice and Priesthood, with the criticism of this theory, especially by the Nonconformists. And I take it to be a most hopeful sign that this criticism should have been so uniformly and so genuinely respectful; not merely with the formal courtesy of chivalrous opponents, but with the real affinity of earnest Christian minds for minds earnest and Christian like their own.

The touchstone of opinion on this main point may be said to be Question 5 of the paper originally circulated. If the answers to this question on p. 31 f. are compared with each other—those of Dr. Moberly and Canon Gore, on the one hand, with those of Canon Bernard, Dr. Fairbairn, and Dr. Salmond on the other—the divergence will appear at its widest. What seems to absorb into itself the very essence of Christianity on the one side becomes little more than a figure of speech upon the other.

The difference goes down into more fundamental regions

still. It will be found, I think, most instructive to read—and read again and more often still, for the thought is highly condensed in both cases—the speech of Canon Bernard, iii. 13, p. 149, and then the latter half of Dr. Moberly's, iii. 7, the last paragraph on p. 142 and p. 143. There is involved nothing less than one of the most searching questions of modern philosophy—the question as to what constitutes the individual, what constitutes personality.

Outside our Conference this is a question that is attracting deep attention at the present time. I may refer in particular to Mr. Inge's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 28–35, and to an article of his in the *American Journal of Theology* for April, 1900, p. 336 f.

A similar conception to Dr. Moberly's underlies the speeches of Canon Gore, iii. 12, pp. 147–149, and Canon Scott Holland, iii. 19 (especially what is said on p. 153).

And yet when these three speeches are studied with the care which I have invited, the antithesis will be seen to be somewhat mitigated. Dr. Moberly in part anticipates what is urged by Canon Bernard. It further appears that both Canon Scott Holland and Canon Gore allow for something of what is asserted by Canon Bernard, and for the particular point pressed by Mr. Arnold Thomas (p. 157, 'The Apostle's Christian life had a beginning, it would seem, that was not related to the Church, but directly to Christ') and by Dr. Salmond (p. 166, 'I wish to say that I take absolutely the opposite view, and hold that we must begin with the individual believer'). I do not gather that Canon Scott Holland would deny this in the sense in which it is intended, when he says (p. 154) 'the soul's capacity for priesthood begins at the point where, being already saved, it can lend itself out to the redemptive purposes of the body. It is when it has become capable of service, that it can claim to be priestly.' And Canon Gore speaks to like effect (iii. 37, p. 167): 'I quite admit that those who become Christians

in the belief of the heart are at first outside the body. And the faith that leads them into the body comes to them through the Spirit of Christ. No doubt it was the awakening of the consciousness of the individual that led him into the body, and that awakening was outside the body. But its end was to lead him into the body.' This seems to meet Canon Bernard at least halfway, while not surrendering anything of the main position.

From the other side it must needs be noticed that Dr. Salmond, in an important passage (iii. II, p. 146 f.), treats of the 'oneness' between Christ and His disciples as if it were real and something more than metaphor, though metaphors are used to describe it (compare however p. 32). It is much to be regretted that limits of time prevented Dr. Salmond from developing his views on this subject more fully. What he was able to say contains hints of difference, but also, I cannot but think, elements of approximation to the views which he is criticizing.

Similar elements appear in the utterances of others whose general attitude is critical. Thus Dr. Fairbairn, while challenging on exegetical grounds the priestly attributes of 'the body,' nowhere, I think, challenges the idea of the mystical body itself. He rather seems to assume that conception as found in St. Paul, and to take the measure of it from him. Again, Dr. Davison expressly states his agreement with what had been said before him in regard to the mystic union, though holding that this union does not join Christ and His followers together in respect to priesthood and sacrifice. He also says (iii. 18, p. 151): 'I know that there is a line of continuity between Christ's work and that of His Church, and I value it highly. But is it not clear that the attempt to preserve it down the line of priesthood and sacrifice has brought in disputable and even mischievous elements?' Dr. Moberly and Canon Gore would allow that it had been *attended by* such elements, though they

would not consider it responsible for them. Archdeacon Wilson also is unstinted in his recognition of the 'mystical body,' which he explains as meaning 'all humanity in so far as it is animated by the Spirit of Christ' (p. 56). Still closer approximation will be found in the speeches of Mr. Arnold Thomas and Dr. Forsyth. The latter speaker especially, while clearly marking off his own position, repeatedly uses language that presents a striking resemblance to Dr. Moberly's—compare for instance the two sets of answers to Questions 5, 6, 7 (pp. 31-36), and the coincidences in the speech (iii. 31, p. 162f.). Nor should it be forgotten that the remarkable language quoted from Dr. Milligan on pp. 26, 27, was that of a Scottish Presbyterian. I am quite aware that Dr. Milligan was a steadfast defender of his own Presbyterian orders; but that is a question to itself, and affects the minor premiss rather than the major. It would not be too much to say that he had anticipated the underlying principles of the teaching of Dr. Moberly, Canon Gore, and Canon Scott Holland; just as he himself would seem to have been in much anticipated by the *Bampton Lectures* for 1868 of Dr. Moberly's father, the Bishop of Salisbury. These are pleasing signs that our divisions of opinion are not simply denominational.

As I look back over our Conference the sense of its importance grows upon me.

Two great opposing tendencies in the religious life of our time were brought definitely to confront each other, and were compared together not on the superficial plane on which they meet and clash in popular antagonism, but in the higher region of first principles, of theoretical development and justification. How great is the contrast which both sides present as viewed in these different lights!

Take, for instance, the common distorted picture of Sacerdotalism, and, in particular, of those features in it which have

aroused the most passionate opposition, and set them side by side with the presentation of the same subject at this Conference. What traces are there here of the disloyalty to Christ, the rank idolatry and arrogant assumption that the popular imagination has painted? Nay more, would it be possible for any such tendencies to live in the spiritual atmosphere which those who have really thought out their beliefs on these matters are creating?

Does not this go far to support the advice of Canon Gore and Mr. Headlam already referred to? The true policy for those who wish to see their country delivered from the dangers of a false and corrupt Sacerdotalism is, as far as they honestly can, to strengthen the hands of those whose teaching is free from these vices. The whole public situation would be different if the leaders of thought on all sides, instead of actively or tacitly encouraging half-instructed—and often worse than half-instructed—attacks and denunciations, would themselves preach and enforce positively the best that they can make their own in respect to these ideas of Priesthood and Sacrifice.

And on the other hand, if I may permit myself a word of address to those of my friends to whom our Conference owed so much, and to whose exposition of their views I myself listened with deep attention; if I might venture to say a word to them it would be this. Our Conference was, I conceive, no untrue reflexion of the better mind of the nation towards them. They may see in it the many points of contact and sympathy which that better mind, even when furthest removed from themselves, still has with their teaching. They are conscious of possessing a body of beliefs which they hold with strong conviction, and which for them is fraught with rich moral and spiritual inspiration. It would not be strange if, arguing from their own experience, they should think that only some wilful obstinacy prevented those who cannot see eye to eye with them from doing so;

or at least, if they should regard them as deliberately choosing the lower part, deliberately taking the path that is cold and grey and bare, when they might be walking in a land flowing with milk and honey. If they should be tempted to think thus, I would ask them to remember that for some minds the tests of truth are strict and stern, and do not allow that to be at once accepted which is most attractive and most comforting. A large part of the English people has been bred upon the Bible, and refers all its religious beliefs ultimately to that. For them it is not enough that a particular set of opinions should be deduced by way of inference and construction from the Bible, if they are not clearly and explicitly contained in it; still less if the acceptance of such opinions seems to disturb the balance and proportion of those that are contained in it clearly and explicitly. And for others whose standards of truth may be somewhat less restricted, there may nevertheless be a necessity, which is as severe in its operation, to harmonize the whole body of that which they accept as true, from whatever source derived, and so make it their own as to confess it with a sincerity that has no reserves. Such minds may be haunted by the fear that they may be taking a beautiful mirage for reality, a sunlit vision which would be everything if it had the substance of truth. If my friends of the Right would bear in mind—as I know that they do bear—the existence of these two classes, I think that they would be very patient in their judgements, even when they found themselves the object of some opposition. Wisdom is justified of all her children, although they may be trained in different schools, and although some may wear the garb of an intellectual—and even of a spiritual—asceticism.

W. SANDAY.

CHRIST CHURCH,
July, 1900.



I

PRELIMINARIES

PRELIMINARY negotiations with a view to the proposed Conference went on through the Long Vacation of 1899. A short sketch of these will be found in the Report of the Conference (p. 64 ff. below). The changes that took place in the list of members of the Conference are there explained. When the preliminaries had been sufficiently settled, the following letter, with the appended paper of Questions, was sent out on November 6.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,

November 6, 1899.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Conference in which you have expressed your willingness to take part is now constituted as follows:—

FATHER PULLER (<i>Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley St. John</i> ¹).	ARCHDEACON WILSON (<i>Rochdale</i>).
DR. MOBERLY (<i>Oxford</i>).	DR. RYLE (<i>Cambridge</i>).
CANON GORE (<i>Westminster</i>).	DR. MOULE (<i>Cambridge</i>).
CANON SCOTT HOLLAND (<i>St. Paul's</i>).	CANON E. R. BERNARD (<i>Salisbury</i>).
REV. C. G. LANG (<i>Portsea</i>).	DR. SANDAY (<i>Oxford</i>).
	DR. FAIRBAIRN (<i>Oxford</i>).

¹ The addresses have been added.

DR. SALMOND (*Aberdeen*).

DR. BARRETT (*Norwich*).

DR. DAVISON (*Handsworth*).

DR. FORSYTH (*Cambridge*).

It is proposed to meet on Wednesday and Thursday, December 13 and 14. There will probably be three sittings of two and a half hours each; but more exact particulars will be sent round later.

In the meantime it is thought that a step in advance would be made if the members of the Conference would be so good as to answer in writing such of the enclosed Questions as they may think well. It would not be expected that every question should be answered. The replies may be as concise as possible. At the present stage argument would not be necessary, but precise statements and definitions would be welcomed.

References would be enough where Biblical authority is appealed to. It might also facilitate future discussion if references were given to works in which points which it was desired to bring forward are fully elaborated.

Replies may be given by the members singly or in concert. They should be sent to me not later than Thursday, November 23. They shall then be tabulated and sent round with a Time-table of the Conference.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

W. SANDAY.

The Questions circulated with this Letter were these:—

1. Is it possible to define the idea of Sacrifice
 - (a) in religion in general;
 - (b) in the O. T. (history, prophecy, and worship);
 - (c) in the N. T.?

2. Is there
 - (a) a generic idea of Priesthood ; and if so, what are the elements and functions necessary to it ?
 - (b) a specific Christian idea ; and if so, what are its specific characters ?
3. What was the Teaching of our Lord Himself
 - (a) as to the priestly idea ;
 - (b) as to His own Priesthood and Sacrifice ;
 - (c) as to any perpetuation and transmission of these in His Church ?
4. What is the Apostolic teaching
 - (a) as to the Sacrifice of Christ ;
 - (b) as to His Priesthood ;
 - (c) as to the Priesthood of His people ;
 - (d) as to the relation of this Priesthood, if there be any, to His, and to His Sacrifice ?
5. What relation has the idea of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ to the ideas of His Priesthood and Sacrifice ?
6. Does the idea of Priesthood applied to the Church reside in the whole body collectively, or in the whole body ideally, or in individual members of the body ?
7. Can there be any delegation of the functions of this Priesthood ?
8. If there is such delegation, how does it affect
 - (a) those to whom the functions are delegated ;
 - (b) those to whom they are not delegated ?Is the Priesthood of the Church affected by the delegation ?
9. What is the fundamental signification of the Laying on of Hands ? Does it involve Transmission ? And if so, what is transmitted ?

10. What was the original authority of the Apostles? Has that authority in any way descended to those who came after them?

11. Supposing that there are some to whom the functions of Priesthood belong in a sense in which they do not belong to others, should not a distinction be drawn between the historical question as to the process by which this condition of things has arisen, and the theoretical question as to the place which it holds in the whole Christian economy? How are the historical and the theoretic questions related to each other?

12. What parts of the historical problem at the present moment seem most to need further elucidation?

13. Of what parts of the theoretical problem may the same be said?

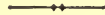
14. If there is a Ministerial Priesthood under the New Covenant, can it rightly be described as a Sacrificing Priesthood?

15. How far is the Early Church to be determinative to-day of the questions discussed under above heads, and what are the limits which we ought to assign to the determinative period?

II

STATEMENTS AND DEFINITIONS

THE Answers received to the above Questions were sent round a few days before the meeting of the Conference. In place of set Answers a Memorandum was circulated privately among the Members of the Conference by Archdeacon Wilson, which will be found on p. 51 ff.



1. Is it possible to define the idea of Sacrifice (*a*) in religion in general; (*b*) in the O.T. (history, prophecy, and worship); (*c*) in the N.T.?

FATHER PULLER.—(*b*) Under the dispensation of the Sinaitic covenant, a sacrifice appears to have been a gift offered to Almighty God, with the object of either appeasing His just indignation, or of expressing and presenting to Him homage or gratitude, or of impetrating from Him some favour. Looked at from another point of view, sacrifices were gifts offered to God with the object of bringing those, on behalf of whom they were offered, into fellowship with God, or of restoring that fellowship when it had been in any degree suspended, or of maintaining and strengthening, and symbolizing and exercising, such fellowship, when it remained intact.

(*c*) Under the Gospel dispensation Christ's sacrificial work, both in the state of humiliation and in the state of glory, absolutely fulfils all that was sketched by the sacrifices under the law; and His Church is permitted to join with Him in His heavenly offering, and in union with Him to present His heavenly Sacrifice and herself

as found in Him, for purposes of worship and thanksgiving, and for the impetration of pardon and grace and other gifts natural and supernatural.

DR. MOBERLY.—It is only possible to reach real definitions *retrospectively*: i. e. as the revelation of Christ *lights up* the earlier inadequate efforts and meanings.

Sacrifice=(a) an offering to a god—with dim germinal

instincts as to

{	mode of access;
	communion;
	atonement.

(b) the same to God—with definite, and differentiated, expression of the same three elements.

(c) the living consecration, in *perfect* love, of *perfect* holiness, to consummate human penitence.

CANON GORE.—(a) ‘The presenting of anything before a god with a view to communion with him.’

But (c) for us Christians the norm of sacrifice is in Christ. Therefore I define Sacrifice (at its highest) as ‘The offering to the Father of the perfect manhood by the perfect man with a view to divine fellowship for man¹.’

[N.B.—The N.T. conception of sacrifice involves the position that the acceptable sacrifice is of *persons*, and of things or rites only as adjuncts of persons.]

CANON BERNARD.—(a) Gifts to supernatural powers in order to express dependence and obtain favour.

(b) In the O. T. (as well as in some other religions) the sense of sin increasingly realized, requires a special character in these gifts in some cases.

¹ I omit any consideration of non-human sacrifice, e. g. of an eternal sacrifice in the Godhead.

(c) The place given to the idea of sacrifice in some parts of the N.T. is in a measure due to 'accommodation,' on the part of the writers, to the religious training of Jew and Gentile which by Divine providence had preceded the Gospel.

DR. SANDAY.—There are three root-ideas in Sacrifice which appear to be constant throughout:—(i) the idea of gift, tribute, propitiatory offering; (ii) the idea of communion through the sacrificial meal; and (iii) in either case, solemn presentation to God.

(a) In their origin all these ideas go back to pre-historic times: (i) is a simple and natural anthropomorphism; (ii) belongs to the very primitive cycle of ideas relating to 'kinship,' which extends to the tribal deity as well as to fellow-tribesmen.

But, as in so many other examples, what begins as something apparently crude and low-pitched is found to have an unexpected profundity and capacity for development, so that it rises in the end to a high degree of moral refinement and perfection. This is a testimony to the Divine unity which underlies and binds together the gradual unfolding of thought and life.

On Pre-historic Sacrifice, see Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, and Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*. It is argued that of the ideas mentioned above, (ii) is prior to (i), because the idea of kinship is earlier than that of property.

(b) Thus in O.T. there is a gradual moralizing of the whole conception of sacrifice. The best gift man can offer is the moral discipline of self (Isa. i. 11-17; Mic. vi. 6-8; Ps. li. 17, &c.).

The elaborate ceremonial of the Day of Atonement is probably late, but corresponds to a deepened consciousness of sin, and is prophetic of the need of a supreme Sacrifice.

There is no necessary antithesis between the ceremonial and the moral. Ideally speaking, the ceremonial and the moral should be different but harmonious expressions of the same fundamental spirit. The prophets aimed at reforming this spirit, not at abolishing sacrifice altogether. To abolish sacrifice before the coming of Christ would have been to interrupt its standing witness to Him.

(c) In N.T. the exalted form which sacrifice takes should not obscure its ultimate continuity with the low beginnings. There, too, we have sacrifice as gift or tribute, sacrifice as propitiation, sacrifice as the sacramental meal. (See under 3 and 4.)

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—(a) The idea of Sacrifice depends throughout on the idea of religion. If religion be taken in the concrete sense of the historical religions, it is hardly possible to reach a generic idea of Sacrifice; for, in certain of the greatest, Sacrifice is an unknown idea, and in no two of those which possess it is the idea precisely the same; while in each it differs in the different stages of culture which the religion passes through.

If religion be taken in an abstract sense, the idea must agree with ideas more ultimate and determinative than itself, especially with the conception of God on the one hand and of man on the other. In other words, we must ascertain (a) the terms on which the religion conceives that God is willing to enter into communion with man, and to save him; (b) how far man's actual condition renders him capable or incapable of fulfilling these terms; and (c) if he be unable, by what means or agency he may be enabled to do so.

A definition of the idea of Sacrifice is therefore impossible without prior definition of the ideas on which it rests, of the end it proposes to attain, and of its fitness as means to this end. We had better then postpone any attempt to define this idea to a later point in the inquiry.

(b) Under this head we need not class those sacrifices

that had a more or less bodily form ; such as deprivation of personal adornment, abstention from pleasures, or the practice of asceticism ; though these were not unknown in the O. T., and were judged by certain persons or parties as of singular religious merit. But to limit ourselves to what seem references to the sacrificial idea, taken in the stricter sense, it may be said that in its older forms Sacrifice appears to have been quite independent of a priest or a priesthood, or of any place consecrated by him or sacred to it (Gen. iv. 3-5, viii. 20-21, xxxi. 54, xlvi. 1 ; Judges vi. 19-32, xiii. 19-21 ; Job i. 5).

But the idea undergoes, in the O. T., several remarkable transformations. (a) In the historical books, Sacrifice appears as an offering, agreeable to God, but costly to man, of a victim now human (Gen. xxii. 1-19 ; Judges xi. 34-40), now animal (Judges vi. 26 ; Exod. x. 25 ; Joshua xxii. 26-29), now of fruits and now of wine (Gen. xiv. 18) ; and meant either to secure the favour of Deity, or to express the gratitude of man, to seal a covenant (Gen. xv. 9) or to expiate a real or possible sin (1 Sam. iii. 14). (β) In the Levitical worship the idea and practice of Sacrifice have been worked into a ritual system which expresses now the thankful and now the guilty consciousness of the collective people, or some of its constituent parts, and which seeks to secure the divine favour and forgiveness. Here Sacrifice has practically ceased to be occasional and spontaneous, and has become stated and regulated, incorporated in a worship which tends to be co-extensive, and indeed identical with the religion. It deserves to be noted that the decalogue has nothing in it concerning Sacrifice or any worship in which it plays a part. And while it was incorporated in the Levitical system, it is doubtful whether that system was ever more than an ideal, or, so far as it did attain realization, whether it was ever accepted by many of the

Is it not enough to say that the prophets were taught to press upon the people how valueless were all outward observances

most religious men in Israel as either integral to their religion or necessary to its existence.

And so (γ) we find that, in the main current of prophetic literature, the ceremonial or ritual practice is either thrown into the background or made secondary to obedience and a pure heart (Isa. i. 11-14; Mic. vi. 6-8; Amos v. 21-22; Hos. vi. 6; Jer. vi. 20; vii. 21-23; Prov. xxi. 3, 27; Ps. li. 16-17, xxiv. 4): while the sacrifices enjoined become personal and ethical, the act of reconciliation being initiated by the mercy of God and conditioned on the repentance and obedience of man. And as the highest and most perfect example of Sacrifice and Mediation of this new and higher type, we have the Suffering Servant of God in Isaiah, who though a sacrifice and an offering for sin, is quite without any sacerdotal attributes or denomination. He neither bears the priestly name nor fills any priestly office, but is rather a sacrifice which no priest offers; and he accomplishes a mediation higher and more inward than any outward sacrifice had either achieved or symbolized.

(c) In the N. T. we must distinguish historical from doctrinal and ethical interpretations of Sacrifice. Historical references to the O. T. idea or custom occur as in Luke ii. 23-24, xiii. 1; Acts vii. 41-42; but their importance is specially emphasized (Heb. ix. 9-10, x. 1-4), and their insufficiency as a means of placating God (Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7; Mark xii. 33; Heb. x. 8).

We have, therefore, to note the following positive facts: Sacrifices as understood in the Hebrew ritual completely disappear from the worship of the Christian people, nor is any provision made for any persons qualified to do any corresponding sacrificial acts: neither is there any command expressed as to the need for their observance, nor is anything said as to times or places or occasions where they may be, or where they ought to be, offered. On

Just as we also must value H. C. and say that Mechanism Consumption without inwardness have of no value

the contrary, the only sacrifices which the N. T. speaks of as agreeable to God, and as accepted of Him, are ethical, i.e. the spiritual counterparts or antitypes of those whose inefficiency has been emphasized (Rom. xii. 1 ; Phil. ii. 17, iv. 18 ; Heb. xiii. 15-16 ; 1 Pet. ii. 5). This, of course, is exclusive of the teaching as to the Sacrifice of Christ, which stands by itself, and at once fulfils and ends all the ceremonial sacrifices of Sacred History. But of this something must be said later.

DR. SALMOND.—(a) This question suggests much that we have not yet the materials to determine. It is doubtful whether we can go beyond the general idea of an *offering to God*, an idea taking different forms in different races, and at different times.

(b) The ideas of *gift*, *expiation*, and *communion* or *life-fellowship* appear in the O. T., but in different degrees of prominence in different parts.

(c) The same ideas appear in the N. T., the primary idea, however, being that of Christ's sacrifice as an offering of positive efficacy in relation to sin.

DR. DAVISON.—(a) Sacrifice in religion in general is an offering to God in worship of that which implies self-denial in the offerer.

(b) The sacrificial ideas embodied in O. T. ceremonial—expiatory, dedicatory, eucharistic, &c.—do not admit of generalization and succinct definition.

(c) In N. T. the word covers fundamentally different ideas, according to whether it be applied to Christ or the Christian. In the former case it is propitiatory, in the latter self-dedicatory ; a confusion between these senses is fatal.

DR. FORSYTH.—(b) Sacrifice in O. T. was first something shared by man with God as a meal, next something surrendered

by man to God, and lastly this gift as symbolic of the surrender of the self in righteousness. It was in nature collective more than individual, and replaced the individual in the community of grace, when by his sin he had fallen from it. For high-handed and defiant sin, sacrifice did not avail, and there remained only judgement. O.T. sacrifice lay not in the alienation of a thing but in the submission of self. It did not procure grace, but fulfilled the provision of grace.

(c) These features pass into the N.T., and Christ's sacrifice is essentially one of will in obedience. It is corporate in nature. It combined both the judgement on sin and the offering for it. So He dealt finally with all sin and absorbed all sacrifice.

The following note has been communicated by DR. DRIVER.

Words for Sacrifice. The usual Heb. word for 'to sacrifice' is *zābah*, 'to slaughter' (see, of profane slaughtering, Deut. xii. 15, 21), hence *zēbah*, 'a slaughtering,' or, by usage, 'a sacred slaughtering,' or 'sacrifice' (often specially of the 'peace-' or 'thank-offering'), *mišbēah*, 'a place of slaughtering,' 'an altar' (the usual word). *'āsāh*, 'to do,'—an idiomatic usage, akin probably to that of the same word in the sense of 'dressing' food (see Gen. xviii. 7, 8; 1 Kings xviii. 23, 25, 26),—is also used.

Burnt-offering, *'ōlāh*, 'that which goes up' (most prob. on the altar,—opp. to sacrifices such as the 'peace'-offering, of which large portions were consumed by offerer or priest: according to others, up to heaven, in 'sweet smoke'), Lev. i.

Peace-, or thank-offering (*shelem*, *shelāmim*: the explanation is uncertain, and there are good authorities for both *peace* and *thank* [the vb. means 'to be whole,' hence a state of wholeness, peace (between those sharing in the accompanying meal): trans. in the conjug. 'to make whole,' hence to requite or pay wholly (as in the phrase, to 'pay vows'), render one's due, and so a 'thank-offering': it is not certain which sense should be adopted]), Lev. iii. The characteristic of this was the common meal accompanying it; cf. Lev. vii. 15, 16, xxii. 30.

Sin-offering (*ḥaṭṭāth*), Lev. iv. 1—v. 13 (the word is derived from *hāṭā'*, 'to sin'—the regular word).

Guilt-offering (*āshām*), enjoined chiefly for cases of *fraud*, and accompanied by repayment of amount embezzled + $\frac{1}{5}$, Lev. v. 14—vi. 7. (The word means *guilt*, as Gen. xxvi. 10; the cogn. verb 'to be guilty,' or 'be found guilty,' bear the consequences of guilt, Hos. x. 2, &c.)

Meal-offering (or better, *cereal offering*), *minhāh* (Lev. ii). This means properly a *present*, esp. one made to secure or retain good-will (there are other words to express the neutral idea of 'gift'), Gen. xxxii. 13, 18, 20, 21 (to Esau), xliii. 11, 15, 25, 26 (to Joseph), Jud. iii. 15, 2 Kings viii. 8, 9, xx. 12, Ps. xlv. 12,—offered, as something expected, by a political subject, 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6, 1 Kings iv. 21, &c.: then it is used of a tribute offered to God, both generally (including animals), Gen. iv. 3, 4 (Abel's), 5, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, as well as in the special sense of the cereal offering (so always in the Levitical system). This double application of the term *minhāh* sometimes causes ambiguity.

The broad distinctions between *zebah* and *minhāh* are that the *z.* consisted of an animal, and the *m.* (in later times exclusively) was vegetable; and that the *z.* was accompanied by a meal implying communion with the deity (I do not know that this is anywhere *stated*, though it is, no doubt, probable), and that the *m.* was of the nature of a gift to secure the deity's goodwill. See esp. on this W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 199-207, 218-225 (ed. 2, 216-224, 236-243); and Wellhausen, *Hist.*, 71, 72.

The burnt-offering does not seem to have been often offered anciently alone, except on unusual occasions: it is frequently mentioned in combination with the *zebāhim* or *shelāmim*.

Āshām and *ḥaṭṭāh* are rare. *zābah* is used in a figurative or spiritual sense, Ps. l. 14, 23, 'sacrifice thanksgiving.'

Passages in which *eating*, or a meal, is associated with a *zebah*:—Gen. xxxi. 54 (in concluding a covenant; cf. v. 46), Ex. xviii. 12, xxxii. 6, xxxiv. 15 (Canaan.), Num. xxv. 2 (Moab.), Dent. xxvii. 7 (peace-offerings), 1 Sam. ix. 13, Ps. cvi. 28 (idolatrous): notice also Jud. xvi. 23-25 (ver. 25 implies a *feast*); and cf. Dent. xii. 7, 18 ('to eat *before* J.'), xv. 19 (firstlings).

To eat and drink, or *to eat* alone, to be understood prob. similarly: Exod. xxiv. 10, Jud. ix. 27, Amos ii. 8, Ps. xxii. 26, 29: note also the articles of food in 1 Sam. i. 24, x. 3, carried by persons going up to a sanctuary. Also 'eating on the mountains' in Ezek. xviii. 6, 11, 15, xxii. 9.

The sacrifice accompanied by a meal (= the later 'peace'-offering) must have been once the most ordinary kind of sacrifice; and hence it came to be denoted, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, by *zebah*, a 'slaughtering.'

There is much confusion in A.V. and R.V. in the use of the words *offer*, *offering*, *oblation*; and they each stand, unfortunately, for several very different words in the Hebrew.

The expression *offering* (sometimes *sacrifice*) *made by fire* (Deut. xviii. 1; and often in P) represents one word in the Heb. (as though a 'firing').

Zābah, *zebah* are commonly rendered *sacrifice*; but our idea of 'sacrifice' (as I should understand it) is wider than *zābah*. The (Levitical) *minhāh* was, I suppose, what we should call a 'sacrifice,' though *zābah*, 'to slaughter,' could not be used of it. The more neutral word which Heb. would use in such cases is *ḥiqrīb*, 'to bring near, present' (R.V. 'offer,' 'present'), Lev. i. 2, 3, 10, &c.: also of other gifts than sacrifices, as

Num. vii. 2, 3, 10, 11. The cognate subst. is the familiar *corban*, of sacrifices, Lev. i. 2, 3, 10, 14, &c., and of other gifts, Num. vii. 3, 10, 11, and often in this chap. (the word occurs only in P and Ezek. xx. 28, xl. 43, R.V. always *oblation* [which however stands also for other words], except Ezek. xx. 28 *offering*).

The *definition* of sacrifice is difficult. I doubt if the Hebrews had any term exactly co-extensive with our 'sacrifice.' Applying our idea of 'sacrifice' to the regular and recognized sacrificial system of the Hebrews (whether in earlier or later ages), I should say it was something offered to the deity, of which the whole (substantially) or a part was consumed on the altar. The part consumed was the *isshek*, or 'firing.'

On ancient Arab. Sacrifice, see Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heid.*, pp. 112-115, 167 (ed. 2, pp. 114-120, 143). A slaughtered animal is here also the principal sacrifice; but nothing is said of a fire, or burning, on the altar: the blood is simply poured over a sacred stone (cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 32-35). The flesh of the sacrifice was generally eaten at a common meal.

2. Is there (a) a generic idea of Priesthood; and if so, what are the elements and functions necessary to it? (b) a specific Christian idea; and if so, what are its specific characters?

FATHER PULLER.—(a) Omitting the imperfect and partially distorted conceptions of the heathen, it seems to me that, according to the law of the old covenant, a priest was one who had been chosen and appointed by God to draw nigh to Him in some special way, that he might offer sacrifices to Him, and transact with Him on behalf of His people, and convey to the people certain gifts from God, such as cleansing and blessing.—[N.B. I have mentioned what seem to me to be the most prominent functions of priesthood, but my definition does not pretend to be exhaustive.]

(b) The idea of priesthood, outlined in the O. T., is perfectly fulfilled by our Lord in the life of glory; but in every respect His Priesthood is, both in itself and in its effects, on an infinitely higher level than was the Priesthood under the Law.

Christ exercises His Priesthood in heaven in His own Person. He exercises it on earth in and through His Church. To use Dr. Milligan's words :—'The Church of Christ is a sacerdotal or priestly institution. Sacerdotalism, priestliness, is the prime element of her being' (*Expositor*, 3rd series, ix. 200). In the Church there is a priesthood which belongs to the whole body, and there is a priesthood which belongs to each member in particular. Christ's Apostolic ministers in their various orders are, within the limits appointed for each order, the normal organs for exercising the priestly functions which belong to the body.

DR. MOBERLY.—(a) The 'generic' idea is merely the dim, unrealized feeling after what Christianity brings to light and consciousness.

(b) In the Christian revelation Priest and Sacrifice are so identified that the definition of the one (just given) really covers the other.

CANON GORE.—(a) Heb. v. 1 will serve as a definition.

(b) In Christ, priest and sacrifice coalesce. The perfect Man, consecrated by God, offers Himself, on behalf of His brethren, to the Father, in order to reconcile the world to the Father.

CANON BERNARD.—(a) To represent man to God. Elements necessary are a knowledge of the needs of man, and of the character of God.

(b) In the wide sense given above we may say that there is a Christian Priesthood, which is exercised towards God on behalf of the congregation by persons 'lawfully chosen and called.' But the work of the Christian Ministry towards man as Rulers, Pastors, and Teachers is not a priestly work, and the endeavour to represent it as such only tends to the confusion of two distinct ideas.

DR. SANDAY.—(a) The leading idea of Priesthood appears to be consecration for liturgical service, especially sacrifice. This sense seems to be constant, though the nature of the service and the matter of the sacrifice vary with the phase of religion to which they belong.

Dr. Milligan defines the functions of Priesthood as: (i) offering; (ii) intercession, in a wide sense, by confession, prayer, or praise; (iii) blessing (*Expositor*, 1889, i. 19 f.). These functions are all liturgical.

In O. T. and in many other religions the priest also communicates the will of God by oracular response, and is commissioned to teach.

(b) Is it not well to distinguish between the acts or functions proper to Priesthood and its motive or animating spirit? The acts or functions are the presenting to God of worship or sacrifice. The animating spirit is that which the worship or sacrifice is intended to express.

The Christian Priesthood thus corresponds to Christian worship and the Christian sacrifice, which should be modelled upon the Sacrifice of Christ.

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—(a) It is as little possible to formulate 'a generic idea of Priesthood' as to define 'the idea of Sacrifice in religion in general.' There is no term more vaguely used, or more frequently used to denote, if not contradictory, yet different and even incompatible conceptions. If, however, we take the Levitical usage as determining our idea, we may define the priesthood as a community of men endowed with the threefold function of mediation, expiation, and absolution: or as an order of men qualified by descent, appointment, and consecration, (a) to stand between God and man; (β) to offer the worship at once becoming man and agreeable to God, especially in the high acts and articles of presenting to God the sacrifice which expiated sin, and (γ) to bring to man the assurance that he was forgiven. The priest did not create the sacrifice. In

Israel, as in other religions, it was older than he. But he gave it a more definite character and function; he introduced exactness and proportion into the relations of God and man; he could assure man that what was done through him and according to his laws pleased God, and that the God he pleased was sure to forgive. The priest thus became necessary to the sacrifice as expiatory, for in his hands it became a means efficient for its end; and as the person who secured its efficacy, he also was the person who garnered and attested its results. These, then, were the three functions of the priest in the Levitical System, mediation, expiation, and absolution. The first function was realized in the second, and perfected in the third. Without the sacrifice there could be no efficient mediation, and without absolution there was no efficacy in the mediation and sacrifice. These, then, made a whole, and were the inseparable constituents of the priestly idea.

Now it seems to me as if we must at the very outset define what we mean by the terms 'priest' and 'priesthood.' Do we conceive the Christian priest as fulfilling any or all of the above functions? Do we hold any or all of the Levitical elements as in any sense or degree necessary to the Christian priesthood? By what process, involving what manner of change, have 'priest' and 'priesthood' been naturalized in the Christian Church? In what respect does the priest differ from the minister or the preacher? And by what special quality or act is his mediation distinguished from theirs? What place in particular have expiation and absolution in his office and mediation? And whence does he derive his authority to fulfil these functions?

Until we know with some degree of precision the positions to be maintained, we can neither know what evidence may be needed to prove or disprove them, nor the respects in which we agree and in which we differ.

(b) The need of definition becomes the more imperative when we find there is nothing that can be called 'a specific Christian idea' of the priesthood. There is indeed in the N.T. (Heb. v. 1-6) a definition of High-priesthood, with special reference to Christ's; but none of priesthood as exercised by the Christian man or Church. The two necessary conditions for the office of High-priesthood are—(i) taken from among men, (ii) called of God. Its special functions are—(i) to act for man in things pertaining to God, and (ii) to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins. But this High-priesthood as predicated of Christ stands in antithesis to the Levitical; first, as belonging to an order which was before it and above it; secondly, as being His own solely, participated in by no other; and so, thirdly, through His eternal life, there is involved His eternal continuance as priest. And His one and eternal priesthood implies that His Sacrifice is also one and eternal.

But if sacrifices have ceased, how can the priesthood continue? Has not Christ by ending Sacrifice absorbed into Himself the functions of priesthood? Certainly if any one affirms that the office of the priesthood still continues, the *onus probandi* must be wholly his.

DR. SALMOND.—(a) That of *drawing near to God*, and with the particular function of doing that for others. So especially in the O.T.

(b) The Christian idea is the same, with the special note that Christ's Priesthood is the only one by which men have access to God. See also 3.

DR. DAVISON.—(a) Generically, Priesthood implies an order intermediary between God and men in religious worship. In O.T. sundry ideas attach to it, e.g. (1) Divine appointment, (2) special consecration, (3) representative or

vicarious character, (4) medium of approach or transmission of blessing, &c.

(b) There is no 'specific Christian idea' which can be understood to include Christ and His Church (ministers and people) in one common category.

DR. FORSYTH.—(a) (1) Representative ; (2) Mediatorial ; (3) Sacrificial in its nature.

(b) Yes ; in Christianity it is primarily personal, i.e. turns on a quality or attitude of heart and will. It is a matter of character not of institution, of person not of office. The power to make any sacrifice pleasing to God depends on the prior sacrifice to Him of heart and will in the sacrificing subject. Nothing but a personal priesthood is connate or congenial with the Priesthood of Christ, whose essence was the sacrifice of the will in the obedience of faith.

The following note has been communicated by DR. DRIVER.

The Heb. word for priest is *Kōhēn*,—in form a partic. of *kāhan*, though the verb is not in use. In Arab. the corresponding word *Kāhin* means a *diviner* (e. g. Qor. lii. 29),—more exactly, one in whom later (apparently) a *jinn*, originally a deity, spoke, and who was his organ (Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 130, 133; ed. 2, pp. 129-136). The *Kāhin* was often consulted before an undertaking, to see whether he would advise or dissuade. The Arab. *Kāhin* was primarily the guardian of the house, if at least there was a house (or image, &c.) at the sacred place : where this was not the case, there was no *Kāhin* ; he was not needed to perform sacrifice at a sacred stone, and even the sacred lot could be cast without him, though it was usual for him to take charge of the lots, and to receive a fee for the use of them (Wellh., p. 128 f.; ed. 2, p. 133). The office was usually hereditary in particular families.

The Heb. and Arab. words correspond exactly, so that they must have some common origin. Most prob. the *Kāhin* orig. gave the oracles and judicial decisions, in the name of a deity, at a sanctuary ; and a fundamental function of the Heb. *Kōhēn* was just the giving of *tōrāh*, or 'direction,' in the name of J. : the *Kāhin* gradually sank his connexion with the sanctuary, and became a mere diviner ; the *Kōhēn* grew in importance, and acquired sacrificial and other functions (cf. Wellh., pp. 132-4; ed. 2, pp. 134, 143). [On the priestly function of giving *tōrāh*, see my *Joel and Amos*, p. 230, with the passages quoted : and add Exod. xviii. 16, 20

—an early passage which represents the decisions given by Moses on secular disputes as the statutes and 'directions' of God (*tōrāh*.)]

Functions of priests in the O. T. :—

- i. To give *tōrāh* (Deut. xvii. 10, 11, xxiv. 8, xxxiii. 10; obs. how even in a late passage, 2 Chron. xv. 3, a 'directing priest' is a phrase which naturally occurs).
- ii. To bear the ark (Deut. x. 8; cf. xxxi. 9, 1 Ki. viii. 3, 4 [LXX], 6).
- iii. To stand before J., to minister unto him (Deut. x. 8, xvii. 12, xviii. 5, xxi. 5, 1 Chron. xxiii. 19), i. e. to serve God, in particular (cf. Ezek. xliv. 15) by offering sacrifice (Deut. xxxiii. 10, 1 Sam. ii. 28).
- iv. To burn incense (Deut. xxxiii. 10, 1 Sam. ii. 28, 1 Chron. xxiii. 13).
- v. To bear the ephod (*perhaps* an image, before which lots were cast: see art. 'Ephod' in Hastings' *Bibl. Dict.*), 1 Sam. ii. 28.
- vi. To bless in J.'s name (Deut. x. 8, xxi. 5, 1 Chron. xxiii. 13).

There are, of course, many other passages which support or illustrate this enumeration of functions: but the passages quoted describe them rather pointedly. It seems clear that in early times the right of sacrificing, and even of blessing, was not confined to priests, but that the restriction to them was of gradual growth. Functions connected with i. and v. seem to have been those inalienably connected with the priesthood.

3. What was the Teaching of our Lord Himself (*a*) as to the priestly idea; (*b*) as to His own Priesthood and Sacrifice; (*c*) as to any perpetuation and transmission of these in His Church?

FATHER PULLER.—(*c*) Our Lord by instituting for His Church a religious rite, in which an important part was assigned to earthly sacrificial things, such as bread and wine, and a still more important part was assigned to heavenly sacrificial things, namely, His own Body and Blood, and by connecting these things with words implying sacrificial action, such as τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον and τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυσόμενον (Luke xxii. 19, 20), and with other words closely bound up with sacrificial ideas, such as διαθήκη and ἀνάμνησις, made it clear that the rite which He was instituting was of a sacrificial character, or in other words was a sacrifice. Now our Lord perpetuates His Sacrifice in the heavenly tabernacle (cf. Heb. viii. 1-3, Rev. v. 6),

'appearing openly before the face of God on our behalf' in His glorified Body as the Lamb without spot, and cleansing 'the heavenly things' with the 'better sacrifices,' that is, with the incorruptible 'Blood of sprinkling' (cf. Heb. ix. 23, xii. 24; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19). And the matter of the Church's sacrifice is also, as we have seen, primarily Christ's Body and Blood. It follows that the sacrifice which the Church offers is identical with the heavenly Sacrifice which Christ offers. In other words, Christ's sacrifice is perpetuated not only in heaven above, but also in His Church below. This perpetuation is involved in our Lord's words—*τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, taken with their context.

DR. MOBERLY.—(a) and (b) John x. 11, xv. 13, xvii. 19, are brief verbal indications of what is really taught in everything that unfolds Incarnation or Atonement.

(c) Matt. x. 16-25; John xiii. 35, xv. 17, xx. 21, are similar indications of what is implied in the very idea of a Pentecostal Church, which is the incorporation, revelation, and perpetuity of the Spirit of the Christ in human life to the end of time, and for ever.

CANON GORE.—Our Lord offers Himself, the perfect on behalf of, or in the stead of, the sinful, but with a view to their perfecting in Him. The sacrifice is, therefore, offered in order that it may be perpetuated in the Church, in virtue of His initial propitiation whereby we recovered our standing with the Father (John x. 36, xvii. 19; Matt. xxvi. 28).

CANON BERNARD.—(a) I do not know what passages are in view in this question.

(b) Very little teaching by Himself as to this. It is to be noticed in what varied aspects He presents His death:

(i) as a ransom ; (ii) as the death of a victim for ratifying a covenant ; (iii) as the death of a shepherd in defence of his sheep.

(c) No teaching on this subject so far as I know.

DR. SANDAY.—All the teaching seems to be indirect : it appears not so much in what the Gospels state as in what they assume.

(a) I do not find any clear indication.

Many passages imply direct access (Matt. vi. 6 ; vii. 7 f., &c.) ; but an inference against Priesthood can hardly be drawn from this. The Psalms are full of such passages, though concurrently there was an elaborate system of regulated approach.

N. B.—Great caution should be used in drawing negative inferences from the Synoptic Gospels. The Fourth Gospel and the Epistles show that there must have been much teaching which they have not preserved.

(b) Our Lord undoubtedly regarded His own Death as sacrificial.

The central passage is Mark xiv. 22–24 (Matt. xxvi. 26–28 [Luke xxii. 19 f.]). Compare Mark x. 45 (Matt. xx. 28) ; John i. 29, 36 ; vi. 51.

If His Death is sacrificial, He is Himself the High Priest by whom it is offered (John xvii). The fuller teaching of the Epistles appears to have its root in sayings of Christ Himself.

(c) If our Lord instituted a permanent rite which embodied the essential idea of the 'feast upon sacrifice' (cf. 1 Cor. x. 21 *τράπεζα Κυρίου*, xi. 20 *Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*, Heb. xiii. 10), it would seem to follow that those who administer such 'feasts' might be rightly called 'priests.' And in view of the relation which these feasts bear to the Great Sacrifice, it would not seem to be an illegitimate use of language to describe them as 'sacrificial.' In O. T. the 'eating' is part of an important group of sacrifices.

There would be a deeper reason for the use of the name 'priests' if the view mentioned under 4 (*a*), 5, holds good.

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—(*a*) To what may be termed in strictness, whether in the historical or theological sense, 'the priestly idea,' our Lord makes no explicit or direct reference whatever. All attribution of sacerdotal ideas to Him is due either to a figurative interpretation of simple scripture language—such as He uses in John xvii. 19—or to His attitude to offices and customs in the worship of His own day.

(*b*) He represents Himself as the Temple (John ii. 19); as one who has established the new Covenant in His blood, which He has shed for the remission of sins (Matt. xxvi. 28); and as one who gives His life a ransom for many (Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45). And He exercises the high function of Mediation, though never under any of the conditions or forms proper to the priesthood as an office. His teaching therefore as to His own Priesthood is a matter of inference rather than of exact and literal exegesis.

(*c*) In the only allusions He makes either to His Church or Kingdom, He says nothing on these points.

DR. SALMOND.—(*a*) (*b*) It centres in His own Priesthood, and His teaching as to that centres in His own Sacrifice. That Sacrifice is more definitely expressed by Himself as a *life given for others*, a *ransom*, and a *covenant-offering*, having in view the remission of sins.

(*c*) His words indicate no *transmission*, nor any *perpetuation* in the Church, the ordinance of the Supper being a *commemorative*, *covenant*, and *representative* ordinance only.

DR. DAVISON.—(*a, b*) Christ's teaching in one or two places—e.g. Matt. xx. 28, and the institution of the eucharist—warrants the drawing of some typical analogy between the O.T. sacrifices and His atoning death. But the references are general only, implying the redemption of the race, and a new covenant 'in His blood.'

(*c*) Our Lord gives no warrant for the perpetuation or transmission of His priesthood and sacrifice in His Church.

DR. FORSYTH.—(*b*) Jesus spoke of Himself as King and offered Himself as sacrifice. He had little affinity for the institutional priesthood of His race. He was Priest as self-sacrificing King. He is not explicit about the relation of His sacrifice to O.T. types; His few words bear more on the Covenant than the atoning Sacrifice. He realized it not as mere self-devotion but as an offering *to* God quite as much as *for* man. It was the total and active surrender of His will to the Father, and only so a perfect sacrifice for the sin of the world. The expiatory element is in it, but was not by Christ made explicit.

(*c*) The only thing transmitted to His Church was the benefits of this Sacrifice, and especially fellowship with Him in it and through it. This was to be common, in differing degrees, to every believer as the priesthood of the Church.

4. What is the Apostolic teaching (*a*) as to the Sacrifice of Christ; (*b*) as to His Priesthood; (*c*) as to the Priesthood of His people; (*d*) as to the relation of this Priesthood, if there be any, to His, and to His Sacrifice?

DR. MOBERLY.—(*a*) and (*b*)=the perfect love of the self-oblation of the perfectly holy, in reality of Humanity

perfectly consummated in penitence (Heb. x; Rom. vi. 1-10; 1 Cor. xv. 20-28, &c., &c.).

(c) They are *what He is* (Eph. *passim*; Rom. viii; Gal. ii. 20, 21; 1 Pet. ii. 5-9; Rev. i. 6).

(d) Because He alone *is*,—and they are only *in Him*. E.g. 1 Cor. iii. 17, xii. 12, 27, xv. 28, and the ἐν Χριστῷ *passim*.

CANON GORE.—The Apostolic teaching is that Christ offered Himself for us in order to offer us in and with Himself. He is our Priest and Sacrifice in order that, in reliance on His merits alone, we may share His Priesthood, and ourselves render an acceptable sacrifice in Him.

CANON BERNARD.—(a) That that sacrifice was made once for all, and that it was followed not by continuous presentation of the sacrifice, but by session at the right hand of God (Heb. x. 12). There is, of course, much other teaching, but this is the point which appears relevant to the present discussion.

(b) That it is a Priesthood of intercession: and also of mediation, in regard of our whole life towards God.

(c) That all His people have in Him that right of immediate access to God which is characteristic of Priesthood.

(d) A passage which might be held to bear on this is 1 Pet. ii. 5 πνευματικὰς θυσίας. But I am unable to believe that it refers to any kind of ritual action. See Dr. Hort's note *in loc*.

DR. SANDAY.—(a) (i) The Sacrifice of Christ inaugurates a new covenant-relation (Heb. viii. 6-13, ix. 15-23, x. 29, xii. 24, xiii. 20; cf. 1 Cor. xi. 25).

(ii) It is compared in its effects to the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement (Heb. ii. 17, vii. 27, ix. 7-9, 11-14, 24-28, x. 19-22, xiii. 10-13; Rom. iii. 25; 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10).

(iii) Also to other forms of sacrifice (1 Cor. v. 8; Rom. viii. 3; Heb. viii. 3, x. 4-18; 1 Pet. iii. 18; Rev. i. 5, v. 6, &c.).

No sharp division can be drawn between the Sacrifices of the Day of Atonement and other sacrifices into which there enters any element of propitiation. I have referred to the Day of Atonement proper such terms as *ιαστήριον*, *ιασμός*.

(iv) The Sacrifice of Christ is offered once for all (Rom. vi. 10; Heb. vii. 27, ix. 12, 26-28, x. 10, 12, 14; 1 Pet. iii. 18).

(v) Its effect and the intercession of Christ following upon it are eternal (Heb. vii. 15, 25, ix. 12, 14, x. 12-14, 18; Rom. viii. 34).

(vi) The 'feast upon the Sacrifice' is intended to be perpetually repeated (1 Cor. xi. 25 f.).

Dr. Milligan argues that, 'since the offering on the part of the eternal Son is His life, it follows that His offering must be as eternal as Himself. . . . [It] was only begun and not completed on the cross' (*Expositor*, 1888, ii. 351). In other words, the death is once for all; the offering of the life, which completes the Sacrifice, goes on to eternity.

It is a question perhaps of more importance than may appear at first sight, whether the 'pleading' that takes place in heaven is to be regarded as part of the Sacrifice, or as distinct from and subsequent to it. Is there an eternal presentation of the Blood (which seems to be Dr. Milligan's view), or an eternal *ἔντευξις* following upon the presentation (Heb. vii. 25)? Mr. Dimock (*Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium*, p. 49) draws a distinction 'between a "proper offering," which was once performed by His death upon the cross, and between an "improper offering," which is now made either in heaven, by that His appearance on our behalf, or here on earth, by prayers and representation, or obtestation, or commemoration.' On Dr. Milligan's view 'the appearance in heaven' at least might be considered as part of the original Sacrifice (*κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου, αἰώνιαν λύτρωσιν, διὰ Πνεύματος αἰωνίου*).

It may be true that one of these modes of speaking is more exact than the others, but they are all intended to describe the same acknowledged facts, and not one of them is without an intelligible ground.

(c) The main direct passages are—1 Pet. ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6, v. 10, xx. 6.

It is noticeable that in 1 Pet. ii. 5, which is most explicit, the sacrifices offered are moral rather than ceremonial. Compare Rom. xii. 1; Heb. xiii. 15 f.

(d) Dr. Milligan argues that 'whatever function Christ discharges in heaven must also be discharged, according to her capabilities and opportunities, by His Church on earth. This principle is the simple corollary to the fundamental principle of the Church's existence as a spiritual body, that she is the Body of Christ, and that the Body lives in such close communion with the Head, that whatever the latter is or does the former must in a measure be or do' (*Expositor*, 1889, i. 200). This is far-reaching, if true. It invites discussion.

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—The answer to this question may be introduced by the remark that, while on these points there is in the Apostolic thought a striking unity, there is a significant variety in its types, or the forms under which it is presented. Thus, while there is complete agreement as to the death of Christ being a Sacrifice for sin, this Sacrifice is by no means regarded by all, equally, as sacerdotal in its character.

(a) and (b) St. Paul's references to the death of Christ are more forensic or legal than sacerdotal, i. e. His death is conceived more figuratively than formally and materially as a sacrifice. For while He conceives it as involving loss and suffering even unto the surrender of life, in order that by its means Christ might effect man's reconciliation to God; yet he does not conceive it, like the author of 'Hebrews,' as the act of a priest who offers Himself as a sacrifice in a temple, in order that he may enter the Holy of holies and make eternal intercession for us. On the contrary, Paul conceives the death through the idea of the Law as living and regulative and punitive rather than through the associations of the Levitical system. Indeed, nothing is more remarkable than his avoidance of Levitical figures and phraseology; and his preference, so far as he uses any historical forms for the interpretation of the sacrifice and death of the Redeemer, for the forms that we may call prophetic rather than priestly. Thus he finds the prototype of Christ and His work not in Leviticus, but in the Suffering Servant of God in Isaiah (Rom. x. 16-17, 20, xi. 26; 1 Cor. xv. 3; 2 Cor. v. 21). This Pauline standpoint is made the more emphatic by such a crucial text as Rom. iii. 25, 26, where to read *ἱλαστήριον* in a Levitical sense is to dislocate the whole order of his thought; and by references throughout to the righteousness of God by faith as opposed to the righteousness of law or of works. Even the

explicit references to Christ's death as a Sacrifice bear out this view : 'Christ is our Passover' (1 Cor. v. 7), the rite where the father was the priest and the official priesthood had no function. And Eph. v. 2 is too purely ethical to permit a strictly sacerdotal inference.

In Hebrews, the Sacrifice is conceived under sacerdotal forms, but these are expressly designed to bring out the uniqueness of both the Priesthood and the Sacrifice. He was a priest without sin and without successor, and His Sacrifice was spiritual, made by His obedience and offered once for all, leaving no other possible or necessary (Heb. ix. 26, x. 5-7, 12).

In 1 Pet. i. 19, ii. 24, the texts determinative of the Petrine position, the form under which the Sacrifice is conceived is not sacerdotal and Levitical, but prophetic and ethical, being, like the Pauline, directly suggested by the Dentero-Isaiah.

The Apocalypse and the Epistles of John both speak of the peculiar work of Christ, but in neither is it associated with the express recognition of His Priesthood. The ritual or Levitical formulae are most marked in the Apocalypse, where of course they are very numerous, as i. 5, v. 6-9, &c., and this makes only the more significant the emphatic statement that in the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, the only temple is the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb (xxi. 22). In 1 John His work is described as a propitiation (*ἱλασμός*), but this is not expressly associated with hierarchic functions, but rather with those of a person potent in a court of law (*παράκλητος*, ii. 1-2), or of a special apostle or messenger from God (iv. 10).

(c) The explicit texts here are—1 Pet. ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6, v. 10, xx. 6.

In 1 Pet. ii. 5 the adjectives are significant : the stones are 'living,' the house or temple is 'spiritual,' and so are the sacrifices, and the priesthood, not as office, but as community, is holy. These seem to emphasize the apostolic idea as essentially ethical. But even more characteristic is the mediated nature of the priestly function. The Priesthood does not stand before God in its own right or by virtue of what it offers, as was the case of the Levitical priest, or as is the case of the High Priest of our Confession; but there is mediation in the relation of these mediators of the New Covenant. It is a priesthood which He has constituted and which has nothing worthy of God's acceptance to offer save what comes from its standing in Christ and its action through Him. It belongs to the whole people, and its functions are spiritual in character, even as its temple and sacrifices are. The 'royal priesthood' of ver. 9 emphasizes the fact that the community is royal as well as priestly; and we must read both qualities as alike real and alike ideal. This is true of the texts in the Apocalypse, where the kingdom of God is a kingdom of priests, who live and reign with Christ. The priestly and the royal functions must be construed in similar terms; both are spiritual, the society is a kingdom, but its citizens are priests.

(*d*) This priesthood is at once related to Christ's and distinguished from it. His is causal, it is consequent. His is personal, it is collective—realized in the infinite multitude of the citizens within His kingdom. His is real and substantive, the priesthood of one who knew no sin, and never needed to sacrifice on his own behalf; theirs is ideal and figurative, the priesthood of those who have been by the sacrifice of the Sinless redeemed from their sins. His as original is creative; theirs as derivative is received only from Him, and is incapable of transmission by its recipient. These are fair inferences from the fact that their priesthood is traced directly to Him; but His to the act and call of God.

DR. SALMOND.—(*a*) The main points, which alone can be indicated here, are these—that His Sacrifice was the giving of Himself for redemptive ends, voluntarily; that in particular it was for the declaration of righteousness (Rom. iii. 24, &c.), the forgiveness of sin, and the breaking of the power of sin; the notes which are most prominent being those of its *reconciling*, *propitiatory*, and *expiatory* power, its *uniqueness* and its *perfection*.

(*b*) That it is the one Priesthood in the full and proper sense of the word, the only one by which men come to God—superior to Aaron's, changeless and of efficacy for the conscience.

(*c*) That all His people are *priests* in the sense that they can *draw near* to God by Him, having also their own peculiar sacrifices to present—'spiritual sacrifices,' to wit, those of their *bodies*, *praises*, *prayer*, *obedience*, &c.

(*d*) The former is related to the latter as consequent and response.

DR. DAVISON.—(*a*) The Apostles view the sacrifice of Christ mainly as expiatory for the sin of the world; secondarily,

as self-dedicatory and implying a mystical union between Himself and believers.

(*b*) But the idea of the Priesthood of Christ is almost confined to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the analogy between the High Priest of O.T. and the Heavenly Priesthood of the Saviour is encompassed with difficulty, if pressed in detail.

(*c*) The whole Church is (very occasionally) recognized in N. T. as—in a modified and metaphorical sense—a ‘priesthood,’ intended to present only the spiritual ‘sacrifices’ of self-consecration and thanksgiving (1 Pet. ii. 5) The eucharist is never viewed in N. T. as a sacrifice.

(*d*) The people of Christ accept and rest in the benefits of the Sacrifice of their Lord, and look to Him as the only ‘Priest’—in the full sense of the word—in the Christian religion.

DR. FORSYTH.—(*a*) To God it is atoning and in some true sense piacular. To man it is feeding and succouring—the source of common life and mutual help—vicarious.

(*b*) His Priesthood unique; abolished all else but what it might create; the only medium of communion between God and man. He was both Priest and Victim, and in N.T. the name Priest is reserved for Him and no Apostle claims it or its function.

(*c*) The priesthood of His people is universal in Him. Every man in Him is his own priest and pastor—other men may be helps but are not necessities. The Church is thus priestly in its nature, but only as a whole, and only as interceding, working, suffering for men; it has a communion of the vicarious, but not of the atoning side of Christ’s work. The Church is priestly as being a priest, not as having priests, and it is priestly more by the indwelling of Christ’s Spirit than by virtue of any commission or transmission.

5. What relation has the idea of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ to the ideas of His Priesthood and Sacrifice?

DR. MOBERLY.—Priest and Sacrifice are the very heart's core of what He became, and is, *as Man*. The Church, as His Mystical Body, is wholly made one with His Manhood, therefore it is wholly made one, *par excellence*, with His Priesthood and Sacrifice.

CANON GORE.—The Church is the Body of Christ. Christ lives, as quickening Spirit, in this body, in order that the priesthood and sacrifice of man may be realized in the Church.

CANON BERNARD.—To ascribe sacrifice to the Church on this ground seems to me to be pressing a figurative presentation of truth beyond the limits to which it is applicable.

DR. SANDAY.—The fundamental question is that just stated (4 *d*).

The passages most in point would seem to be John xv. 1-7, xvii. 21-23; Rom. vi. 3-11, xii. 4 f.; 1 Cor. xii. 12-27; Eph. i. 22 f., iv. 12-16; Col. ii. 19.

It may be observed that the idea of the Church as the Body of Christ is correlative to the idea of its members as *ἁγιασμένοι, ἅγιοι, κλητοὶ ἅγιοι*. This character comes to them through the Sacrifice of Christ (Heb. xiii. 12, x. 10; compare Rom. v. 2, &c.).

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—I cannot recall a single case where the idea of the Church as the mystical body of Christ is associated with the idea of the priesthood. Of course, His Priesthood and Sacrifice are the causes of its being, as they are the ground of the Christian redemption as

a whole. But this does not mean that the Church participated or participates in the acts or functions by which it was itself created. They make its existence possible, and so it lives the life of the redeemed rather than experiences the passion of the Redeemer. Besides, the idea of the priesthood can be got into the mystical body—an essentially Pauline idea—only by conveying Hebraic forms of thought into the Pauline phraseology. Further, we must carefully define the sense in which Sacrifice is here used, whether when predicated of the body it means *sacrificium* or *sacrificatio*. The mystical body is a body that lives, a resurrection body as it were, incapable of death, and so incapable of being conceived or described as a *sacrificium*.

DR. SALMOND.—The designation 'body of Christ' being applied to the Church by a figure (which also is only one of various figures so applied), there is no necessary or intended relation between the two ideas. Figures of speech are good for illustrative not for *dogmatic* purposes. This particular figure is introduced in relation to the existence and use of gifts, but also and especially in relation to Christ's *Headship*.

DR. FORSYTH.—The relation of the Church to Christ is not only as a Body but as a Bride. It is not only His organ but the object of communion by the Spirit flowing entirely from His death-work. By this the Church enjoys the benefits of His atonement, and re-echoes the ministering aspect of His death, both to its own members and to the world. By this Spirit also the Church worships in the perpetual fellowship of the Son's obedience to the Father. But the Christian Church cannot, even by the Holy Ghost, reproduce the sacrificial act which constituted it—the Sacrifice proper of Christ. The Atonement was not really

made by Christ's body or His sufferings, but by His loving soul and holy obedient will. Its chief nature was prayer, which is a function not of body but of soul. The Church, therefore, in so far as it is Christ's body, can but carry out what is foregone in Christ's act. Body is not a complete outward to the Spirit's inward. The Church is Christ's earthly tabernacle rather than His home. Its priesthood, therefore, is a real but inferior function of His.

6. Does the idea of Priesthood applied to the Church reside in the whole body collectively, or in the whole body ideally, or in individual members of the body?

DR. MOBERLY.—In the whole collective body ideally, and in all its members as sharing in what it is; but some individuals are set apart, as others are not, for the public and corporate representation of its priestliness.

CANON GORE.—It resides in the body collectively and in the individuals, therefore, as rational, personal, members of the body.

DR. SANDAY.—'St. Peter doubtless meant by *ιεράτευμα* not a mere aggregate of individual priests, but a priestly community. Such a priesthood is doubtless shared by each member of the community in due measure, but only so far as he is virtually an organ of the whole body; and the universality of the function is compatible with variations of mode and degree as to its exercise' (Hort, *1 Pet.*, p. 126). The last sentence appears to mean that though all are priests, some may be priests in a fuller and more special sense than others.

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—The only usage found in the N. T. ascribes the priesthood to the living stones, whether collectively or severally, in other words, to the citizens of the kingdom.

DR. SALMOND.—In the first instance in the individual members, each of whom is a *priest* in the N. T. sense. In the second instance in the *body*, in so far as the individuals are regarded as a whole; in this sense, therefore, in the 'whole body collectively,' but not in the sense of the whole body *institutionally*.

DR. DAVISON.—If 'Priesthood' in this modified sense be applied to the Church, the idea resides in the whole body collectively, *and* in individuals separately; but its meaning is found in that direct access to God which is now made possible for all believers through Christ the One true Priest, as they offer the only 'sacrifices' they are called to present, viz. themselves, their thanksgivings and worship generally.

DR. FORSYTH.—In the whole body ideally—without denying that it is an ideal having its spiritual reality in Christ. The priesthood belongs to individuals, not as such, but in virtue of their incorporation with the spiritual body, which is, under Christ, the only true priest.

7. Can there be any delegation of the functions of this Priesthood?

DR. MOBERLY.—Delegation is hardly the right word. There are some who, for public and corporate purposes, represent and discharge the priestly functions of the whole. They must indeed be authorized by a public and minis-

terial action of the body. But their authorization requires something more than a popular appointment, whose method might depend upon the unfettered fancy of the contemporary body. Each generation has a trusteeship, not an irresponsible ownership; and must comply with the conditions which are the guarantee of continuity.

CANON GORE.—The body is an organized whole with differentiated organs and functions; and particular organs of the body (i.e. persons) *may* be therefore in a special sense consecrated to priestly ministry by divine appointment or delegation from the body, or both.

DR. SANDAY.—Exception is taken to the words ‘delegate,’ ‘delegation’ in this connexion (Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 90, with context). And it would seem that the idea of ‘organs’ or ‘representatives’ of the community is more appropriate (see the passage quoted from Bp. Moberly, *ibid.*, p. 70; and for a repudiation of any idea of ‘vicarious action,’ a quotation from Canon Gore, p. 71).

Though an ‘organ’ of the whole body the ministry may be a necessary organ, and the only organ qualified to act for certain purposes (*quoad sacra*).

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—The priesthood of the Christian man can be as little delegated as the passion of Christ could have been delegated. It is of the very essence of his calling and state; and it can be neither assigned to another, nor undertaken by any representative or substitute.

DR. SALMOND.—Yes, in the sense that the individual members may act collectively or corporately, and commit certain functions or services to particular men with a view to order, rule, convenience, or public worship.

DR. DAVISON.—Properly speaking, No. The minister may be said to act as ‘representative’ or ‘organ’ of the whole body—see Dr. Moberly’s *Ministerial Priesthood*, *passim*—this is for the sake of church order, and the phrase ‘delegation of functions’ is likely to mislead.

DR. FORSYTH.—The most priestly function of Christ cannot be delegated, either by Himself to others, or by those others again. The words, delegate or representative, are both misleading, and connote an independence from the real priestly body, the Church, which is practically unhappy. It might be better to describe the ministers of the Church as its *organs*, which can act only when the body is present. The distinctive acts of the ministry should not be performed apart from the presence of the Church, were it but of two or three. The Church should be present in the same bodily sense as the minister.

8. If there is such delegation, how does it affect (*a*) those to whom the functions are delegated; (*b*) those to whom they are not delegated? Is the Priesthood of the Church affected by the delegation?

DR. MOBERLY.—(*a*) Those set apart have all their lives and powers consecrated to the public representation of the priestly character, and the enactment of the functions which express and embody it.

(*b*) Those not set apart have no authorization to represent the corporate priesthood publicly in relation to a congregation. Yet *their* lives too (according to their different professions and opportunities) are to be animated by, and illustrative of, its spirit.

(c) The Priesthood of the Church is itself, for all public or corporate purposes, expressed, uttered, and exercised, necessarily and only through those who are authorized to be the Church's instruments for the purpose.

CANON GORE.—Such delegation enables the body to express its priestliness corporately. Those to whom such delegation is not made obviously do not become thereby less priestly, as members of the priestly body.

DR. SANDAY.—That there should be this marking off of certain organs for certain definite purposes is strictly in accordance with the analogies of civil society (e.g. the judicature, the army, &c.). Though the whole body acts through the organs, it does not follow that every member of the body can make himself an organ when and as he wills (Heb. v. 1, 4).

DR. SALMOND.—(a) Only in respect of distinction of office or particularity of service.

(b) In no sense implying that by their act of committal they part with any power proper to them, or become the servants of those to whom they make the delegation.

No.

9. What is the fundamental signification of the Laying on of Hands? Does it involve Transmission? And if so, what is transmitted?

DR. MOBERLY.—Its fundamental significance is the conferring of a blessing from God, or an appeal to God for the conferring of a blessing. It does not, *per se*, involve transmission. But blessing for ministerial office cannot

be (divinely) conferred without it, nor conferred except by those who have received authority for conferring. Thus (in regard of ministry) transmission of authorization comes to be inseparably connected with it.

CANON GORE.—*In the Christian Church* the normal signification for the laying on of hands is the transmission of a divine gift lodged in the body—whether pardon or strength or authority of some kind.

CANON BERNARD.—In its 'fundamental signification' it designates the person on whom hands are laid as the object commended in prayer to Divine favour and assistance.

♦ It does not involve transmission, but it is obvious that the supposition would naturally arise, whenever this symbolical action was used in connexion with bestowal of authority or appointment to office.

DR. SANDAY.—Does not the laying on of hands in *blessing* tell against the idea of transmission? The good things invoked were not first possessed by him who invokes them: they are in the hands of God, and the blessing is a petition that He may bestow them.

There might seem to be more ground for the idea in connexion with miracles of *healing*: and the popular idea probably was that vital power passed from the healer to the healed. But here, too, there is a Divine intervention in answer to prayer, expressed or implied. So that it would seem on the whole best to explain these instances in the same way as in blessing. All forms of laying on of hands will then fall into the same category.

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—The priesthood of the Christian man is quite independent of the laying on of hands, and is as incapable of transmission as of delegation.

DR. SALMOND.—That of a symbolical act, of ancient use in solemn acts of prayer and benediction, and in the public setting apart of men to office. It *transmits* nothing. It is part of the transaction which sets apart, accompanying the word of prayer which ordains and invokes blessing.

DR. DAVISON.—The action of laying on of hands is symbolical only. It is appropriate as implying, Godward—a prayer for blessing; manward—a commission to teach and fill a certain office.

There is no 'transmission' of specific grace or power.

DR. FORSYTH.—It is a symbol, and not a channel, of consecration. Nothing is transmitted. It is an expressive and impressive concomitant to prayer of ordination—specially so in the case of a personal relation as between Paul and Timothy. It was not used by Christ as an official act. Neither St. Paul nor St. Matthew had it; and the idea of transmission of spiritual faculty by it is outside the genius of the Christian idea, and too easily becomes magical.

The following note has been communicated by DR. DRIVER.

To lay (more exactly, *to lean or rest*) *the hands upon*—

by offerer on head of *burnt-offering* (Exod. xxix. 15, Lev. i. 4, viii. 18, Num. viii. 12); of *peace-offering* (Lev. iii. 2, 8, 13, viii. 22, Exod. xxix. 19); of *sin-offering* (Lev. iv. 4, 15, 24, 29, 33, viii. 14, Exod. xxix. 10, 2 Chron. xxix. 23).

by high priest on head of scape-goat, when confessing the people's iniquities (Lev. xvi. 21).

by witnesses on head of blasphemer (Lev. xxiv. 14; cf. Susanna, *v.* 34).

by people on head of Levites to be admitted to menial services in the sanctuary (Num. viii. 10).

by Moses on head of Joshua, when instituted formally as his successor (Num. xxvii. 18, 23, Dent. xxxiv. 9).

The idea of the ceremony appears to be the solemn and deliberate appropriation of an object, coupled with its assignation to a particular

purpose¹, by the person performing it (so e.g. Oehler, *O. T. Theol.*, § 126, 2; Keil on Lev. i. 4; Dillmann on Lev. i. 4, xxiv. 14, &c.).

It symbolized also the transference of the purpose, or intention, actuating the agent, or (Oehler) 'die Zueignung dessen, was der Handelnde dem Andern vermöge der ihm zustehenden Machtvollkommenheit zuerkannt.' Dillmann's words are, 'der eine theilt dem andern etwas zu, genauer: bezeichnet, bestimmt, und erklärt ihn damit, als den, auf welchen er etwas überträgt oder hinüberleitet, und wendet dieses ihm zu.' Ewald (*Alt.* 58): 'a symbolical transmission (in the case of Moses and Joshua) of the whole spirit of a man upon the one whom he deems worthy of his blessing and highest commands; and (in the case of sacrifice) of all the feeling which must fill the worshipper at such a moment on to the creature whose blood is about to be spilt and, as it were, go before God for him.'

In Lev. xxiv. 14 the idea seems to be that the witnesses were in a way responsible for a misdeed which they had witnessed, until they disowned the guilt themselves by solemnly attaching it to the offender. In Num. viii. 10 the people mark out the Levites as their representatives for various menial services. In Num. xxvii. 18 Joshua is marked out by the rite as Moses' successor: whether the following 'command—or commission—him,' and 'put some of thy dignity upon him,' are involved in the ceremony, or are something additional to it, is not clearly indicated.

All the instances are quoted in which the ceremony is referred to. It is not enjoined in the ordination of priests.

In Gen. xlviii. 14 the Heb. word is simply *place* or *put*, not the more formal *lean* or *rest*.

The ceremony does seem to symbolize the transmission, or delegation, of a moral character or quality, or of responsibility or authority (or, of power to represent another).

10. What was the original authority of the Apostles? Has that authority in any way descended to those who came after them?

FATHER PULLER.—Our Lord said: 'As the Father hath sent (ἀπέσταλκεν) Me, even so send (πέμπω) I you.' Bishop Westcott says: 'The mission of Christ is here regarded

¹ Or, in one word, dedication: but (i) many things were 'dedicated' in which this ceremony was not used; and (ii) 'dedication' hardly suits Lev. xvi. 21, xxiv. 14. So perhaps this word (or 'consecration') is better avoided.

... in the permanence of its effects (*hath sent*). The form of the fulfilment of Christ's mission was now to be changed, but the mission itself was still continued and still effective. The Apostles were commissioned to carry on Christ's work, and not to begin a new one. Their office was an application of His office according to the needs of men.' Now Christ had been sent to be the Messianic Prophet and Priest and King. The Apostles were therefore commissioned to carry on, in subordination to Him, prophetic, priestly, and kingly work. The Apostolic ministry has succeeded into the place of the Apostles, and carries on their prophetic, priestly, and kingly work. Compare St. Matt. xxviii. 20; and see Godet on St. Luke xii. 41-48.

DR. MOBERLY.—Their authority was the authority of living messengers and representatives of Christ, chosen, trained, sent, and empowered by Himself. As no one since has been exactly this, no one (in the nature of things) has wielded *the fullness* of Apostolic authority. Yet in its main administrative and representative functions it was carefully handed on by them to those whom they thought fittest, with provision for its authoritative devolution for ever.

CANON GORE.—Their authority was that of *witnesses of Christ's Resurrection*, stewards of divine truths, *founders* and rulers of the society, and ministers of divine gifts. In all these respects (but in a changed sense so far as touches the words in italics) their office has been perpetuated in the Christian ministry.

CANON BERNARD.—The primary work of the Apostles was to be chosen witnesses and authorized depositories of the Gospel, that is to say, of what Christ had taught and

done. From this flowed the authority which they exercised. The office was thus of an exceptional nature, and by its very conditions it could not continue.

DR. SANDAY.—The Apostles appear to have had a large, but in great part undefined, authority. The most explicit passage is John xx. 22 f. On the other hand, Eph. ii. 20, and Rev. xxi. 14, are not explicit. Both seem to be susceptible of the interpretation put upon the first by Hort ('He had in mind the historical order of the actual structure and growth of the Ecclesia itself, not any authority over the Ecclesia,' *Rom. and Eph.*, p. 146). The question is complicated by the double ambiguity, (i) as to the relation of St. Paul to the Twelve, and (ii) as to the relation of 'Apostles' in the narrower sense, and in the wider (as in the *Didaché*). No doubt the Twelve, the Twelve + St. Paul, and the whole class of 'Apostles,' all exercised a high authority; but it is not clear that this authority was a formal jurisdiction intended to be handed on from generation to generation. The facts may perhaps be described in that way, but not necessarily; and there is danger of resting too much upon a formal scheme, rather than upon the living work of the Spirit.

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—The Apostles never claimed any priestly authority, and so could not speak of it 'descending to those who came after them.'

DR. SALMOND.—The original authority of the Twelve in the character of *Apostles* is given most definitely in Mark iii. 14, &c. It is given again at a later stage, and with a larger scope, in Matt. xxviii. 19. Other passages (Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18; John xx. 22, &c.) refer less clearly to the Apostles as such and exclusively. I see no evidence of a descent of the authority in question to other individuals.

DR. DAVISON.—The Eleven derived their commission from Christ, Matthias from a special election, Paul by direct commission from the glorified Lord, in each case to proclaim and diffuse the message of the Gospel (see Dr. Hort's *Ecclesia*). No specific authority to appoint others was included in this commission.

They had not, nor were they intended to have, successors. They were instrumental in founding a living Church, with power to organize itself.

DR. FORSYTH.—They were—(1) witnesses, (2) intimate disciples, (3) missionaries and Church founders. They had a natural and historic authority in the first Church, due to their personal education by Christ, and their prestige of personal association with Him. Their real authority lay, not in their inspiration but in their Revelation, not in their standing but in their *word*—which was mightier in St. Paul than in the Twelve. The Apostles were not priests, but missionaries bent on the extension more than the rule of the Church; whereas the bishop is an administrator and not an apostle. The authority of the Apostles was not transmitted—their personal contact with Christ could not be—except as in St. Paul's sense, and that was not transmission, but a fresh call. The pastoral office was quite distinct, and grew out of the Church's needs and the Spirit's wisdom. The ministry is but the virtual, not the official, successor of the Apostles, i.e. they are such in virtue of the same word of the Gospel, and not of institutional continuity.

11. Supposing that there are some to whom the functions of Priesthood belong in a sense in which they do not belong to others, should not a distinction be drawn between the historical question as to the process by which this condition of things has arisen, and the theoretical question as to the place which it holds in the whole Christian economy? How are the historical and the theoretic questions related to each other?

DR. MOBERLY.—For purposes of analysis and investigation the distinction is an important one. But unless the theoretical is the interpretation of the historical, and the historical is the witness and embodiment of the theoretical, the Church must have been on the wrong lines from the very beginning. For those who refuse to accept such a conclusion, the two are but distinguishable aspects of one fact.

CANON GORE.—The distinction should be drawn, but the two questions meet in the principle, that only those can fulfil any office in the Church who have been appointed to fulfil it by an authority mediately or immediately apostolic.

DR. SANDAY.—I should answer the first part of this question in the affirmative.

As to the second I would suggest a caution. It does not follow that we can always treat the end of a process of evolution as in itself supplying the simple and sufficient interpretation of the process. It marks the result which God has willed—but rather in the general sense in which all that happens is His will than in the particular sense that either the end attained or the operative causes are

wholly such as He would approve. We must allow for the element of human free-will and human error, with the consequent mixture of good and evil.

DR. SALMOND.—Granting the supposition, the distinction is both just and important. The historical question is the first and fundamental question, and only in the light of it can the theoretical question be scientifically handled.

DR. FORSYTH.—The theory of the ministry should be drawn from the principle of Christ's priestly work (i. e. of Redemption) and of His Church, and not from the principle of any explicit commission given by Christ to an Apostolic order.

12. What parts of the historical problem at the present moment seem most to need further elucidation?

CANON GORE.—The spare use of priestly terms for the ministry in the N. T.; the position of the prophets; the development of '*mon*episcopacy.'

DR. SANDAY.—The critical points would seem to be : (i) the exact nature of Apostolic authority (on which something has been said above); (ii) the transition from the extraordinary 'gifts' to the settled regular ministry; (iii) the like transition from the plural to the singular episcopate.

DR. SALMOND.—The history of the office of the 'Apostle,' its idea, functions, and fortunes outside the Canonical literature. The earliest history also of the eucharist; together with the question of the first functions of the *ἐπίσκοπος*, and the source of the term.

DR. FORSYTH.—Perhaps the rise of the Catholic Church out of the N. T. Church in the sub-Apostolic age.

13. Of what parts of the theoretical problem may the same be said?

DR. SANDAY.—The points on which I should myself most desire further light would be: (i) the relation of the moral element in Sacrifice to the ceremonial (this has been alluded to under 1. (b), but comes up elsewhere); (ii) the point at which the language of Sacrifice and Priesthood becomes metaphorical; (iii) the extent to which the Church and the ministry of the Church can be said to be identified with the Priesthood and Offering of Christ through the Mystical Union; (iv) the relation of the 'prophetic inspiration' (which I believe to have been at work in varying degrees all through the history of the Church) to the regular official ministry.

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—The parts of the theoretical problem that seem to me most in need of elucidation are these: the ideas of the priest, of the sacrifice, of the relation of the priest to the sacrifice, of the relation of the sacrifice to God who receives it, and those on whose behalf it is offered; and of the relation of these complex notions to the Church and Kingdom of God as conceived in the N. T.

DR. SALMOND.—The precise place and worth of 'succession,' 'descent,' 'devolution,' and the precise relation of 'priest' and 'minister' to the Christian people.

DR. FORSYTH.—The relation between the sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifice of the Church in worship or work. Also the relation between the individual priesthood of the believer and the corporate priesthood of the Church—with special reference to the right of public ministry.

14. If there is a Ministerial Priesthood under the New Covenant, can it rightly be described as a Sacrificing Priesthood ?

FATHER PULLER.—There can, I think, be no doubt that the ministerial priesthood under the New Covenant can rightly be described as a sacrificing priesthood. To speak of a non-sacrificing priesthood would appear to me to be a misuse of terms.

DR. MOBERLY.—Yes. The phrase, if properly understood, is certainly not untrue. But it is a blunt phrase, in itself not unlikely to mislead, and in use too nearly identified with misconceptions of the truth, which it is important to correct.

CANON GORE.—Yes: if the terms are rightly defined. The function of the episcopate 'to offer the gifts' is widely accepted in the first century (Clement and *Didaché*). But the important matter is to keep the function of the ministry in its right relation of subordination to Christ and to the Body.

CANON BERNARD.—There is a Ministerial Priesthood, in the sense of an office whereby the congregation is represented towards God. But it has no sacrifices to offer other than those of the devotions, alms, and self-surrender of the congregation.

I think, moreover, that nothing is gained by the attempt to represent the whole of man's religious life in the garb of 'sacrifice.' The clothes are too small for the body.

DR. SANDAY.—See above, on 3 (*c*), 5-8.

DR. SALMOND.—No. It could be so called only by imposing an unwonted sense on the term, which would be a misleading sense.

DR. DAVISON.—The Ministerial Office is not 'priestly' in the proper sense of the word (see above). If the term be admitted in a modified sense, it is not a 'sacrificing priesthood.' The distinction between the meanings of 'priest' and 'sacrifice' above indicated is fundamental and vital.

DR. FORSYTH.—In a sense, but better not; more misleading than useful. The priesthood makes no sacrifice but what the Church makes, and neither makes the Sacrifice which Christ did. The word suggests a distinction between the sacrifice of the ministry and those of the *whole* Church; or else it absorbs the latter in the former.

15. How far is the Early Church to be determinative to-day of the questions discussed under the above heads, and what are the limits which we ought to assign to the determinative period?

DR. MOBERLY.—In principle it may be said that—

1. The corporate life and its history are an interpretative comment upon the revelation, and inseparable from it. In Canon Gore's words: 'You cannot tear the N. T. out of the mind of the Church as expressed from the first.'

2. All later developments or advances, of whatever kind, must be really *developments*—not *reversals*—of what was *deliberately* and *universally* accepted. They must not constitute a real breach with their own past, by running counter to it and condemning it; but must be *advances along*—and *in continuity with*—the really deliberate *conviction* and *agreement* of the earlier centuries.

No definite limit of date is to be drawn. But appeal to the Church before her great disruptions (and particularly to formal Œcumenical decisions within that period) will always, of necessity, be of more argumentative weight, and of more universal application, than appeal to any portion of the divided Church.

CANON GORE.—You cannot tear the N. T. out of the mind of the Church as expressed from the first. The generally expressed mind of the Church, especially of the earliest tradition, reasonably determines the ambiguities of the N. T. documents. But no definite limits to the 'Early Church' can be assigned.

CANON BERNARD.—The teaching and practice of the Early Church is not, of itself, determinative of these questions, but must be carefully compared with the N. T., regard being had to the general principles laid down therein, and to its silences as well as to its statements.

DR. SANDAY.—If Priesthood is a permanent institution, the question need not be asked for our present purpose, except as affecting the form of the Christian Ministry. This was sufficiently determined by the date of the Ignatian Letters (c. 110 A. D.), which does not seem too long to allow the principles at work in the Apostolic Age properly to declare themselves.

DR. FAIRBAIRN.—The Church of the N. T. is the standard by which the questions here agitated ought to be discussed and determined. The later Church may supply illustrative material for the interpretation of the earlier, but has no claim to be regarded as either a witness to its constitution and beliefs, or a standard for ours.

[I regret that time has compelled me to pass over questions 11, 12 and 14, and to handle all, and especially the later ones, more briefly and superficially than I could have wished. What is submitted is matter for discussion, not reasoned judgements.—A. M. F.]

DR. SALMOND.—Scripture, the original authority, is the only *determining* authority, not the Early Church. The voice of the latter is the voice of testimony, not of authority.

DR. DAVISON.—Appeal lies to N. T. alone as authoritative; the usage of the Early Church is 'determinative' of nothing. But historical evidence drawn from the development of doctrine during the first three centuries is very instructive, and the introduction of certain ideas on the subject of priesthood and sacrifice by Cyprian, and in the early part of the third century, contrasts with the prevailing tone of the sub-Apostolic age, and the greater part of the second century (see Bp. Lightfoot's *Essay*, and the writings of the Fathers in question).

DR. FORSYTH.—The praxis of the Early Church settles little (else the Baptists are right). Its precise views and doctrines are fontal, but not necessarily final. But its revelation, its principle, the ideas embodied in its central

fact of Christ and His cross, its spirit and Gospel of Redemption are final, and must slowly subdue all foreign elements to themselves. The period, broadly speaking, would be the first century, but not necessarily the whole N. T. Canon.

*The following Memorandum was circulated privately by
Archdeacon Wilson.*

SACRIFICE AND PRIESTHOOD.

To the Members of our Private Conference.

DEAR SIR,

I find myself unable to meet Professor Sanday's wish by sending brief answers to his questions. I can only answer them in some such form as follows. I submit my reply to your perusal with every possible respect and deference, and with the conviction that no good can come from our Conference unless we are perfectly frank with one another.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

J. M. WILSON.

It would seem that we may enter on a discussion on this subject with widely divergent fundamental postulates, latent or formulated; and that it is advisable to attempt to state them explicitly. One way of expressing them is as follows: see *A* and *B*.

A.—We assume that the Canon of the New Testament and the tradition of the early Church taken jointly, if they could be critically and historically ascertained and established, and shown to be reasonably unanimous (*exceptis excipiendis*),

constitute a final and permanent *authority*, not only as to the historical fact what the immediate followers of Christ and their successors thought and arranged in the matter of Church Government, but as to the *absolute and ideal truth for all ages of the relations of God to man through a ministry as revealed by Christ*.

The assumption is, in brief, that in the historical facts of what was done or thought lies the solution, not of historical development only, but of theological truth.

A similar assumption was made in the age of Protestant Scholasticism after the Reformation. The Church then hoped, by exhaustive discussion of the Bible, to find one complete system of doctrine to which all reasonable people must assent, as the revelation of Christ. Some men now indulge a similar hope as to the authority and power of a priesthood.

The questions laid before our Conference appear to be framed chiefly with this underlying assumption, although this method has hitherto failed to elicit such unanimity.

B.—We assume that the fact of our Lord's conferring on his Apostles, and on the whole Church, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and promising His own perpetual Presence wherever men gather in His Name, as it assures the Church of a perpetual advance into the clearer interpretation of His Mind and Will, so also it gives to every generation the indefeasible right of self-government and adjustment to needs; and bids us look for the absolute and ideal truth respecting the function of a ministry in each age, not as something to be extracted solely from the thoughts of the past, but as something to be won by patient truth-seeking, and by lives led in the spirit of Christ.

This assumption is, in brief, that history and criticism play only a subsidiary, though highly important, part in approximating to ideal theological truth. The supreme part is taken

by the religious insight of the living Church guided to use rightly all that is subsidiary.

Now these two assumptions are mutually exclusive. It makes all the difference whether the results of history and criticism are regarded as *final* or *subsidiary* in settling the problems. They may be in a very high degree subsidiary; they may constitute an essential factor; but that does not make them final.

To disregard the working systems of the past, and treat everything as an open question—and it is in such terms as these that the view put forward in *B* will be caricatured by some—is sheer individualism, utterly unhistorical in spirit, and leads to dissolution. But to treat the conceptions of priesthood and sacrifice that were held in any age of the Church as so authoritative as to compel us to read the N. T. and interpret Christ Himself in their light is a mistake that blinds the eyes to the meaning of the Incarnation itself, and hardens the line of division among Christians.

Those who enter on this discussion with the second assumption are unable to read the records of the Church in other than an *historic* spirit; such and such were the sayings of Christ transmitted by the memories of His followers, and grouped by them in accordance with their conception of His Person and Revelation. Such and such were the thoughts of Apostolic and sub-Apostolic men, or the belief of others as to their thoughts. Such and such were the organizations of churches and their ministries, that grew up under such and such intellectual and civil and spiritual influences: but not, such and such then is for ever and for all the world the absolute truth and the Will of Jesus Christ and the Law of God.

With these preliminary remarks I attempt to answer the questions proposed. I approach them from the point of view indicated in *B*.

1. Is it possible to define the idea of Sacrifice—

(a) In religion in general?

(b) In the Old Testament (history, prophecy, and worship)?

(c) In the New Testament?

I leave (a) and (b) unanswered, not at all as unimportant, but as only remotely bearing on the point I wish to bring out. The reply to (c) would seem to be that Christ, by His manifestation of His own relationship to God, and by His revelation of the Presence of the Divine Life in man, that is by His Incarnation, transformed the whole idea of sacrifice, and showed the spiritual reality; of which all that went before was an obscure and temporary symbol.

The root-idea of sacrifice henceforth for Christians is 'I come to do Thy will, O my God' (Heb. x. 7). It is a mere incident in our service that, human nature being what it is, so perverted by sin, our service of God sometimes involves suffering much and giving up much. Christ's death on the cross was an incident in His perfect Service of God. (I do not, of course, say that this exhausts the effect of the Death of Christ.)

The idea, then, of sacrifice in the Kingdom of Heaven as taught in the New Testament is SERVICE. 'I come to do Thy will'—to do it, cost what it may: obedience is the true *λατρεία*.

There is one book in the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews, written expressly and explicitly to teach the *new and Christian idea of sacrifice*. 'He taketh away the first, that He may establish the second.' And the second is *service*. Westcott paraphrases it as 'the fulfilment of the divine will by rational self-devotion.' 'Wherefore we, receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace whereby we may SERVE GOD acceptably with reverence and godly fear' (xii. 28). I suppose men's minds are differently constituted. To me this is the plainest lesson in the Bible.

2. Is there—

(a) A generic idea of Priesthood ; and, if so, what are the elements and functions necessary to it ?

(b) A specific Christian idea ; and, if so, what are its specific characters ?

(a) The generic idea of Priesthood is based on the assumption that certain channels (e. g. places, times, persons, rites, &c.) exist through which the eternal and the temporal normally meet. An order of persons is regarded as indispensable to these channels, and such an order is a Priesthood.

(b) The specific Christian idea of Priesthood is that Christ Himself is the channel of Grace and Truth to the world, 'the new and living way'; and that the Divine life, dormant in every one, but waked into consciousness through the revelation made by Christ, is in itself, for every individual the point in which the eternal and the temporal meet. However useful and honourable a ministry of the Sacraments and teaching and service may be for bringing men within reach of the Gospel that awakes the Divine life, and for assisting their spiritual growth, an order of persons controlling for others the channels of the Divine life is not conceivable, under the revelation of Christ.

3. What was the teaching of our Lord Himself—

(a) As to the priestly idea ?

(b) As to His own Priesthood and Sacrifice ?

(c) As to any perpetuation and transmission of these in His Church ?

I think that the answers above given convey the substance and purpose of our Lord's teaching, seen in due proportion, and separated from the language and illustrations and metaphors in which, of necessity, coming in that age and nation, He taught His hearers, and in which they transmitted His teaching.

4. What is the Apostolic teaching—
- (a) As to the Sacrifice of Christ?
 - (b) As to His Priesthood?
 - (c) As to the Priesthood of His people?
 - (d) As to the relation of this Priesthood, if there be any, to His, and to His Sacrifice?

The same answer, *mutatis mutandis*, may be made as in 3.

The fundamental idea is service and SELF-CONSECRATION. Constant and inevitable references are made to the current ideas of God, and of a Covenant, and of the Jewish Priesthood and sacrifices; but the new relation to God, which constituted the Gospel, is now a spiritual union with God, revealed by Christ and in Him, existing 'through an eternal Spirit,' and issuing in loving service and self-consecration.

The explicit teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews is in accordance with this view. I regard it as Apostolic. This Epistle also tells us that 'Christ abideth a priest continually,' and thus teaches that no new priesthood is necessary.

5. What relation has the idea of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ to the ideas of His Priesthood and Sacrifice?

The Mystical Body of Christ is all humanity in so far as it is animated by the Spirit of Christ. The members of the Church, consciously called to represent Christ, necessarily, so far as they are thus animated, live the life of service—that is sacrifice; and of consecration—that is priesthood,—which marked Christ's earthly life. Priesthood and sacrifice are thus of the same nature in us as in Him.

6. Does the idea of Priesthood applied to the Church reside in the whole body collectively, or in the whole body ideally, or in individual members of the body?

Priesthood, being the consecration to a life of service, is a mark, or should be a mark, of the Church collectively,

and of its members individually; and, of course, of the Church ideally.

7. Can there be any delegation of the functions of this Priesthood?

There can be no delegation of the duty of this life of self-consecration and service. Other functions, of administering the sacraments, of teaching, service, government, &c., may be delegated to a ministry; but not these which are the *characteristic* functions of a *Christian* Priesthood.

8. If there is such delegation, how does it affect
- (a) Those to whom the functions are delegated?
 - (b) Those to whom they are not delegated? Is the priesthood of the Church affected by this delegation?

The belief in the possibility of the delegation of an exclusive possession of the channels of grace and pardon may have served, and may, among backward races, still serve, useful temporary purposes of discipline; but it has also produced obvious and serious evils in both classes. To this belief are due the worst elements in the Roman Catholic Church, and some real dangers in our own. The delegation of ministry and office to duly appointed persons in no way affects the priesthood of the Church.

9. What is the fundamental significance of the Laying on of Hands? Does it involve transmission; and, if so, what is transmitted?

The laying on of hands is a symbol of prayer, of blessing, and of delegation of authority. It is a recognition of the continuity of the presence of the Spirit of Christ from one generation to the next. It is further a public recognition of individuals by a solemn act which localizes and symbolizes the prayers of the society that God will continue His gifts and His presence in the Church.

It is a transmission of authority to teach, to administer the sacraments, and to do certain acts, by those who have been themselves authorized by the society both to exercise and to transmit that authority.

10. What was the original authority of the Apostles? Has that authority in any way descended to those who come after them?

The Twelve, and others like St. James and St. Paul, had of course the authority of witnesses, and of our Lord's direct commission to teach. They had conceded to them, as a matter of course, the further authority to guide and mould the new society as circumstances then required.

The authority to teach and govern is permanently inherent in the Church as a whole; and by analogy with civil government, and from the necessity of order and continuity of doctrine, the exercise of that authority has been for eighteen centuries normally vested in the historic episcopate, acting for and in the name of the whole Church, and appointed in such way as the Church approves.

11. Supposing that there are some to whom the functions of Priesthood belong in a sense in which they do not belong to others, should not a distinction be drawn between the historical question as to the process by which this condition of things has arisen and the theoretical question as to the place which it holds in the whole Christian economy? How are the historical and the theoretic questions related to each other?

By a confusion of ideas, inevitable in a Church which has been so much influenced by Paganism as well as by Judaism, *orders of ministry* which are essential for the conduct of worship, for teaching, for the preservation of orthodoxy, and for government, arising on the analogies of the synagogues and of civil government, have at some stage

in their development been *identified with a priesthood* connected with a temple, and supposed to be an exclusive channel of approach to God, and have acquired its associations. The historical questions concern, firstly, the growth of the orders of the Church ministry and of government, and their local variations: and secondly, the development of the theoretic or theological views as to the spiritual power of this ministry in controlling the Divine Grace. These questions are entirely distinct; and the truth of any theoretic idea of the spiritual power of the ministry is not to be established by the enumeration of those who at various times have accepted it. How to give due weight, and not excessive weight, to the opinions held by saintly men of the past on this question is, in my judgement, the most difficult of historical questions, and one on which confidence is not a mark of wisdom.

The historical conclusions, both as to facts and opinions, can only be subsidiary to the theological question. They tell us only what at certain times and places some men did and taught; not what is for ever right and true for the Church to do and teach.

12. What parts of the historical problem at the present moment seem most to need further elucidation?

(1) The intellectual or other influences which in an early age caused the transference into the Christian ministry of the ideas of what was originally separate from it, the Jewish or pagan priesthood; and (2) those influences which in the present age are making this transference again acceptable to a certain type of mind, and impossible to others.

13. Of what parts of the theoretical problem may the same be said?

The theoretical problem needs to be stated. I am not quite sure what is meant. When stated, however, it will, I think, be seen to be unanswerable.

There is the permanent contrast in human nature between two types of minds; between the priest and the prophet; between tradition and illumination; between those who value continuity, order, orthodoxy most, as a means of securing to the world and themselves an approach to God, and those who, conscious of a direct approach to God, and valuing supremely the life of the Spirit within, place continuity and all externals in the second place. It is the contrast of the logician and the philosopher, of the ecclesiastic and the mystic. The only hope of union, or even of mutual understanding, is in each of these types endeavouring to understand, to appreciate, to emulate the characteristic excellencies of the other. The two types are not irreconcilable, if the ecclesiastic is content to urge the value of continuity as a security, and because of its influence on the minds of men, and foregoes dogmatism as to its exclusive possession of God's gifts of grace; and if the mystic will accept it as historically proven that his mind and temperament is not a measure of those of all men, and that the most loyal adherence to a Church system, as highly expedient, is compatible with utter simplicity and piety and humility.

14. If there is a Ministerial Priesthood under the New Covenant, can it be rightly described as a Sacrificing Priesthood?

The phrases Ministerial Priesthood and New Covenant should be avoided unless they are carefully defined in a *Christian* sense. Such a ministry as is contemplated in the New Testament is a ministry of teaching, and worship, and governing, but is not a sacrificing priesthood, except in the sense above described; it is a body of representatives of the Church specially consecrated to the life of service. In that sense it is both ministerial and a priesthood.

15. How far is the Early Church to be determinative today of the questions discussed under the above heads?

And what are the limits which we ought to assign to the determinative period?

No limit can be assigned to the age which may be studied as throwing light on the elements in human nature which have introduced modes of thought or customs into the growth of the idea of the Church as it existed in the mind of Christ. But no age is determinative for us. We have to ascertain the idea of Christ Himself; and a study of Church traditions may obscure as well as illuminate that idea. From the New Testament and especially from the Gospels, we must always derive correctives to those *idola* which haunt us; ever striving to see the spiritual beneath the visible; the eternal beneath the temporal; and to adapt our visible or temporal forms of thought and worship, in our own age, so as best to lead our generation to a knowledge of the spiritual and the eternal.

To conclude—

If any agreement can be come to on these subjects, it must be on some basis broad enough for both types of mind to stand upon; and each type must be willing to allow the other to stand by its side and not try to push it off. Can we agree that the Christian idea of sacrifice is the spiritual sacrifice of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies'; and that the one consummate sacrifice is that of Christ's own humbling Himself, giving up His glory, taking the form of man, and dying the death of the Cross? Can we agree that each Christian is pledged to offer a similar sacrifice of self-consecration to God, and is therefore verily a priest? And can we agree, finally, that the Ministry of the Church of Christ is the representative of the whole Church, bound even more than others to the life of service and self-consecration, and bound to show forth the Lord's death, by symbol, by word, by life, till He come?

III

THE CONFERENCE

THE time-table of the proceedings will give a sufficient idea of the manner in which the Conference was conducted. With the exception of Mr. Headlam, Ex-Fellow, and Mr. Lang, Fellow, of All Souls who stayed in their own College, the non-resident members of the Conference were entertained at Christ Church and at Mansfield College; and the meetings for business were pleasantly interspersed with social gatherings in which all took part.

TIME TABLE.

Tuesday, December 12.

Dine at Christ Church (Dr. Sanday), 7.30.

Wednesday, December 13.

Preliminaries, 10-10.15.

First Discussion (Questions 1, 2), 10.15-12.45.

PRESUPPOSITIONS OF NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE.

Definitions of Sacrifice and Priesthood.

Relation of the Ceremonial Element in Sacrifice and Priesthood to the Moral.

Bearing of Old Testament Doctrine.

Lunch, 1.15.

Tea (at Christ Church), 3.45.

Second Discussion (Questions 3, 4), 4-6.30.

NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE OF SACRIFICE AND PRIESTHOOD.

The Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ.

Silences of the New Testament.

What means are there of distinguishing between Metaphor
and substantial Reality?

Dine at Christ Church (Dr. Moberly and Dr. Sanday), 7.30.

Thursday, December 14.

Third Discussion (Questions 5-15), 10-12.30.

NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE (*continued*).

The Mystical Union: What is it, and what does it imply?

The Relation of the Body to its 'organs.'

Provision for the Perpetuity of the Christian Priesthood.

Lunch at Mansfield College (Dr. Fairbairn), 1.15.

Informal Meeting (at Mansfield College), 2.30.

Publication of Report, &c.

*N.B.—The heads for discussion are only suggestions of leading points,
and are not meant to preclude the raising of any question relevant to the
main issue.*

FIRST DISCUSSION.

AT the first sitting, and throughout the Conference, the following were present :

FATHER PULLER.	DR. SANDAY (in the Chair).
DR. MOBERLY.	REV. A. C. HEADLAM.
CANON GORE.	DR. FAIRBAIRN.
CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.	DR. SALMOND.
REV. C. G. LANG.	DR. DAVISON.
ARCHDEACON WILSON.	REV. ARNOLD THOMAS.
DR. RYLE.	DR. FORSYTH.
CANON E. R. BERNARD.	

After prayer, the proceedings were opened by Dr. Sanday, who spoke as follows :

1. DR. SANDAY.—I must express my great thankfulness that at last we meet together face to face, and that these friendly but serious discussions to which we have been looking forward, through what I have no doubt have been very busy weeks, are at last about to begin. I know that many of those who are present have come here at no small cost to themselves, and at cost of various kinds. I know that they have done so from no personal motive, but from a public motive, and from the hope that what will be done now may ultimately, in some way or other, redound to the general good; and I earnestly trust that when our meetings are over we may feel that we shall not go empty away. I am quite aware that the course I have proposed is a serious and responsible one. I can quite imagine it to be possible that our Conference

might have more definite and tangible success if it had been on a smaller basis, and if it had a smaller scope. But I ventured to aim at something more than this; I thought that we might go to the root of some of the differences which affect us most as English Churchmen and English Christians. Of course I have not allowed myself to be too sanguine. I do not suppose that many of us here will go away thinking very differently from the way in which we thought when we came. I myself, from the special circumstances in which I find myself, may be more likely to be affected by the results of this Conference than any one here. In any case, I think we shall bring out at least what we have in common; and I cannot help hoping that the eloquent passage with which Archdeacon Wilson's paper concludes may express the minimum of this common ground. But beyond that, I think we may define the extent of our differences, and see just the point where they come in. I have great hopes that we shall be able to clear away a great deal of irrelevant controversy. Differences there must be; but I trust they will not be harsh differences, and that the more we get to know each other, the more we shall see how much our views really do rest upon serious and deeply thought-out grounds, and the more we shall feel mutual respect.

There are just a few explanations that I should like to make. You may be interested to know something about the invitations which have been sent out for this Conference. I am glad to say that of all the invitations that were originally sent out only one was declined, and I must express my own personal thanks for the very cordial way in which they have been received. The only one that was declined, and that after long consideration, was by Dr. Armitage Robinson; and I am afraid that one of the main reasons why he declined

it was the very high standard which he sets himself in approaching a subject like this. He felt that his own work was so absorbing that it would take him away from it too much to enable him to prepare, as he would wish to prepare, for this Conference. Well, after receiving that reply, I wrote to Dr. Swete, of Cambridge, and I should have been very glad if he could have seen his way to join us ; but unfortunately his health is far from strong, and he did not feel equal to undertaking the Conference on that ground. I then wrote to Mr. Lang, of Portsea, whom I had a special reason for asking to be present, as he has been for some time interested in this subject, and will form a welcome link of connexion with our friends in Scotland. I am sorry that all of those who were originally invited are not here. Dr. Moule, I regret to say, is away. He found that our meetings would clash with the last ordination of the Bishop of Liverpool, and as he stood in such intimate relation to the Bishop he did not feel that he could be absent from the ordination. For some time he held out a hope that he would send us a paper of answers to our questions, although he was not here in person. It was impossible for me to overcome the modesty of my friend, Mr. Chavasse ; and at the strong instance of Dr. Moule, I wrote to Mr. Nathaniel Dimock, who has written a learned work on the *Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium*. Unfortunately I wrote to an old address, and after some days my letter was returned by the Post Office. I had previously written to the Bishop of Wakefield, Dr. J. H. Bernard, of Dublin, and Dr. Robertson, of King's College. All replied most cordially, but all had engagements that stood in the way. Almost at the last moment I thought that I need not hesitate to write to my old friend and fellow-worker, Mr. Headlam, and he has kindly consented to come.

I am extremely sorry that Dr. Barrett, of Norwich, is also not able to be here. I have had this letter from him :

'I am most deeply grieved and disappointed that I am unable to be with you this week. There has been an extraordinary pressure of work connected with my own church which has made it impossible for me to leave. I anticipate, with the greatest interest, the results of the Conference. Will you be so good as to express my sincere regret for my absence, which is enforced by circumstances over which I have no control.'

I should add that Dr. Fairbairn at once wrote to Mr. Arnold Thomas, of Bristol, and we are all exceedingly glad that he has been able to come. That, I think, will explain what has been done in the matter of the invitations.

I hope you will approve of the method I have adopted of circulating these questions and of asking for answers in writing, and that we shall find them helpful. I took the further liberty of asking Dr. Driver to contribute notes on some of the points. I felt sure that it would be a great advantage to us to have them treated on strictly philological and scientific principles, without regard to the inferences which we draw from them; and he has done exactly what I asked of him. I should say that the notes as they appear are somewhat condensed and abridged from the form in which they were sent to me; for those who know Dr. Driver's work will know how profuse he is in supporting any statements he may make by detailed references. And now, the only question to consider is as to our method of procedure.

2. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—May I, Dr. Sanday, before you pass from these general remarks, respond to the kindly sentiments with which you have opened the Conference, and say that our hopes are exactly your hopes. We do not

anticipate, any more than you, that there may not be differences of opinion at the end of it; but we are happy to feel as Christian brethren that we can still meet and discuss these questions freely, even though in our hearts there may be differences.

3. DR. SANDAY.—There is the question yet to decide how we should proceed, and I think it would be best for each to take five minutes, and that we should follow the order of the groups and the way in which the names appear upon the circular. I would ask those gentlemen whose names appear first in each group to speak first, each taking five minutes, and so on with the others, group succeeding group, and going round the table.

Perhaps we might see this morning how that works; but if amongst yourselves you would prefer to change that order, we might well do so. My idea was that we should each take five minutes, and then spend the rest of the time in general conversation. We might either make connected remarks or ask questions of each other; but I would propose that, if questions are asked in the course of the five minutes' speeches, the answering of these questions should be reserved until they are finished. Before I ask Father Puller to speak, I should like to know whether any one would wish to say anything as to the method of procedure. If any one has anything to suggest in that respect, now is the opportunity.

4. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Are we to understand that we are to speak for five minutes on all the topics that are set out?
5. DR. SANDAY.—I think I stated on the time-table that the heads for discussion are only suggestions of leading points, and are not meant to preclude the raising of any question relevant to the main issue. I think our centre of gravity should be the New Testament doctrine. If no one wishes to make any further remark I would ask Father Puller to commence.

6. FATHER PULLER.—On the spur of the moment I have to consider how to begin the Conference; and it occurs to me that I should like to lay stress on what is no doubt very familiar to every one here, although some persons, who are not present, seem to have misconceptions on the subject. The point on which I wish to lay stress is the fact that in the Old Testament sacrifices are represented to us as processes consisting of various acts. A sacrifice is not simply the killing of a victim, but a process of a complex nature. The victim was first brought and presented alive by the offerer; then the offerer laid his hands on the head of the victim, and in some sense constituted it as his representative. The victim was next killed by the offerer; and it was not until the death had taken place, as I understand it, that the priest's part commenced. It was his duty to catch the blood which flowed from the victim, and then to offer the blood on the altar, or round the base of the altar, and in some cases on the horns of the altar; while on the Day of Atonement the High Priest took it within the innermost veil and sprinkled it before the Shekinah enthroned over the Mercy-seat. It was in that blood-sprinkling that the priestly action in the sacrifice commenced. Then the priest had to take either the whole body of the victim as in the case of the burnt-offering, or, as in the case of some other forms of sacrifice, choice portions of the victim, and lay them upon the great altar of burnt-offering, where they were burned in the holy fire which had come out from God. To use the remarkable language of the Old Testament, the victim became the bread or the food of God. Finally, there came the feasting on the sacrifice. In the whole burnt-offering there could be nothing of the victim eaten, because the peculiarity of that kind of sacrifice consisted in the fact that the whole victim was burnt; but there was always offered with the burnt-

offering a meal-offering, part of which was eaten by the priest. In the case of the peace-offering the eating was much more emphasized. The priest had his share, and the offerer and his family had their share. Altogether, there seem to have been six different acts which went to make up the great complex process of sacrifice. The presentation alive, the laying on of hands, and the killing—these three may be described as non-sacerdotal acts, because they were ordinarily performed by the offerer, who was generally a layman. When the priest took part in these acts, he was acting, not as a priest, but rather as an offerer, or as the representative of the offerers. The priestly part in the work of sacrifice consisted in the manipulation of the blood, and in placing the body or part of it on the altar to be burned. Now this may all seem at first sight unfruitful; but I think that it has a great bearing on the way in which we should regard the sacrifice of our Lord, and sacrifice generally under the Gospel dispensation. The question is a very vital one, and it has been answered in various ways—the question, I mean, whether the sacrifice of our Lord simply consists in His death on the Cross; whether His priestly action is confined to His death, or whether His sacrificial action goes on after His death and in His life of glory.

7. ARCHDEACON WILSON.—I think that some apology is needed from me, because of all present I have the least claim to be regarded as a professed theologian. I feel, with respect to these words—Sacrifice and Priesthood—that they are valuable and indispensable, but that they are attended with two bad connotations; and we are such slaves to words that it is extremely difficult for us to think of these words without their connotations. In the first place, there is the association of sacrifice with the idea of a bargain—some bargain struck with God—

which survives though it has been immensely altered since the early days of sacrifice. The second bad connotation, that of the word priest, is that of a human mediator between God and man. The essential thought that should for us Christians underlie the words is that of self-consecration to God, always remembering that self-consecration in our present sinful and imperfect condition of human nature involves suffering. Tracing back our use of the words to the Old Testament, we find that propitiation of God and human mediation—which are the two bad connotations—are practically inseparable from some of the Jewish sacrifices; and these elements in our worship were, in my judgement, entirely abrogated by Christ; and when they have reappeared in the Church they have been mischievous. I cannot regard the eucharist as a sacrifice. It is to me a symbol—so I read my New Testament—a symbol of self-oblation of the mystical body of Christ; an offering of our souls and bodies expressed in actual life in service, whether of the individual, or of the whole body of the Church, or of its representatives—i. e. those who are appointed as its ministers. An extremely important question arises as to the cause of the vitality of what is regarded—by some people at any rate—as the magical view of sacrifice and priesthood. I do not wish to use an objectionable term here, but at the instant no other word occurs to me. There appear to be three causes for this vitality. The first is bad; for unquestionably the magical view has been maintained in all religions in the interest of priestcraft, in the belief that it increases the power of the priest. The second is also bad, or rather arises out of our weakness, namely, the desire on the part of weak human nature for external mechanical support and delegation of responsibility, and to substitute these for the actual devotion of the soul and

spirit to God's service. And the third is good, namely, the recognition that there are, as a matter of fact, special and mysterious means of grace, to feed and support spiritual life—the recognition that just as our earthly life, mysterious and inconceivable as it is, is supported by external means—by the food for our body, food of an organic kind and therefore containing life—so in this unity and continuity of nature our spiritual life may be actually maintained by some similar means.

8. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—I think it would be a real gain were we to eliminate from the discussion all abstract ideas, whether gathered from our conceptions of religion in general, or from certain selected historical and ethnical religions in particular, and to confine ourselves to what alone is really vital, the ideas of sacrifice and of priesthood in the Old and New Testaments. Within these limits three questions seem to me at once to emerge:—What is priesthood? what is sacrifice? and what is the relation between them? If we take our Lord Himself as the normal priest, then we have in Him one who realizes, as the first and essential function of priesthood, mediation. He is mediator by virtue of His very nature as the Word manifest in the flesh, so constituted as to be a daysman between God and us, by the right hand of His divinity laying hold upon God, and by the left hand of His humanity upon man. He is thus, by the very terms of His theanthropic person, able to mediate between the parties at variance, who are absolute contrasts at once in dignity and in moral state or quality of being. And so He could be fitly described as both taken from among men and called of God (Heb. v. 14). The priesthood, as He fills it, is in the Epistle to the Hebrews placed in antithesis to the Levitical (1) inasmuch as it stands for a multitude, where son succeeds father in an order that may not be broken; while He stands alone, 'a priest for

ever after the order of Melchizedek' (v. 6; vii. 1-3, 15-24). (2) Inasmuch as the Levitical priesthood was an order of sinful men, who each needed to sacrifice first for himself and then for the people: but Christ, as sinless, sacrificed for the people without any need of sacrificing for Himself (vii. 26-28). This means that in His case, as in that of His great prototype, His person created His office; the office did not, as in the case of the Levitical priesthood, exist independently of the person (vii. 11-14). The sacrifice which He offers comes in a form that has been expressed by obedience, specifically as obedience to God (x. 7). He does the Father's will (John v. 30; vi. 38). But what turned His obedience into sacrifice? The need which has been variously expressed by the terms expiation, propitiation, atonement. He suffers that He may become the Captain of our salvation and reconcile man to God (Heb. ii. 10, 14; iv. 16; v. 9; Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 19-21). The priesthood, therefore, involves a sacrifice which He Himself constitutes, and which is the necessary basis of His mediation. This sacrifice is expressly directed towards a reconciliation of sinners with the God from Whom their sin has estranged them. Hence out of the mediation which springs out of the person of the priest and the expiation which is achieved by His sacrifice, there comes absolution, which is the bringing to man of forgiveness from God. Without absolution the other functions would fail of their effect. And the three functions are marked by the same quality which distinguishes His person: they are all alike unique. He is the one advocate with the Father (1 John ii. 2); His sacrifice is offered once for all (Heb. ix. 12, 26; x. 10-14); and He alone on earth hath power to forgive sin (Matt. ix. 6; Mark ii. 7, 10; Acts xiii. 38; Eph. i. 7). As to the peculiar nature of His sacrifice, we shall essentially err if we construe it only

through those sacrifices which are specified in the Epistle to the Hebrews or described in the Levitical legislation. We have to remember that an entirely distinct order of sacrifice is to be found in the prophetic writings, where the notion is transferred from an animal victim to a moral person. The most perfect type of sacrifice given in the Old Testament is the Suffering Servant of God, in Isaiah, who bears our sins and carries our sorrows, who is stricken, smitten of God and afflicted, and who stands as a sheep dumb before his shearers (Is. liii). And this Servant is an ideal priest as well as an ideal sacrifice, who redeems and absolves the people whose sins he bears (lix. 20; lxi. 1-3; lii. 7, 13-15), though he stands in absolute antithesis to all that the Mosaic legislation meant by these terms.

9. DR. MOBERLY.—As to the bearing of the Old Testament upon the true meaning of sacrifice and priesthood, I would urge that it is limited. The Old Testament itself is only really understood retrospectively. Of course all that is in the Old Testament is relevant. The New Testament will interpret it all. But the Old Testament is not determinative of the meaning of the New. What things mean in the New Testament, is their true meaning. It is only from *that* that you can go back and find out how all the Old Testament had been (however blindly) leading up to the different elements of the fullness of the truth.

As to the relation of the ceremonial element to the moral, I would say that in all the earlier stages they seem to me to stand comparatively widely apart. In the Levitical law there was a great system of ceremonial, which had indeed an inward meaning, but which was largely separable, in ordinary observance, from its own true inwardness. The prophets are in constant protest against this separation. But it is only very gradually that you approach any true conception of the fusion of

the ceremonial and the moral. The fusion is only complete in the Person of Christ.

The fusion is no merely peaceful climax. Underneath everything connected with sacrifice and priesthood runs a certain assumption of fact, which colours all. This is man's 'disability' (as it may be called in its more rudimentary aspects); a disability which, as more fully realized, becomes the deepening consciousness of sin. I doubt whether, save as within and tinged by the atmosphere of consciousness of sin, the word sacrifice (and its cognates) could be strictly used at all.

I should like to refer to one or two words of Archdeacon Wilson's. He criticized the word 'bargain' as a word of old and false associations. I would suggest that the essence of what underlay the 'bargain' language does not disappear—though the associations may be greatly modified in detail. The word may have primarily suggested a spontaneous agreement between two equal parties. But the free bounty of an immense benefactor does, without previous compact, impose on the recipient the strongest moral obligations of responsive gratitude. The essence of a reciprocal relation is created by his single act. Conceptions gradually deepen. We may learn to transcend the accidental implications of a symbolic word: and yet the essential reality symbolized be not thereby impaired, but more intensely realized.

10. DR. SANDAY.—As the five minutes have expired, I should like to know, Dr. Moberly, with what further subjects you were proposing to deal.
11. DR. MOBERLY.—I was proposing to welcome the Archdeacon's phrase 'self-consecration' in relation to sacrifice, *but with a considerable difference*; and I was going to challenge his implication that events 'in time and space' could not be real causes of vast results in the spiritual sphere.

12. DR. RYLE.—With regard to the presuppositions of New Testament doctrine, I have been very strongly impressed with the remarkable manner in which the conceptions of sacrifice and priesthood have come round in the present day to what seems to have been the original conception that prevailed in the most primitive times. The history of sacrifice and priesthood seems to pass through three periods—(1) the prehistoric period, (2) the Old Testament period, and (3) the New Testament period. In the case of sacrifice, the thought of communion with the unseen power, and in that of priesthood the thought of service by means of representation and of self-dedication, take us back to primitive ideas. The Old Testament presents a stage of development in regard to sacrifice in which the primitive ideas are no longer actually present. They represent the three aspects called the eucharistic, the dedicatory, and the piacular ; but the piacular idea of sacrifice is largely predominant. Then with regard to priesthood, the two ideas of making offerings and of making expiation are combined in the earliest conceptions. The Jewish system received in Christ so complete a fulfilment that except by the introduction of metaphor the Jewish ideas no longer have any place in the Christian society. The thought of sacrifice which seems to have been the most prominent one to the Jews was that of expiation. This piacular side of sacrifice has been completely absorbed in the death-offering of Christ. I imagine that what may be called the piacular side of the priesthood is one which is present in the priesthoods of all religions ; and what Dr. Moberly has said about the sense of man's disability lies at the bottom of all priesthoods, ethnic and Jewish alike. Sacrifice is needed to express man's disability, and the desire of obtaining atonement. Now if the atonement is perfect and complete, as we receive it in the New Testament, the fundamental

piacular idea of priesthood and sacrifice has been, as it were, abolished in Christ, and only the more general and secondary purposes of priesthood and sacrifice remain.

13. DR. SALMOND.—The presuppositions of the New Testament ideas of *sacrifice* and *priesthood* are to be sought chiefly, if not wholly, in the Old Testament. Little is gained, it seems to me, by attempting to go beyond that. It is in terms of the Old Testament system that the New Testament speaks of these ideas; and it is in the light of Old Testament conceptions, institutions, and usages that the New Testament conceptions and expressions are to be interpreted.

With respect to the idea of *sacrifice*, it does not appear to me to be possible to get to anything *generic*. It is doubtful whether we can unite in a single, definite idea the various terms, notions, and usages connected with sacrifice even in the Old Testament itself. Far less are we entitled to say that we can travel back, by the way of history and archaeology, to the primitive idea of sacrifice. We have not the means of reaching a conception which can be called *generic*, or of which it can be said that all races had it at first. It is true that a strong case is made out for the idea of a common meal—a participation on the part of a god and his worshippers in a common act of eating and drinking, which was significant of kinship between them—as the original or fundamental conception. But it is in the line of Semitic religion that the argument in behalf of this has been best worked out; and I do not know that we can speak of it as made out in the same way also for the non-Semitic religions. It is a hasty and, to my mind, unscientific way of dealing with such matters when men leap, from a case held to be established on strong grounds of probability for one great class of religions, at once to the conclusion that the same

holds good for all religions. What we actually see in the case of the non-Semitic religions is a number of sacrifices of different kinds and apparently of different meanings, of which we cannot say with any measure of certainty when they arose in the life of the different races, how they stood related to each other, whether they had the same significance in different races, or even in the same race at different periods, or whether they followed the same course of development in the history of different peoples. We are not in a position to affirm even that the unbloody sacrifices preceded the bloody sacrifices in the case of this or that people. Investigation into the history of the non-Semitic religions must be carried much beyond what it has yet reached before we can attain to the generic idea of sacrifice. The real question is, what is the significance that is attached to sacrifice in Scripture itself? and, in particular, what is it in those Old Testament writings and institutions to which the New Testament ideas are most nearly akin?

It appears, then, that in the Old Testament at least three ideas are connected with sacrifice, viz. those of *gift*, *expiation*, and *communion* or *participation*, that is to say, in a common meal. Of these, however, the last has a subordinate place in the Old Testament, particularly in the Levitical system; while in the New Testament it practically disappears. It is true that in the Old Testament acts of eating are mentioned in connexion with certain sacrifices. But it does not appear that the 'eating' was the essence of the sacrificial act. It is assumed that the *Tsebach* was accompanied by a meat-offering. But this is only a probable supposition. And, in any case, it seems to me impossible to explain the most solemn sacrifices of the Old Testament system in terms of the third of these ideas. In the New Testament view of sacrifice the idea of a fellowship

between God and the offerer, or anything like a participation in a common life, is conspicuous by its absence. It cannot be introduced except by recognizing the Lord's Supper to be a 'sacrifice,' and one of a definite kind. The only passage outside this that has any plausible relation to the question is Hebrews xiii. 10. But few will undertake to say, few competent exegetes at any rate, that the 'altar' in view there is that of the Lord's Supper.

The important thing, however, is that there is a distinction between two great orders of sacrifices—those that take the form of thank-offerings and the like, and those that relate to offences. There are some offerings, indeed, in which the specific idea may be doubtful, e. g. the burnt-offerings. But the broad distinction referred to is recognized all through the Old Testament; and it is explicitly affirmed and acted on in the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews (v. 1) having it in view when it speaks of 'every high priest' being ordained to offer 'both gifts and sacrifices for sins.' The distinction is a vital one, and the second class of offerings, the 'sacrifices' as distinguished from the 'gifts,' in other words those offerings which are known as *sin-offerings* and *trespass-offerings*, express the idea of liability or guilt and its removal. They deal with *offences*, with the penalties attached to offences, and the provision for relief. The various theories elaborated by Bähr and others seem to me to fail here, whether we look at them in the light of the statements made in the Old Testament itself on the purpose and efficacy of these sacrifices, or in that of the interpretation of them which is given us in the New Testament. The great passage in Hebrews, ix. 9-14, which again distinguishes between 'gifts' and 'sacrifices,' certainly ascribes to 'the blood of bulls and goats' under the Old Testament a positive efficacy, an efficacy vastly

beneath that belonging to Christ's sacrifice of Himself in death, and one operating in a different sphere of things, but yet a real efficacy, and one meaning the removal of certain disabilities or penalties. These Old Testament sacrifices availed to 'the flesh,' to ceremonial ends, to the rectification of disturbed relations between an Israelite and the law or the congregation, which were caused by some offence; the sacrifice of Christ avails for the 'conscience,' and the removal of guilt in the moral sphere.

This distinction is of importance to the whole question of the relation of the moral to the ceremonial, and in particular to those disavowals or denunciations of sacrifice which are so frequent in the Old Testament itself, especially in the Psalms and Prophets. Like everything else pertaining to worship or service, the ceremonial requirements of the Mosaic system might be observed wrongly or perfunctorily, without a due sense of their meaning and value. It is not strange, therefore, that all through the Old Testament we have strong things said against sacrifices, which are dealt with as a mere *opus operatum*. And in point of fact, it appears that most that is said in this way in the Old Testament refers to the 'gifts' in particular, or to that abuse of the ordinance of sacrifice generally which made it stand for all that was required of the worshipper, and put it apart from the spirit of obedience and the moral qualities of life and duty.

With respect to priesthood, time permits me only to say that in its case, as in that of *sacrifice*, it is difficult to reach the *generic* idea. If we look to the Old Testament itself, however, and to the New Testament interpretations of the term, we see that the general idea of a 'priest' is that he is one who 'draws near to God,' who in doing so brings gifts and offerings, and who does this in particular for others, so that they find access to God through him.

14. CANON GORE.—I should like to make three remarks by way of supplement to my printed answers on questions (1) and (2).

(1) If we look upon sacrifice as a typical act of religion all over the world and at all times, we shall have to admit that it is a typical act which has been always or generally of a social character. It is an act not primarily of an individual man, but of man as a member of a body—a tribe or family or nation or church. In the Bible, sacrifice is closely connected therefore with covenant. The divine covenant is the basis of a *society* first Jewish, then catholic. And as the sacrifices of the Old Testament were the acts of a society, so the eucharist was regarded as 'the Christian sacrifice,' because it was a corporate act in which the whole society was bound together into one body in being bound to God in Christ. The eucharist thus expresses the idea which has most deeply underlain the institution of sacrifice all over the world.

(2) If, with your eye on the records of universal religion, you give the word 'sacrifice' its extended meaning, you include manifold outward ceremonial acts of sacrifice which have exceedingly little ethical meaning. There are sacrifices and rituals which are entirely non-moral. My point is that the institution of sacrifice is presented to us in the Old Testament under the discipline of a divine education; and the New Testament or perfected conception of sacrifice involves the position that the acceptable sacrifice is essentially an offering of persons, and of things or rites only as adjuncts or expressions of persons. Here again the eucharist realizes the ideal of sacrifice, because (according to the truest conception of it, which Augustine is for ever emphasizing) it culminates in the corporate offering of the worshippers, all together in one body offering themselves, their souls and bodies, in union with

the offering of the perfect Person to whom they have been afresh united in the communion of His body and blood.

(3) Sacrifice is a far broader conception than propitiation. Christ's propitiation is not the abolition of sacrifice, but the establishment of the true priestly race, which having won, through His propitiation once made, its position of sonship, can henceforth enjoy and exercise the freedom for approach, the freedom for divine communion, which is the perfection of sacrifice. He not only offered Himself for us, but offered us in Himself. Christ is our High Priest and Sacrifice, in order that we in Him may have both light and power to be ourselves priests and to share His sacrifice. The eucharist is regarded as the chief mode in which the priestly life of the Church is to be expressed or realized. As we look widely over the ethnic religions and, more closely, into the religion of the Old Testament, we are bound always to bear in mind that Christ came 'not to destroy, but to fulfil.'

15. CANON BERNARD.—I believe that hitherto the idea of sacrifice has been too exclusively studied from the Old Testament. That affords an inadequate conception of God's whole dealings with humanity. The most worthy explanation of the universal instinct of sacrifice is that He Himself planted in the minds of all mankind the desire to approach Him and find their way to Him. I cannot admit that communion with the god by a sacrificial meal is an invariable characteristic of sacrifice. It was not so even in Semitic sacrifices, for no one partook of the burnt-offering in Hebrew ritual. Still less can this be made good of sacrifice generally. And I also dissent from the view expressed that sacrifice was primarily a corporate, not an individual act, although the corporate character may preponderate in Semitic sacrifice. But we are dealing with a wider circle of ideas, and Tylor's account of sacrifice in *Primitive Culture*, vol. II. 375 ff., will not justify this

limited view. It is important to decide whether these conceptions are fundamental, because a good deal, and I think too much, has been built upon them in regard to sacrifice in the New Testament.

It is through the instinct of sacrifice in all its varied forms, some lofty, some corrupt and degrading, that mankind have been led up to see ultimately that it is moral obedience and spiritual devotion which are the things that are really acceptable to God. It was these things which were exhibited in the life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. It seems to me that Church teaching and Church ritual have allowed the elements through which this true idea was evolved to influence them too much, and that, having got to the sense that it is moral and spiritual devotion which are really acceptable to God, we might very largely put aside the ideas that have led up to that thought—the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*.

16. DR. DAVISON.—I should not like to say anything that might seem to reflect on the arrangement of these questions. But it seems to me a mistake to begin with the widest generalizations. In attempting to deal with the 'pre-suppositions of New Testament doctrine,' we shall find it almost impossible to define sacrifice in general, and hard to define it even in the Old Testament. I am glad to find Dr. Driver in his printed note makes a similar statement. He doubts whether the Hebrews had any term exactly co-extensive with 'sacrifice.'

The Old Testament doctrine has, of course, an important bearing on the New; but I agree with what Dr. Moberly has said on page 6, that it is only possible to reach real definitions retrospectively. The sacrificial ideas embodied in the Old Testament ceremonial—expiatory, dedicatory, eucharistic, &c.—do not admit of broad generalizations and succinct definitions. These ideas must be clearly distinguished. Whatever word be used—'propitiatory,'

'expiatory,' or 'piacular'—this idea forms an essential element in the Mosaic ritual. And I wish to contend very strongly for this element, viz. the removal of disability arising from sin as the main element in the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ, while it does not belong to the priesthood and the sacrifices of the Christian Church. In speaking of 'a specific Christian idea' of sacrifice, there is some danger of our losing sight of the vital and fundamental distinction between a sacrifice which avails for the remission or removal of sin and other sacrifices, which are only self-dedicatory or eucharistic on the part of the offerer.

17. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—We seem to be all agreed, practically, that the sacrifice of Christ is absolute and real: and that in it is to be found the full interpretation of all that it comes to fulfil—whether (1) in the Levitical ceremonial, which lay nearest to it of all the other religious forms which sacrifice takes; or (2) in the deep moral meanings underlying the term, wherever it is used.

And, in relation to these *moral* meanings, I would venture to doubt whether the terms (1) 'bargain' or (2) 'mediation' ought to be excluded, as Archdeacon Wilson appeared to require. Surely (as Canon Moberly has suggested) the word 'bargain' is only the lowest term of that which, under moral transfiguration, takes the shape of a covenant, a bond, a transaction between two parties which places them under moral and spiritual obligations to one another. The conception of covenant—of a covenanting act—lies deep in sacrifice, and in the Jewish and Christian conceptions of man's relation to God. This might have its germinal expression under the grosser form of a 'bargain' (such as Jacob made on waking from his dream); but our interest lies, not in excluding the term, but in watching the gradual

historical process by which it becomes spiritualized and refined. This is the historical task—to retain the germinal form and to note its moral disclosure.

So, again, with (2) mediation. It had many bare or elementary forms. But Christ is, after all, above everything a Mediator, a human Mediator, a man who stands between us and God. To qualify Himself for this, He became a man—so necessary is human mediation. He adopts the root-conception, uplifts it, transfigures it. That is the moral process which we have to watch.

And, then, about the contrast that has been so frequently made between 'outward' and 'inward' in sacrifice. It has been implied that the moralizing of sacrifice lies in dropping the 'outward' expression and in accentuating solely the 'inward' act of will: so that Christ's perfect sacrifice is wholly inward, 'of the heart.' But is it not essential to sacrifice that it should be the outward act by which the inward intention is realized, is pledged, is sealed? The inward self-dedication only becomes sacrificial when it has discovered the appropriate offering by which it can verify itself. Only through attaining this expression, in outward realization, does the language of sacrifice apply to it. It has somewhat to offer, by which it can pledge its loyalty of self-surrender: there is its relief, its reality. The process by which the sacrifice is moralized is, not by dropping the external offering, but by raising the moral quality of that which it expresses. This can, for ever, be rising higher and higher; but always, as it rises, it will need to make its external offering; and Christ completes all sacrifice because He gives perfect outward expression to the inner motive. He recovers for it its true realization by the offering of His body, by which act, once done, all man's capacity of self-dedication is sealed and crowned. He can take up in His hands, and

bring before God, that in which His oblation of Himself is verified and eternalized.

18. DR. SANDAY.—I find myself in a rather different frame of mind from that of many who have spoken. It is natural to me to approach the subject from below rather than from above, and I may say that I am much impressed by the earlier ideas. I am filled with wonder not at their crudities, but at their promise and depth of meaning.

In regard to what fell from Archdeacon Wilson, I rather deprecate saying, This idea is bad, and that idea is good. They require careful analysis; and when we look into them we find that each of those ideas has bad elements and good elements, and we want to distinguish between them.

Then, again, I feel rather specially bound to lay stress upon those ideas which are not popular and are not attractive to men's minds at the present day. For this reason I welcome very much what Dr. Davison said on the subject of Propitiation. It was also admirably expressed by Dr. Moberly in what he said about disability. I only wish I could express it half so well myself. With reference to what fell from Dr. Salmond and Canon Bernard, I cannot help thinking that their views are somewhat at variance with facts. The idea of life-communion in sacrifice seems to be very deeply rooted indeed. Jevons and Robertson Smith argue that the idea of communion through the sacrificial meal is prior to the idea of gift, tribute, or propitiatory offering, because the idea of kinship is earlier than that of property; and the argument appears to be sound. I think the conception of life-communion, instead of being subordinate, will be found to run right through from the beginning, and what we should like to do would be to watch the gradual purification of those ideas.

I have a feeling that in studying the Old Testament

the ceremonial side does not get justice done to it. We cannot help remembering, for instance, the 84th Psalm—'How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts'—which shows the intense feeling that centred in the Temple and the Temple services. The 122nd Psalm also proves what a strong feeling there was for Jerusalem itself. It all centred in the Temple worship. I am afraid there was a tendency in Dr. Fairbairn's answer to get rid of this ceremonial side rather too much. There is a chapter in Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures* which made a considerable impression upon me when I read it. It referred primarily to the attachment which the Jew had to the Law, and the wealth of meaning that he found in it; and I think we may say the same thing of the ceremonial side of Old Testament religion.

19. THE REV. ARNOLD THOMAS.—Father Puller threw out a hint in regard to the continued sacrifice of our Lord as suggested and symbolized by the complexity of the sacrificial system in the Old Testament, and I would like to say a word as to my own conception of the manner in which that divine sacrifice has been continued since the death of Jesus. Christ died once, and dies no more. He reveals Himself to St. John as the 'Living One.' His sacrifice now, therefore, is not the giving up of life. It is rather the giving out, the communicating, of life. He lives; and He lives in direct relations with His people—knowing their works, concerned in their welfare, moving hither and thither among the golden candlesticks, aware of all that is happening, and having His part in it all. Now if in the idea of sacrifice there are the three ideas of giving something that is precious, of suffering or cost connected with that giving, and of coming into fellowship with another, we see how Christ is still, through His Spirit, continuing His sacrifice.

1. As He gave His body on the cross, so He now gives

His life, His very nature, to those who yield themselves to Him in faith and obedience. It is this perpetual giving which is symbolized by the Sacrament of the Holy Supper. The bread and wine speak to us of the communication of His very self for the nourishment of our souls.

2. This sacrifice always must involve suffering so long as men reject Him, and grieve His Spirit. He is persecuted by Saul of Tarsus: He is trodden under foot, and crucified afresh, by those who forsake and despise Him. As Browning puts it:—

‘Is not His love at issue still with sin,
Visibly when a wrong is done on earth?’

This sacrificing of Himself through His identification with our race is suggested in the description of the Last Judgement.

3. As the priest by sacrifice came into fellowship and communion with God, so Christ, ever giving and sacrificing Himself, comes into fellowship and communion with His people. He stands at the door, and knocks, and will come in and sup with those who will receive Him. This is the man-ward aspect of His continued sacrifice. Of its other aspect I do not venture to speak.

The point I would especially urge is, that in the New Testament Christ is constantly represented as being alive, and in living contact with the souls of men. And, if I may say so, it is a distress to me to note the prevailing tendency to localize Him on the altar, or to conceive of Him as being carried in the hands of the priest, because I do not see how that mode of thought is to be reconciled with what I take to be the scriptural conception of a Living Personality, of One who knows, loves, counsels, helps, warns, is ever present in our midst. The ‘Real Presence’ as commonly understood seems to

me to be incompatible with that other ' Presence ' which is so much more real.

20. THE REV. C. G. LANG.—I feel that if any one ought to apologize for taking part in this Conference, it is I. I come from an extremely busy and active life, without the opportunity for thought and study which many here have. Nevertheless, it seems to me that we run the risk of manifold confusion when we attempt to elaborate the ideas underlying sacrifice with anything like systematic precision. We must be content with a general impression, which all forms of sacrifice bear. It is indeed sufficiently striking. It may perhaps be thus described: Sacrifice is the offer by man to God of something which is deemed to be pleasing to God, so that man may thus be put right with God and secure His favour and fellowship. The differences are rather in the *matter* than in the *purpose* of the sacrifice. But sacrifice in some form, as the means to man's union with God, represents one of the fundamental instincts of human nature. In primitive times, the conception of what is pleasing to God shares the imperfections of the conception of God's nature.

The characteristic mark of the Old Testament stage in the development of the idea of sacrifice is the impressive insistence on moral righteousness as the offering which pleases God and restores man to His favour and fellowship. The ethical conception of sacrifice was the great gift of the prophetic teaching. They sought to raise the fragments of ceremonial sacrifice which they found existing to this high level.

It is essential to remember that the full development of the ceremonial law of sacrifice came after, not before, the prophets. They were not in essential opposition to one another. The ceremonial law carried with it the ethical teaching of the prophets. It was its expression

in ordered and elaborated symbol. The elaboration of the symbolic element may have resulted in the practical obscuring of the ethical element. But the ethical purpose was *there*. The fundamental conception was still the offering of righteousness—the abandonment of the sinful will, the acceptance of its penalty.

Further, the corporate as well as the individual conception of sacrifice was strongly brought out. The sacrifice was the act of the people, or of the individual as a member of the chosen people. The highest spirit of Jewish sacrifice was expressed in the conception of the 'suffering servant,' the embodiment or type of the nation offering righteousness perfected by penitence and the acceptance of penalty to Jehovah. These conceptions were fulfilled in the great offering of the righteous will of the Son of Man to the Father.

The ethical and the corporate conceptions of sacrifice are both fulfilled in the great offering of the life and death of man's Representative. Being thus a perfect fulfilment, His sacrifice is eternal. The perfect is the eternal. It is not past only—it is eternally present. And by virtue of our union with Christ as the members of His body, we have our share in the presentation and the efficacy of that eternal sacrifice.

21. THE REV. A. C. HEADLAM.—Many of our difficulties arise, I think, from definitions and meanings of words. We are in danger too of making some rather crude, and as I believe, unreal distinctions. An instance would be the tendency, a tendency which I have noticed is becoming rather common in certain writers, of emphasizing very strongly the distinction between the prophetic and Levitical elements in the Old Testament, and of condemning the latter, or at any rate minimizing very considerably its importance. This cannot be defended either on critical or historical grounds. Critically, even

if the origin of the Levitical element is different, its presence in the canon is not affected; historically, the Levitical element was as essential to the development of the Jewish nation as the prophetic. It formed the framework without which the continuity of the religion and life of the nation would have been impossible; while for a Christian the authority of either is equally good. We accept the Old Testament on the authority of Christ, and Christ bears witness to both the Law and the Prophets. Dr. Fairbairn, I notice, would go even further and eliminate the Levitical element from the New Testament idea of sacrifice. That is, I believe, impossible. To take only one instance: the Levitical as well as the prophetic idea was in St. Paul's mind when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans. You cannot read the third verse in the twelfth chapter without seeing that at once.

A similar distinction, often made very crudely, is that between the moral and ceremonial. Throughout history we find the moral taught through the ceremonial, and the ceremonial necessary for the expression of the moral. Even if we take one of the most rudimentary forms of sacrifice—the banquet that the Homeric chieftain gives to his gods—there was a moral element in it. All the moral element that there is in showing hospitality would be present in what was religious hospitality. Among the Jews their sacrifices and sacrificial ideas gradually inculcated the lessons of obedience, self-sacrifice, and self-dedication, and these had their supreme manifestation in the sacrifice of Christ. May I express my thanks to Archdeacon Wilson for showing that our sacrifices, imperfect although they are, may be of the same character as the sacrifice of Christ Himself?

I should like to inquire how far we can really say, as has been suggested, that prayer is in a sense 'pro-

pitiatory'; and if prayer, which is human and limited by the conditions of humanity, can be, whether the same can be used of anything else that we are able to do?

22. DR. FORSYTH.—One feels in discussions of this kind one's own unfitness swamped in a sense of the unworthiness of mankind to penetrate into these great mysteries, and our inability to do so because of our distance from the Saviour. I make that remark as striking my keynote in approaching these questions in such brevity. Confining myself as far as possible to the suggestions which have been placed upon the table, and with special reference to the relation between the Old and the New Testaments, I would say that in the Old Testament it is the prophet that interprets the priest much more than the priest that interprets the prophet. We might extend that reference and say that instead of carrying forward both priest and prophet we should look upon the New Testament as continuing and interpreting the prophetic rather than the priestly line. The Apostle represents the prophet, while no Christian carries on the priest. The one was an inspiration, the other an institution. It may be possible to indicate the relation between the two Testaments, both as to sacrifice and in other respects, in this way—that while the Old Testament explains or accounts for the New Testament, the New Testament interprets the Old. Throughout, it appears that the moral interprets the ritual and the ethical interprets the ceremonial. One is struck by the general recognition to-day of the developing principle pervading the Old Testament, namely, that sacrifice is in the nature of it righteousness, not a substitute for it. Sacrifice is in the nature of it obedience. It is not an experiment on God's mercy, but an obedience to the institution of His grace. If we look to the *continua* of the Old and New Testaments, I think the most important

of all is this, that the typical relation of man to God is obedience, especially in its inward and spiritual form of faith. Sacrifice both in the Old and the New Testaments is in its nature personal—it refers to the attitude of the heart and will towards God. Another *continuum* is this, that the primary relation of sacrifice in both cases is to sin, not service. It is piacular more than altruist, it bears on God more than man, on forgiveness more than help. Further, every man is his own priest, both in the oldest Old and the whole New Testament, by God's ordinance and God's grace. Yet in both sacrifice is a corporate thing. It is chiefly the nation's in the Old Testament, and in the New Testament it is Christ's as our federal head. Moreover, in both it is the fruit of grace and not its root. There is no reconciling of God. In the Old Testament there was judgement for those sins outside sacrifice and mercy. In the New Testament both these lines converge in the sacrifice of Christ, which was the judgement of sin no less than its forgiveness. I was going on to say that ritual and ceremony belong to the primary and educational stage, and that they have done a good deal, perhaps most, in the history of religion to retain man in that stage of minority, when they ought to have passed him on towards their complete realization in Christ. In both Testaments, ritual develops towards its own absorption and disappearance.

[At this point the five minutes' speeches ended, and the general discussion began.]

23. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Dr. Sanday, the possible varieties in the interpretation of the ideas as to sacrifice and priesthood in the Ethnic religions are practically infinite; and

- so were we to attempt to enter this field we should be betrayed into a vaster inquiry than we can here pursue. I feel, therefore, that it would be better for us to confine our discussions to the ideas that underlie priesthood and sacrifice in the Holy Scriptures. If this be allowed, then I should like Canon Moberly to explain certain statements concerning the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ which he has made in his answers to the first and second questions.
24. THE REV. C. G. LANG.—May I point out that that is what we are to discuss this afternoon?
 25. DR. SANDAY.—I think we are coming on to that. It seems to be an answer to the question we dealt with this morning.
 26. DR. MOBERLY.—The first subject we have for this afternoon is the sacrifice of Christ. Personally I should prefer not to enter on that subject in the form of an answer to a question, this morning.
 27. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Very well then, we have all spoken this morning about priesthood and sacrifice in general; but I feel that what we really need to do is to try to express what we mean by priesthood and sacrifice in our own religion. So far as it is concerned, sacrifice may be corporate without being external.
 28. DR. MOBERLY.—I think that it is precisely in the New Testament that the real explanation of the terms is to be found.
 29. THE REV. ARNOLD THOMAS.—It seems to me that the question of the priesthood is not receiving so much attention as that of sacrifice.
 30. CANON GORE.—The question hinges round the corporate character of sacrifice. I cannot conceive that corporate rites, or corporate religion, or corporate sacrificial life, can be carried on otherwise than through outward acts.
 31. DR. SALMOND.—It would be useful to define the meaning

of this word 'corporate.' There is the corporate idea in the Old Testament view of the relation of God to Israel as a people. There is the corporate idea also in the system of sacrifice under the Levitical institutions, and in a very definite form in the ceremony of the great Day of Atonement, in which the High Priest acted in behalf of the whole people, and offered sacrifice for the sins of the year. But what of the New Testament and the Christian system?

32. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—What I wished to call attention to was this: the external expression is not necessarily the corporate, nor is the corporate necessarily external. The two ideas are quite distinct; there may be a sacrifice which is corporate yet not external.
33. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—Our point is that a corporate act must be external to the individuals who unite to make it.
34. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—We agree that there can be no religion without its proper external expression. That is one thing, but it is quite another thing to say that the corporate act or expression must be external. The corporate is not the corporeal, but may even be its antithesis or negation. The sacrifice of Christ expressed corporate relations and interests, but these were not exhausted by His corporeal form and suffering.
35. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—No; but the corporeal form supplies the externality which is essential to a corporate act of sacrifice.
36. DR. MOBERLY.—It is not necessary to say that the external involves the corporate.
37. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—The sacrifice is not identical with the righteousness which is the spirit of the sacrifice. Our Lord's action, when He says 'I come to do Thy will,' becomes a sacrifice, because he offers His sacred humanity; that is, an outward offering by which the inward will is

realized as a sacrifice ; and the sacrificial language we use about our thoughts and prayer and praise is only intelligible in view of the fact that there is a sacrificial gift and outward act which constitutes them our sacrifices.

38. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—What is the sacrificial idea behind this sacrificial language ?
39. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—The outward sacrifice of Christ's body, in union with which we offer our inward spiritual sacrifices.
40. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—If the sacrifices be inward can they be corporeal acts ? and in what sense are they corporate ?
41. CANON GORE.—Surely what our Lord created for us by His expiatory sacrifice was the freedom of approach to God. It is that expiation of His which admits us into that life which is (not in the expiatory, but in the more fundamental and general sense) sacrificial. The wisest and truest use of language appears to me to restrict the phrase 'propitiation' or 'expiation' to Christ's initial work for us ; but to assert also that propitiation does not exhaust sacrifice, but rather restores the worshipper to its true and original exercise.
42. DR. SALMOND.—We have again and again, as I have said, and in very explicit terms in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the distinction drawn between two sacrifices—gifts and sacrifices for sin. Now when Canon Scott Holland speaks of our 'sacrifices,' does he mean that they belong to the second category—sacrifices for sin ? I admit that the New Testament says that we have sacrifices to offer, but in what sense and of what kind ?
43. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—Only in the sense that Christ was our sacrifice, and that we take part in His atoning sacrifice.
44. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Does then our sacrifice like His atone for sin ?
45. DR. MOBERLY.—Apart from Him it does not.

46. DR. SALMOND.—Apart from Him, we all agree, it has no virtue. But has any sacrifice we can offer any virtue in itself, or any such expiatory virtue as His has?
47. DR. MOBERLY.—We become a part of His sacrifice, and our acts are echoes or expressions—the result of God's grace and not the cause.
48. DR. SALMOND.—Is there anything in the New Testament which attributes to our sacrifices the capability of effecting the remission of sins, any propitiatory or expiatory efficacy?
49. CANON GORE.—My inclination would be to deny that our sacrifices were propitiatory or expiatory.
50. MR. ARNOLD THOMAS.—What sacrifices are we speaking of?
51. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—We are speaking of the sacrifice of a broken heart, and the value it has in Christ.
52. DR. SALMOND.—We all agree that the grace of the Spirit comes to us through Christ, and that it is only in virtue of that that any offering we are competent to make has any worth.
53. MR. LANG.—May I ask what Dr. Salmond means by sacrifices? I think he has in his mind such sacrifices as the offering of prayer for forgiveness of sins.
54. DR. SALMOND.—Yes. The sacrifices which the New Testament speaks of the believer as offering are those 'spiritual sacrifices' of which prayer is one.
55. MR. LANG.—Then our prayer for forgiveness of sin would avail, not for any inherent efficacy of its own, but because it unites us with the atoning sacrifice of Christ.
56. DR. FORSYTH.—I would ask, can the Church reproduce the sacrificial act which constituted it?
57. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—No.
58. MR. HEADLAM.—May I inquire in what way is the prayer of a righteous man efficacious—in what way is it propitiatory or expiatory?

59. DR. MOBERLY.—I think that the question might be asked even more effectively with reference to penitence ; because penitence, in relation to sin has certainly about it something which can be described as of an ‘ atoning ’ character.
60. DR. SALMOND.—I should hold the term ‘ atoning ’ entirely inapplicable to penance or to prayer.
61. MR. HEADLAM.—I want to know whether we can get at a definition which will bring this home to us. It is because of Christ’s death and sacrifice that we are in mystical union with Him.
62. CANON GORE.—I think that every one must admit that we avoid an extraordinary amount of misrepresentation and misunderstanding if we limit such phrases as propitiatory and expiatory to the work of Christ *for* us. It is only a limitation of phrase adopted to express what we all mean.
63. MR. HEADLAM.—There is no doubt that a very large part of Christendom, both in the East and the West, believe that the eucharist is propitiatory. Although we don’t agree with that, we must find out what inherent and fundamental truth there is in it. Can we in any sense say that prayer is propitiatory, although we dislike the phrase? In the same way they may say that the eucharist should be propitiatory, although we wish to avoid the phrase.
64. DR. SALMOND.—Of course the Roman Catholic Church goes far beyond that.
65. DR. MOBERLY.—I don’t think you can ask what the sacrifices of a Christian are, on the hypothesis that they can conceivably be at all apart from Christ. The hypothesis implies a distinction which is necessarily misleading.
66. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Then are you not arguing for a position which identifies the creation with the Creator ; the equivalent in Christian Theology of Pantheism in Philosophy?
67. DR. MOBERLY.—I do not think so.

68. DR. SANDAY here intimated that the time for the adjournment had arrived.
69. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—I think, Dr. Sanday, you have every reason to congratulate yourself with regard to this conference. It has begun well and is leading up to important questions.

The Conference then adjourned.

SECOND DISCUSSION.

1. DR. SANDAY.—I think it will be best on the whole to follow the same order of proceeding as this morning. We shall have to finish quite punctually by half-past six, and I therefore think we will begin with five-minute speeches. I will once more call upon Father Puller to commence.
2. FATHER PULLER.—I will take up the line I suggested this morning in regard to the complex character of the sacrificial act as set forth in the Old Testament, and apply it to that which we are now prepared to discuss—the New Testament doctrine of sacrifice and of priesthood. I would lay great stress on the thought that while our Blessed Lord's death on the cross is a most essential and fundamental element in His sacrifice, His priestly work is especially to be connected with His life in glory. I have pointed out that the killing of the sacrifice was not in the typical dispensation a sacerdotal act, and that it was only accidentally that a priest ever took any part in it, and that when on any occasion the priest did kill the victim, he was not acting as a priest, but rather as the offerer. Similarly I am accustomed to regard our Lord, when He was dying on the cross, rather as the victim than as the priest. This, I think, is the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The author of that Epistle seems always to connect our Lord's priesthood with His life in the state of glory. I would refer specially to Heb. ii. 17; v. 5-10; vi. 20; vii. 28; viii. 2, 3; and I would lay stress on the fact that Dr. A. B. Davidson, of Edinburgh, in his remarkable commentary on the Epistle to the

Hebrews, to a great extent bears me out. Dr. Davidson, on p. 151, says:—‘It is doubtful if the Epistle anywhere regards the Son’s death considered merely in itself as a priestly act. . . . The Epistle seems to confine the high-priestly ministry to the acts done in the sanctuary, and to refrain from including under the priesthood, when it is spoken of distinctively, any acts not done there.’ I would call special attention to what is said about our Lord’s becoming a High Priest in Heb. v. 5–10. The holy writer says:—‘So Christ also glorified not Himself to be made a High Priest, but He that spake unto Him, “Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee.”’ Here I note in passing that our Lord’s elevation to the High Priesthood is by implication described as a *glorification* of Him by the Father; and it is also implied that the Father was glorifying the Incarnate Son to be High Priest, when in the words of the second Psalm He said, ‘Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee.’ But those words are interpreted by St. Paul of our Lord’s Resurrection (see Acts xiii. 33 and Rom. i. 4). The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews goes on to say:—‘As He saith also in another place, “Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.”’ And these words are taken from Psalm cx., a psalm of our Lord’s life in glory, a psalm which begins with the words, ‘The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.’ Thus our Lord’s glorification to be High Priest is connected with His resurrection and His session in the heavenly places. The rest of the passage, Heb. v. 7–10, will be found to corroborate this result. Thus, it would appear that, when our Lord entered the heavenly sanctuary and was about to present Himself to the Father, He became a High Priest, and in some mysterious way He fulfilled what the high priest did on the Day of Atonement, when he went within the veil

and offered the blood. Again, our Lord no doubt also fulfilled the other priestly act of presenting His Holy Body as a sacrifice.* St. John, in the Book of the Revelation, looking up into heaven, saw 'in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a Lamb standing as though it had been slain.' There was the sacrifice in heaven. The lamb was the sacrificial animal *par excellence*, and our Lord is described not simply as the Lamb, but as the ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, which last word is the usual word in Leviticus for the mactation of sacrifices. Yet the Lord is not now dead. He is *standing*, for He is alive for evermore. Thus He is represented as a *living* sacrifice, who has passed through death. The Jewish sacrifices had to be offered in death with no resurrection life in them; while the Christian sacrifice has passed through death and 'is alive for evermore.'

3. ARCHDEACON WILSON.—The special subject we have to consider is the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ. I think that when we are speaking of the sacrifice of Christ we are speaking of the work of One whom we can only imperfectly understand even in His functions and relations to man, and still more imperfectly in His divine and eternal relations to God. Those relations existed prior to, and during, and subsequent to that which we speak of as His earthly life and death which took place in time. Much of the confusion and difficulty arises in speaking too positively and precisely of an aspect of the subject with which we are necessarily unable to grapple. I desire, therefore, to put those latter relations aside as unknown to us except through revelation as in a glass darkly; and to concentrate our thoughts on His human work, which we have the faculties, at any rate in part, for understanding. Those functions, seen from their human side, are in the strictest sense an atonement or reconciliation with God

through identity of will, perfect obedience, and service ; and are therefore, it seems to me, rightly described as priestly and sacerdotal, and are the perfect model for our imitation. The only part of Christ's sacrifice we can repeat in this spirit, forming, as we do, His body on earth, is the perpetual consecration of life in obedience to His spirit. Now with this understanding our priesthood and sacrifice are of the same nature as His, and that is as far as they are capable of intelligible statement. Something I said this morning made it seem to one speaker that I demur to the very use of these words. I do not demur to the use of the words priesthood or sacrifice, although they have the misfortune of gathering around them some misleading associations. I think the only test we have of truth in religion is vitality and permanence. Ideas which are permanent, must be rooted in human nature, and are not accidents of association, or of race, or of education. It is on these grounds of vitality and permanence that we are obliged to believe in the personality of God, in the possibility of approach to Him through prayer, in the possibility and reality of the eternal life. Sacrifice and priesthood come into that category, and have been so vital in human nature as to lay claim to correspondence with real truth. The danger to us is that we should be drawn back into the lower and magical conception of a sacrificing priesthood, when we should go forward towards the higher and ethical. The thought of God—of our service to Him—has to be detached from the materialistic conceptions and made more spiritual. This appears to me to have been the special characteristic of Christ as a teacher.

4. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—When we come to our Lord's own teaching we are met by the difficulty that He never names Himself a priest, makes no explicit reference to

His priesthood, and does not interpret His death in the terms of the Levitical sacrifices. If we grant the presence of the priestly idea in His mind, we shall be all the less able to regard this failure to find some fit ritual expression for it as accidental or insignificant. On the contrary, it may better be described as abstention than as silence or as reticence. If we conceive how the priesthood and their ritual constituted the very atmosphere within which the local religion lived and breathed, we shall see how impossible it was, spontaneously or undesignedly, to think or speak concerning worship in terms which shut them out. But this our Lord did, never speaking of Himself or His disciples as priests, or indulging in any form of sacerdotal speech. If we are to seek a reason for this remarkable abstention, we shall find it in the governing idea or thought which filled His mind. This is embodied in the title which, if He does not directly use it of Himself, He yet expressly invites and allows others to apply to Him—the Christ. (Cf. Matt. xvi. 16; xxvi. 63; xxvii. 11, 12, 17, 22.) He is the Messiah; it is because He claims to be the Messianic King that He is crucified; and the kingdom He founds, with its laws and ideals of conduct and worship, is the social expression of His Messianic kingdom. Out of the same title grew the functions He described Himself as having come to fulfil, especially those which stood directly associated with His sacrifice. Thus it is out of Peter's famous confession which our Lord Himself elicits, 'Thou art the Christ,' that His first explicit reference to His sufferings and death grows (Matt. xxi. 16, 21). The Messianic idea is even more distinctly expressed in the second reference: 'the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many' (Matt. xx. 26-28). The associations here are not those of a

priestly ransom, but of a kingly sacrifice; the act of One whose right was to be ministered unto, but whose actual work was to minister. Hence He places His sacrificial kingdom in contrast to the dominion exercised by the great ones of the earth; they lord it over man, while He redeems by giving Himself unto death. When He goes up to Jerusalem it is the Messianic idea which fills His mind, and the minds alike of His disciples and of the people (Matt. xxi. 5, 9, 12-17). He is welcomed as David's son, and does not refuse the name; the question He puts to the Pharisees is, 'What think ye of the Messiah? Whose son is He?' (Matt. xxii. 41-46). When He institutes the Supper He does not cease to be the King, nor does He become a priest save in the sense in which every Hebrew father was a priest. The vision which fills His imagination was Israel coming out of the house of bondage, the great domestic sacrifice by which it was achieved, and the solemn domestic ceremonial by which it was commemorated. His death was the reality foreshadowed in those paschal sacrifices which belonged to the family and not to the priesthood; and it signified that in His blood a new covenant had been established, which meant that a new people stood before God, because God had become a new and more gracious Redeemer of His people (Matt. xxvi. 17-28; Luke xxii. 14-20; 1 Cor. xi. 23-25). But though emphasis falls on the lamb, and the blood, and the covenant, there is no place for the priest; the father, the family, the household are all here, but not the temple or any of the forms proper to sacerdotal worship (Ex. xii. 3, 21-28, 43-46).

5. DR. MOBERLY.—I said this morning that the ceremonial and the moral, the inward and the outward of sacrifice and priesthood were but very gradually fused, and fused perfectly only in the person of Jesus Christ. In Him

outward actions or sufferings were the direct expression of the consecrated will ; along this line of thought I can re-echo much of what Archdeacon Wilson said just now.

But if His sacrifice may be said to find its culmination in consecration of will, I utterly demur to any inference that the darker implications of Old Testament sacrifice have therefore passed out of the word. It is the whole Old Testament, not one aspect of it, that is fulfilled in the New. If there is the prophetic protest against merely outward sacrifice, there is also the whole ritual of sacrifice itself to be accounted for ; and the principle which lies far back in it, that 'without shedding of blood is no remission.' Nothing of all this is in vain. It is *all*—not abolished, but taken up and made vital in Christ.

I do not dwell now on the thought (supremely important though it is) that the term 'blood' never simply means death, but essentially life ; though, no less essentially, life that has passed through dying. I do not go further into that. But if we speak of the supreme sacrifice as finding its culmination in consecration of will, obedience, &c., the obedience in question is not so much obedience in its other, or brighter aspects, as particularly the obedience of *penitence*. It is the culmination of moral righteousness *in reference to sin*—the actual consummation of perfection of penitence. Penitence, on analysis, is found to require no less than personal identification with absolute holiness ; but with holiness particularly in its aspect as the absolute condemnation of sin. All penitence within our experience is *imperfect* penitence. Perfect penitence is only possible to the personally sinless. In Him it would mean the surrender of self, on sin's account, as part of the self's relentless condemnation of sin, by virtue of that self-identity with sinful man, which was constituted by the Incarnation, for the very purpose that this sacrifice might be possible.

I am endeavouring to answer Dr. Fairbairn's question as to the meaning of my printed definition of the sacrifice of Christ. It is the self-consecration of the absolutely sinless, self-identified with the sinful—so that the absolute condemnation by righteousness, of sin, may be made complete by the self, within the self, and at the cost of the self; which is the ideal consummation of what penitence, if ever it could be absolutely perfect, would mean.

My time is finished. If I am able to add anything further, I would rather try to do so in the time of general conversation by-and-by.

6. DR. RYLE.—I think it is essential that our attention should be called to the absence from our Lord's teaching of anything definitely relating to His priesthood. Our Lord, who called Himself the Good Shepherd, and who identified Himself with 'the Lamb who was slain,' never identified Himself with the priest, whose work was necessarily occupied in the constant performance of animal sacrifice; though He dwelt in an atmosphere of ritual associated with the sacrifice of animals, and was Himself connected by relationship with one who was born a priest. Our Lord and His great forerunner were prophets and teachers; and that part of their work stands in the forefront of the Gospel teaching. True, our Lord appropriated to Himself terms implying consecration; and He called Himself a ransoming victim. But this was only metaphorical language that would naturally be employed in addressing Jewish hearers. In the institution of the Last Supper He introduced a memorial of His death, a feast of sacrifice which was associated with the thought of the lamb of the Passover, when the victim was not killed by the priest, but by the head of the household. Moreover, both in the institution of this sacrament and in the words with reference to Holy Baptism, our

Lord addressed Himself to the Apostles as representatives of the whole Society, and not as any priestly order. The work of our Lord as a priest will include, of course, His function of intercession, benediction and absolution. These belong to His eternal priesthood. So far as His historic work is concerned, there is no teaching in the New Testament which would imply either that His mediatorial office and sacrifice for sin were otherwise than completely finished in Himself and in His own person; or that the duties of service are not to be performed by all alike who were His disciples. The priesthood and sacrifice of Christ 'in the heavenlies,' in the presence of the Father, seem to me matters quite beyond the range of our conception. The self-surrender of Christ is presented to us in the New Testament as a propitiatory offering. The metaphor was intelligible to the Jews, although it may not be to the modern and Western minds which are quite unfamiliar with the eastern sacrificial idea. The Apostolic writer, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, speaks of the Levitical system as coming to an end. In Christ the old sacrifices were abolished. The law and the prophets were 'fulfilled' in the sense of receiving their full and final meaning, not of obtaining a new and undefined expansion. The work of Christ as the Divine Head which has to be continued by His 'society' or 'body' is not the work of expiation. I cannot understand any way in which that atoning work of Christ, once completed, can be said to be carried on by those for whom the historic sacrifice was offered.

7. DR. SALMOND.—In endeavouring to ascertain the New Testament ideas of sacrifice and priesthood, we should begin, I think, with our Lord's own words, and try to get His own conception of His work. From this we should next proceed to the teaching of the various New Testament writers.

There is less of direct utterance, however, on these subjects in our Lord's own words than we should expect, especially with regard to priesthood. He does not speak directly of Himself as a priest. He speaks of His work, however, in priestly terms, and in terms of a sacrifice. He speaks in general terms of 'giving His life for the sheep,' of 'sanctifying Himself,' or setting Himself apart as a sacrifice in His death, &c. But He speaks also more specially of 'giving His life a ransom for many,' and the idea of 'ransom' (*λύτρον*) is that of procuring by a price or payment a great benefit, such as a deliverance from captivity or from the doom of death. And in another saying of fundamental importance He speaks of His blood (of which the Supper was to be the memorial, and the shedding of which was the great act of His ministry) as a covenant offering—that in which the new covenant was founded as the Sinaitic covenant had been founded in the blood of sacrifices of old, and not only so, but as having specifically in view 'the remission of sins' (Matt. xx. 28, with parallels). According to His own testimony, therefore, the act or work which made His peculiar sacrifice was not one done simply for the good of others, but definitely for the remission of sin, i.e. the cancelling of guilt, or the relief from penalty.

When we look to the New Testament writings we find that the various expressions used by Christ Himself are taken up and have their sense developed. The work, the death, the sacrifice of Christ, is presented by the several writers in different aspects, and with different points of incidence. Peter, e.g. speaks of it as a redemption from a vain traditional way of life (1 Pet. i. 18–20), but also as a 'bearing of our sins in His body' (1 Pet. ii. 24), which has for its effect righteousness and healing. John speaks of it specially as a 'propitiation' (1 John ii. 2 ; iv. 10). With Paul it is an 'offering' and a 'sacrifice' (*προσφορά*,

θυσία, Eph. v. 2), a sacrifice like the Passover (1 Cor. v. 7), but also specially a redemption which 'declares' the 'righteousness of God' in the pretermission of sins (Rom. iii. 25); which had a propitiatory meaning (*ιβ.*); which effects a reconciliation (*καταλλαγήν*) between God and man (Rom. v. 10-11; 2 Cor. v. 18-20); which expiates sin, redeems from the curse of the law, and answers to the 'sin-offering' of old, &c. (2 Cor. v. 21; Gal. iii. 13; Rom. viii. 3; &c.). The Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of Christ as High Priest, and of His offering or sacrifice as the one perfect sacrifice for sins, requiring no repetition, purging sin away, propitiating God in respect of sin, purifying the conscience; obtaining eternal salvation, the remission of sin, &c. (Heb. i. 3; ii. 17; v. 9; vii. 27; ix. 11-14, 26, &c.).

Taking these things together it will appear, I think, that the New Testament draws an absolute distinction between Christ's sacrifice and anything that can be called 'sacrifice' on our part, and this not only in respect of the greater intrinsic worth of the former, or the perfection in virtue of which it needs to be done but once, but also definitely in respect of its efficacy in the cleansing of the conscience, the removal of guilt, the remission of sin, the rectification of broken spiritual relations between God and sinful man. In particular, in the great passage already referred to in Heb. ix. 11-14, Christ's sacrifice is described in terms of the expiatory offerings of the Levitical system, and has a positive efficacy ascribed to it comparable to what they had, but acting in the moral sphere, while they belonged to the ceremonial, and availing for the removal of the penalties or disabilities of sin and the satisfaction of conscience. The New Testament speaks, indeed, of 'sacrifices' which it is competent for us to offer, and to some extent it specifies what these are (Rom. xii. 1; Heb. xi. 15, 16; 1 Pet. ii. 5). But it speaks of these only in

terms of the 'gifts' as distinguished from the 'sacrifices for sins,' and never applies to them the phraseology of the Levitical sin and trespass offerings which is used of Christ's sacrifice. There is nothing in the New Testament, as I read it, to warrant us to speak of the Lord's Supper as a 'sacrifice,' or of the Christian minister as a 'sacrificing priest.' The term 'priest' itself indeed (*ιερεύς*) is not used of the Christian minister as such, though it is used of the Christian man or the Christian people. Nor, again, do I find anything in the New Testament to warrant us to speak of Christ's sacrifice as *continued* in any sense on earth. It has its memorial in the Church, and its virtue abides. But that is all. In the heavenly life Christ's priesthood is continued in the form of intercession, and in the sense that He appears in the presence of God for us (Heb. vii. 25; ix. 24). But beyond this the New Testament does not carry us.

8. CANON GORE.—I should like to say something about the silence of Christ on the subject of His own sacrifice, and our relation to it, as referred to by Dr. Fairbairn. I suppose that as one studies the New Testament documents more closely, nothing gets hold of one more in regard to them than the central place held in the earliest Church by the ideas derived from Isaiah liii. These ideas underlie the early speeches of the Acts in such a way as forces one to realize that from the first beginning of the Church the conception was dominant that Christ's death was the realization of the ideal suggested by Isaiah. And our Lord Himself, in all that central spiritual labour of His life, which consisted in habituating His disciples to the idea of glory through death, was but recalling them to the lost conception. 'Ought not the Christ to have suffered?' was an appeal more especially to Isaiah liii. The forerunner, according to St. John, had already prepared the way for this recall by pointing to Christ as 'the Lamb of God

who taketh up and expiateth the sin of the world.' Surely the idea of Christ the sacrifice is at the very centre and kernel of the New Testament. These general considerations give distinction and emphasis to the one or two special utterances of our Lord about the sacrificial character of His own life and death. The words 'This is My blood which is being shed' (or 'poured out') 'for you,' characterize His death as the spiritual counterpart of the sacrifice which inaugurated the first covenant. There is also the passage 'For their sake I consecrate Myself that they also may be consecrated in truth'—a phrase which identifies priesthood and sacrifice in Christ, i. e. brings out the fact that the sacrifice is essentially *of the person*, which means, of course, that priest and sacrifice are identified. I am afraid that Dr. Fairbairn somewhat left out of sight two important passages when he said that our Lord never associated His own death with that of His disciples. One passage is that in St. John—'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit' (chap. 12, ver. 24). These words were used when the Greeks approached and asked to see Jesus, and Jesus postpones His fruitful manifestation in the wider world until the way has been opened by His death. After using the words I have quoted, our Lord goes on to say, 'He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal,' &c. This means that the law of sacrifice—the law of living through dying—which is the law of His own life is to be also that of His disciples. There is also St. Matthew xvi, where Peter rebukes our Lord for His anticipation of His death, and where our Lord refers to the cross which is to be the instrument of His own death, adding, 'Whosoever will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow

me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it,' &c. Here again He implies that the cross, the instrument of His own sacrifice, is to belong to the disciples as well.

I should have thought, however, that the New Testament as a whole required us to draw a distinction between the spiritual meaning and efficacy of our Lord's dying or our Lord's sacrifice, and anything which we, through Him, can share. I own that I claim to confine the word propitiation to that inaugural act by which our Lord—treading the winepress alone—brought humanity by His single incommunicable act into a new relation to God, and inaugurated a new covenant; and I would altogether reserve that word for the sacrifice of Christ without the least failing to recognize that there is ambiguity in all theological terms, which may give to almost any proposition an almost boundless application. Nevertheless I think that 'propitiation,' and words that go with it, should be strictly reserved for the great inaugural act which reconstituted humanity on a new basis, and inaugurated a new covenant in virtue of the remission of sins which it won for us.

But I should also have thought that propitiation does not exhaust the meaning of Christ's sacrifice. In its deeper sense it expresses what is, even apart from the alienation caused by sin and requiring atonement, the fundamental relation of man to God which Christ restores to us; and in this sense the whole of the New Testament implies that it is to be perpetuated in us and in our religion, both towards God and towards one another.

9. CANON BERNARD.—I do not think that I have anything to add to what has already been so well said on this question by Dr. Salmond and Dr. Ryle. I will only remark that I think that the teaching which has been drawn from Hebrews as to our Lord's high-priestly work

in heaven has been obtained by using the Old Testament to interpret the New, which I do not look upon as legitimate. It has been well said that the Old Testament explains the New Testament, while the New Testament interprets the Old Testament. The distinction between explaining and interpreting is a very important one. But in remarks made at the beginning of our discussion the maxim was practically inverted. I do not like to pass by the opinions expressed this morning as to the possibility of the Church or individuals, by virtue of their union with Christ, exercising the same atoning power for sin which He exercised. Accept that, and you have enough foundation for the doctrine of the Mass. I feel that I must dissent from any agreement with such a view.

10. DR. DAVISON.—I had intended to emphasize the abstention, or silence, observed by our Lord in relation to priesthood, and especially as to any transmission of priesthood or sacrifice in His Church. But almost all the speakers have agreed that such testimony as we have is indirect. Dr. Sanday plainly says so (p. 22), and the passages quoted by Dr. Moberly and Canon Gore imply the same thing. But is not this a very significant fact, especially as much of the indirect evidence is unconvincing?

As to the Apostles, I find for the most part silence among them in relation to our Lord's priesthood—though they have much to say about sacrifice—the exception, of course, being the Epistle to the Hebrews. As Dr. Fairbairn has urged, this silence or abstention is very significant, and weight must be given to it when so much stress is being laid on 'sacerdotal' characteristics. I doubt whether we can build much upon our Lord's priestly work in heaven, because we know so little about it.

Leaving that part of the subject, therefore, I would

refer to that large measure of identification between our Lord's priesthood and that of the Church, or the individual, which some are anxious to establish. I cannot accept such statements as that of Dr. Milligan, 'Whatever the Head is or does, the body must in a measure be or do' (p. 27); or that of Canon Moberly, 'They are what He is' (p. 25). If we are to understand that in any sense our Lord's priestly work is perpetuated in the Church, is the piacular element included in that work? If so, on what basis, with what Scripture sanction? I cannot accept this inclusion in any form.

Dr. Moberly said that 'the chief atoning element in the world is penitence,' and if that be the main element in Christ's atoning work, we might be said in some sense to continue it. But surely this is misleading. M'Leod Campbell dwelt unduly upon our Lord's confession of man's sin as atoning, but he did not use the term 'penitence,' which does not properly describe Christ's sacrifice at all. In that sacrifice we cannot share. Whatever it was, it was perfect, offered once for all. It was unique, partly because of His person, partly because of His mission. I find no guidance in the New Testament on this identification of Christ's sacrifice with ours, and I shrink from all language concerning priesthood and sacrifice, which, under cover of expressing one set of ideas, introduces, or makes it easy to introduce, widely different ones.

11. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—I am most grateful to Archdeacon Wilson for his strong assertion of the depth to which the elemental conceptions of priesthood and sacrifice are rooted in the story of human development, and of the necessity of our retaining elements so radical and so vital. They belong to the inherent essential experiences which are the ground of all our inductive certainty.

Any words that have been used which would minimize or explain away such ground ideas, seem to me disastrous to the faith. We have only to consider the living powers that would be gone out of the Creed of Christ, if the appeal to the sprinkling of the blood, the pleading of the one sacrifice and oblation, the uplifting of the cross, were withdrawn as antiquated; and we should be aware how profoundly serious the situation would be.

The Epistle to the Hebrews pronounces the older sacrifices to be antiquated and ready to vanish away on one ground only—i. e. that every detail of the sacrificial system has been taken up into Christ. The blood of bulls and goats is useless—because the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses from all sin. Sacrifice is transfigured, not abolished.

Language has been used to-day implying that Christ came in response to the prophetic, rather than the sacrificial and priestly elements in the older covenant. But is it not the note of the vital difference between the Baptist and Jesus Christ, that the prophetic office had come to an arrest; had found its own impotence to fulfil its aspirations, in the Baptist; and that its advance was blocked unless the road could be opened for it by that which was essentially priestly and sacrificial? The Baptist was a 'prophet, and more than a prophet.' He carried prophecy to its highest value. He shook souls, he convicted, he drew to God. But he was so great a prophet because he knew and confessed that, in exercising the full powers of the prophet he had done nothing to secure his aim. He might preach; men might repent and confess; and yet they were no further on; for the sin was in them, and they could not wipe it out. They could but signalize a need; they could but wait for another to deliver. The prophetic office revealed in the Baptist its own limitations.

And 'the other' would deliver because he would bring into play the regenerating efficacy of sacrifice. He would come to the relief of arrested prophecy by the power of the priest and the victim. 'Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.'

In these words, the Baptist fulfils his mission; he brings the prophetic office of man under the power of the redemptive blood. And is it not worth while to recall the pregnant words which were made the accusation of our Lord at His trial? We know from St. John their true form and intention. 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' He was speaking of the temple of His body. The old temple would be destroyed by its sin; but its significance, as the home-altar of sacrificial acts, would become alive again in Him, would be absorbed into Him. And this would be through and in His body—the body in which He died the death; the body which was prepared for Him—the body of His offering.

These words hold in them the whole Epistle to the Hebrews. And they were uttered at a moment which revealed to the disciples the passionate attachment of our Lord to the old temple and its worship, which burnt in Him as a fire.

12. DR. SANDAY.—I should like to say a word in regard to the silences of Scripture. I think it is quite possible to lay too much stress upon these. If we take only one passage—that great passage which contains the Words of Institution (Matt. xxvi. 28, and parallels), we find that they are full of sacrificial meaning. I think I should estimate the extent of the sacrificial element in the teaching of St. Paul much higher than Dr. Fairbairn has done. Nearly all the references to the 'Blood' of Christ must be sacrificial. So also would be the use of *ιλαστήριον*, *ιλάσκεσθαι*, *ιλασμός*. I see that Dr. Fairbairn questions the Levitical

sense of *ἰλαστήριον* (p. 27) ; but I think that he would find most commentators against him on that point. There are great masses of sacrificial teaching in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Does not all this language point backwards to something? Could we not understand it much better if there had been something in our Lord's teaching to suggest it? Can a saying so weighty as that of our Lord to which I have referred (Matt. xxvi. 28) stand quite alone? In any case it is an exceedingly pregnant saying.

Then there is the great point which was raised by Dr. Davison, a point on which I am specially looking for help from our discussions. I mean the identification of the acts or functions of the Church as the Body of Christ, with those of Christ as its Head. A few years ago I should have been content to take a view which I understand is that of Dr. Davison and of Canon Bernard ; but I have been obliged to ask myself whether, in doing so, I should have really done justice to the teaching of Scripture; and that is what is haunting my mind at the present time. On the other hand I must confess that my imagination is staggered by Dr. Moberly's answer to Question 5 (p. 31). It is so very large, and so very inclusive; and the question, to my mind, is, whether I can make such language a reality to myself. I see its depth, and fullness, and richness. I see it all ; and I am well aware that there is a great deal of very remarkable teaching in the Epistles. I will only now express my own great gratitude for what I have heard to-day. You will not ask me to express a positive opinion, because I am feeling my way to new ground.

13. THE REV. ARNOLD THOMAS.—In considering the New Testament doctrine of priesthood and sacrifice, it is important to bear in mind what we must feel to be a characteristic note of New Testament teaching, namely,

the emphasis which is laid on the universal presence and operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church. The ministration of the Gospel is pre-eminently a ministration of the Spirit. And I understand that to mean that we are all brought through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ into the presence of His Father, who thus becomes in the dearest and fullest sense *our* Father, and into direct and intimate filial relations with Him. We all, *all*, with unveiled face, reflect as a mirror the glory of the Lord. We are transformed into the same image as from the Lord the Spirit. Whether Jew or Gentile, we come through Jesus unto the Father, having access to Him in one Spirit. We are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus, having received into our hearts the Spirit of God's Son, whereby we cry, 'Abba, Father,' so that we are no longer bond-servants, but sons. It is impossible to study the New Testament without being struck with the prominence which is given to this wonderful conception of the Christian life. And I feel that we must only accept such ideas of priesthood and sacrifice as are consistent with this conception of the believer as a child who has been brought into his true home.

How then can we, who live under the New Testament economy, be priests, and what sacrifices can we offer? We can be priests only inasmuch as we stand by the grace of God in the very sanctuary of His presence. And the sacrifices we may offer are those sacrifices only that belong to a spiritual dispensation, namely, the sacrifice of a consecrated will, of the love of a loyal heart, and the devotion of the whole life.

If these are true conceptions of the calling and state of the Christian, it is difficult to see what need there is, or what room there is, for any official priest in the household of God. What I need is the human teacher and guide who can convince my mind, and touch my conscience,

and awaken my faith ; and to admit an official intermediary, when once the spirit of adoption has been given to me, is to part with the child's most precious prerogative. It is to say that Christ's work is but imperfectly done, and that He has not brought us to God Himself, but only as it were into an outer court, from which we may hold intercourse with Him through agencies specially appointed for the purpose.

14. THE REV. C. G. LANG.—It is exceedingly difficult to speak at the end of a discussion like this, and my wiser self tells me I had better be silent, but there are a few points upon which I may try to interpret my own thoughts and perhaps those of others. With regard to the silence of the New Testament, and the reticence of our Lord on the subject of sacrifice, surely it is easy for us to understand, if I may say so reverently, why there should be that reticence. If our Lord had used very directly familiar sacrificial language it would have connoted at that time associations which were transitory, and which He Himself was to render unnecessary. The essential point of His teaching was to concentrate the minds of His disciples upon the thought that it was not any particular acts that He did that constituted his sacrifice, but that *He Himself* was the sacrifice for the sins of the world. Our Lord's method would be to bring them to the root-idea of His sacrifice ; and in order to do that, it would be necessary to be sparing in the use of the ordinary sacrificial language, which had been, and was so completely misunderstood. Yet this very fact surely makes that impression of the spirit of sacrifice upon the whole of our Lord's life, and the whole teaching of the New Testament, just so remarkable. It is from this very reticence that the wonderful impressiveness comes when He does use sacrificial language. What can be more impressive than that our Lord should have been

ushered into His ministerial work with the words 'Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the World'? How significant that in the institution of the eucharist He should have used language directly sacrificial in its meaning; and that St. John, who entered into the inner secrets of His life, should have used the memorable words 'The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.' These things are so much the more impressive because of the normal reticence of our Lord on the subject. I agree with Canon Scott Holland that we should altogether miss the force of such language if we were to regard it merely as an accommodation to the times, or as simply figurative. The fact that our Lord so carefully avoided the risk of accommodation to current conceptions of sacrifice, makes us feel that when He did use such language, then the words were of eternal significance. And when we consider what has been the effect of the words the 'sacrifice of Christ,' and the 'Blood of Christ,' one cannot take sacrifice out of the New Testament. As to the very profound subject of the nature of our Lord's sacrifice, surely it is necessary from His own language to feel that there was more in the sacrifice than the mere dedication and sacrifice of His own will—that He looked forward to the death on the cross as the great deed that was to work some great achievement; that that achievement was to be done once; and that once done it was to have eternal significance and efficacy. Whatever the act of death meant, it was at least the completion of the sacrifice in time, but its significance and efficacy were to be eternal. I agree with Father Puller that in thinking of the sacrifice of Christ—of the Eternal Son—it is impossible to think of it merely as an event past in time—something that has come to an end. The conception of our own share of that sacrifice depends entirely upon what interpretation we put on the mystical union of our Lord and

His Church; unless we are clear as to what we mean by that union we shall be disputing largely about words as to our share in the sacrifice; and I am glad to see that that is put down for our discussion to-morrow morning. It seems strange to me that there should have been so little recognition of what I should have thought an essentially characteristic conception of St. Paul's teaching, viz. our union with our Lord. I think we can claim to be united with our Lord's sacrifice in the sense that we can unite ourselves with that act in so far as it is eternal. But I apologize for speaking at all on so vast a theme.

15. THE REV. A. C. HEADLAM.—The general topic has been discussed very amply, and up to a certain point there has been a remarkable and unanimous agreement. We all agree that the propitiatory character of our Lord's death is something unique, and the point at issue is, how far and in what way the effects are shared in by us. I should like now to pass on and ask how far, and in what way the term sacrifice may be applied to the eucharist, and what relation the eucharist has to the sacrifice offered by our Lord on the cross. I do not know whether I should be advancing too rapidly.
16. DR. SANDAY.—I think not.
17. MR. HEADLAM.—I should like, then, to say that although the eucharist is never called a sacrifice in the New Testament, I do not think that we can eliminate the sacrificial idea from it. And that firstly on account of the character and occasion of its institution. It was instituted at the time of the Passover, with all the ideas and associations of the Passover in the minds of those taking part in it. Secondly, when St. Paul refers to it in the Epistle to the Corinthians, he uses the analogy of sacrifices, both Jewish and Gentile, to explain it, and this quite clearly and distinctly.

Now if we refer to the Passover we can distinguish the

following parts of the rite: the slaying of the victim, the sprinkling of the blood, and then, afterwards, the sacrificial meal; there was also the offering of first-fruits. It seems to me that the analogy runs thus: instead of the paschal lamb the sacrifice to be once offered was that of our Lord on the cross. The effects of that sacrifice were to be continued. Therefore, though the death is accomplished, the communion in the sacrificial rite and the effect of it in the new covenant live on; and in that sense the eucharist is a sacrifice. There is not time to go into the general question of the interpretation of the New Testament in the early Church, but from the beginning we find that a favourite expression always is 'the unbloody sacrifice.'

18. DR. FORSYTH.—I should disavow the idea of a sacrifice as describing the eucharist. If it is true in any sense in respect to the eucharist, it is in a very subordinate sense. It is so misleading, especially for the earliest Church, that I think it would be much better to dispense with it altogether, except where there is opportunity to explain. It is more mischievous than useful to allude to it in that way. Dr. Loofs traces all the abuses of the eucharist to the time when it began to be treated as a sacrifice. Perhaps the nearest we could come to Mr. Headlam's idea is that in worship and rites like these we do not ourselves offer, but we proffer the eternal offering Christ has made. I do not think that the word 'priest' so finally and absolutely applied to Christ should be applied to any of Christ's people, and I fear that the nemesis of doing so has been very serious in the history of the Church. Dr. Moberly refers to Christ's sacrifice as 'consummating human penitence.' I hesitate to describe as penitence any work of Christ, because historically we cannot find any trace of repentance—of a vicarious repentance—in His mind. Besides, vicarious

repentance is a moral impossibility. I also make a distinction between penalty and punishment, and demur to the description of Christ's priestly work as penal. God's penalty on sin fell on Him by His own act, but He certainly was not punished by God. His work far exceeded the work of producing or completing penitence or amendment. It is not satisfactory to say that amendment can atone, and that Christ came in order to complete the atonement of human amendment or penitence. I think that Christ's work is much more profound than that. There is nothing really atoning in penitence. Penitence cannot undo, and Christ did. Had there been time I should have gone on to allude to the extraordinary and vital distinction that there is between the expiatory effect of Christ's work, and every other aspect or effect of it. This involves, of course, a great limitation of what the Church can be or do as the body of Christ, and a great restriction in the function of those who are the organs of the Church's priestly quality. And so long as this distinction is clearly grasped the real danger in priestly claims ceases to exist.

[Here the five minutes' speeches ended, and the general discussion began.]

19. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—May I put now to Canon Moberly the question I proposed to ask at the morning session? Would he kindly explain the definition of the Christian sacrifice given in his answer to the first question: 'the living consecration, in perfect love, of perfect holiness to consummate human penitence'? In particular I should like to know what the phrase 'to consummate' means, and whether any expiatory or sacrificial value is attached to human penitence.

20. DR. MOBERLY.—I don't know how far it will be possible for me to make my answer to Dr. Fairbairn intelligible, in any short compass. The question turns first upon the place given to penitence. What do we mean by penitence? All the penitence of which we have practical experience is, of course, at its best, eminently imperfect as penitence. I wish to think of penitence, not as it is in our imperfect experience, but as it would be if it were not imperfect. Even indeed within experience what I said was true, as far as it went; that, when a man has sinned, there is nothing which approaches so far towards atoning for his sin, as his penitence. I do not of course say that any merely human penitence ever reached the point at which it could really atone. I only say that heartfelt penitence approaches more nearly towards an 'atoning' character, than anything else that our experience can furnish. But what would penitence be, if its fullness of consummation were ever reached? The point of penitence is that it is the re-identification of the sinful consciousness with holiness. If it were consummated perfectly, it would be the perfect consummation of personal identification with holiness. Unfortunately, the more clearly I realize what its perfectness would be, the more obvious is the impossibility of my attaining it. The more I have sinned the greater is, no doubt, my need of repenting; but also *ipso facto*, the more impossible is it that I should repent. Meanwhile, even the least reality of sin bars for ever the possibility of the *perfect* consummation of my penitence. The very things which increase my identification with sin do blurr thereby my power of keen discernment of the sinfulness of sin, and my possibility of absolute self-identity with holiness. Yet no penitence could reach its perfect consummation until the self-identity with holiness was absolutely perfect, without fleck or flaw. In other words, penitence, by the

very cogency of its own meaning when analysed, could never be conceivably possible except only to the personally sinless.

I can quite understand people turning round and asking, but how can it be possible to the personally sinless? Perhaps the shortest way of making any reply to that question would be to suggest an illustration. Imagine a child who has gone grievously wrong. The very self-identification of the child with evil makes it incapable of that whole-hearted detestation and antithesis against evil which is necessary. But there is a possibility in the mother—whose own the sin is not—which is not in the child. In proportion as the mother approaches towards being on the one hand personally identified with holiness, and on the other personally identified, in nature and in affection, with the child, you approach the possibility in the mother of a heart literally broken for sin—which is not her own—and yet her own. In the broken heart of the mother (broken, be it observed, not in proportion to her own part in the sin, but to her own affinity with holiness, and yet her own capacity withal of self-identification with the sin-consciousness of the child) you get the nearest approach in human experience to the supreme consummation of penitence, the sin-bearing of the sinless. Her heart, broken at once and yet tranquil, seems to me to have in it more than anything we know of that contradictory consciousness of desolation and holiness, which is the mystery of the great cry from the cross.

I am conscious that it is impossible, in anything like this compass, to make a full answer to the question. But I hope that what I have said may indicate my meaning enough for the present purpose. And perhaps it would be convenient that I should stop at this point.

21. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—We are very much obliged to Dr. Moberly

for his most sympathetic and illuminative exposition ; but there are two points on which I should like further light, viz. how he would, on the one hand, connect this consummation of human penitence with the sacrificial terms that have been applied to the death of Christ, and on the other hand, with the sacrificial significance which has been given to the eucharist? In other words, can such an act of consummation be described as peculiar and peculiar to a priest, or as constituting a sacrifice?

22. DR. MOBERLY.—I would rather deal with the question of the significance of the eucharist later, as it belongs to a later subject ; as to the connexion of what I have tried to say with sacrificial language, I feel no difficulty at all. The connexion seems to me to be natural and obvious. For the penitence of which I speak involves death. Self-identification of human nature with holiness cannot be consummated without that absolutely supreme self-surrender of which the final expression known to us is death. Only as consummated in death is the sacrifice of penitence, and therefore of atonement, complete. Penitence cannot be consummated as atonement, until it has become the 'life that has died.'
23. DR. SALMOND.—I have listened with extreme interest to the exposition given by Dr. Moberly, but I find it impossible to realize how an absolutely sinless being could have that consciousness of sin which is required. When you speak of penitence as being consummated by Christ's work, do you mean more than that through Christ's work you come to real penitence, and that Christ's work gives to penitence any value it has? And in what sense can we conceive of our penitence being an atoning penitence? I do not understand the phrase you used, Dr. Moberly, as to penitence being 'consummated,' unless it means that through Christ's work we receive power to repent, and to do that from grace to grace.

I do not see in what appropriate sense you can speak of repentance as atoning.

24. DR. MOBERLY.—As to the possibility of calling penitence ‘atoning,’ it depends, no doubt, on what precisely we mean by ‘atoning.’ Let us put it in this way. The problem is how the really sinful can become really sinless. When I speak of penitence as atoning, I mean to indicate that the nearest approach we know towards the transformation of a sinful person into a not sinful one is when the person truly repents of his sin. Penitence, at least, really tends (as nothing else does) towards an erasing of sinfulness.

When I speak of Christ as ‘consummating’ penitence, I don’t for one moment suggest that He merely puts, as it were, the finishing touches on something that was real of its kind—though unfinished—without Him. From end to end the whole reality of penitence only is His; and our penitence only is possible, even in its measure, as made possible by His. I mean by the word to emphasize the fact that His work, and His only, is a consummate completeness, not falling a hair’s breadth short of the fullness of perfection.

If this is the relation of our penitence to His, I am glad to have the opportunity of utterly deprecating any statement which would seem to imply that penitent surrender on our part was an act of our own—a following after Christ in the way of imitation. If I speak of His sacrifice as penitence, and speak also of penitence in ourselves, I do not suggest that we, in repenting, are independent imitators of Him. We have no power to imitate Him. Any such achievement or any imitation of it is beyond our possibility. On the contrary, as I said, penitence is absolutely necessary for us in proportion as it is impossible, and impossible in proportion as it is necessary.

25. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—That brings us to the root of the whole matter. What do we conceive Christ accomplished by His death? What was its purpose, its *terminus ad quem* as it were? Is its influence exhausted in what it enables man to do or to become? Or does it so concern God that because of it and through it He has new relations to man?
26. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—It restores union with God.
27. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Certainly, it restores union with God, but on what grounds, for what reasons? Paul speaks of a ‘righteousness through faith in Jesus Christ,’ and also of God having ‘set Him forth as propitiatory through faith in His blood to show His righteousness . . . that He might be just, and that justifier of him that is of faith in Jesus.’ Now how is this consummation of human penitence related to the righteousness of God through faith? and to the righteousness which is demonstrated in the sacrifice of Christ?
28. DR. SALMOND.—What I wish to understand, Dr. Moberly, is what you precisely mean when you employ the terms ‘propitiatory’ and ‘atoning’ in relation to ‘penitence.’
29. DR. MOBERLY.—I should not naturally use the words at all of the penitence of our human experience, because it never can reach the point of being really atoning. But when I come to consider the efficacy of Christ’s suffering, it seems to me to fulfil the (otherwise unconceived) ideal of penitence; and, moreover, to be effectively atoning, just precisely because it is penitence consummated.
30. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—They are used as the terms most akin to atonement, Christ being the only atonement.
31. DR. SALMOND.—I think your statement might imply that Christ atones by taking our sins sympathetically upon Himself, and evoking thereby in our hearts feelings of penitence and love, with which God is pleased.

32. ARCHDEACON WILSON.—The word 'atonement' has two different meanings—one of reconciliation and another of propitiation.
33. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—Would you not say that it is to reconcile man to God by an act of propitiatory penitence from man to God?
34. ARCHDEACON WILSON.—The word 'atonement' does not appear in the Revised Version.
35. DR. SALMOND.—Have you any word which you can substitute for 'atoning'?
36. DR. MOBERLY.—As I have said, I do not ordinarily call penitence atoning. But in the sense in which I have explained that I do so, I do not know that 'reconciling,' or 'satisfying,' or any other word would be felt to be any more helpful.
37. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—If we get into the habit of using such terms as 'expiatory' and 'atoning' both of Christ's sacrifice and acts or states of our own like penitence, will it be possible to maintain any distinction, as regards intrinsic character, between them? But if we restrict these terms to Christ's sacrifice alone, can we any longer affirm the identity of His act and ours? Canon Moberly says that, apart from Christ's accomplished work, I cannot repent. That indeed is true; but His work has a merit which makes my repentance not only possible to me but acceptable to God. That seems to me to require some modification of the phrase 'consummation of human penitence,' for surely the sacrifice which is at once the cause of our penitence and the means of securing for it consequences and rewards it would never by itself obtain, stands in a higher category than what we may call its immeritorious resultant. And I do not see what function the priest has in connexion with human penitence, nor how it can be limited to acts which can be termed sacrifices of the Church.

38. CANON GORE.—I do not feel some of the doubts that have been expressed, but I do feel in some difficulty with reference to the interpretation put by Dr. Moberly upon some of the language in the New Testament. I cannot see that his interpretation of the words 'My God, My God, why didst Thou forsake Me?' is justified by either their original Old Testament use or their application in the New Testament—it does not seem to be in line with the thoughts of the New Testament exactly.
39. Mr. LANG.—I feel precisely what has been said on the other side. With much also that Dr. Moberly has said, I cordially agree, but I think that the use of the word 'penitence' brings with it associations which mislead more than they help. I agree that 'penitence' is almost universally used as meaning 'sorrow for my own sin.' In the illustration which Canon Moberly used of the mother and the child, there is no penitence: there is sorrow for sin; there is repudiation of sin, with all the abhorrence of a righteous nature of the results it may have upon the child, but there is no penitence in the mother, and I do not see how you can get penitence in the experience of the mother. He might have used the words 'repudiation of sin' or 'condemnation of sin,' but 'penitence' in such a case is a word that I cannot make real to my own mind.
40. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Canon Moberly's theory, though not the terms in which he expresses it, has, I suppose, been suggested by the work of John Macleod Campbell on 'The Atonement,' and lies open to the objections which applied to it: it reposes on a principle or idea which, in order that it may be logically verified, must be capable of being applied to both sides and to the whole case. Thus the illustration so admirably worked out by Dr. Moberly of the mother's penitence for the sin of her son breaks down at the cardinal point. She stands not

only under the corporate law of which so much has been heard to-day, but she stands under it in a twofold capacity—as a fallible and by no means sinless individual, and as a link in the chain of heredity; a means by which taint or defect may be propagated. Hence she cannot quite rid herself of a sense of responsibility for her son's sin, or of the feeling that it may have been due to some conscious or unconscious error of her own, or to some tendency which he owes to her or hers. And so 'penitence' may be possible in a mother in a sense which is quite impossible in the case of a Saviour who is without sin and without responsibility for it.

41. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—But her penitence is purer than that of the child. Repudiation is at least a part of the action of penitence, and the hatred of sin which is the offering of penitence is only possible according to the measure of the freedom from sin.
42. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—But granting all that, her sorrow is essentially sorrow on account of a sin to which she has been in a sense contributory, and for which she is in a degree responsible. But before turning to other questions, I wish again to express our obligations to Canon Moberly for his careful exposition of his views. May I now put a question to Canon Gore relative to a criticism he made on some words of mine? We are agreed in holding that there is an efficacy and a significance attributed to the death and blood of our Lord which are never attributed to those of His apostles. In this respect His death and theirs are never associated. Now I want to ask Canon Gore whether he finds our Lord or His Apostles speaking of any disciple as giving his life a ransom for many, or as shedding his blood for the remission of sins? And if not, whether this does not signify an absolute distinction between His death as the consummation of His sacrifice,

and the death His disciples might suffer? And if this be so, whether the terms priesthood and sacrifice have anything more than a metaphorical sense when applied to offices and acts of the Church or its ministers?

43. CANON GORE.—I must wholly decline to identify ‘sacrificial’ with ‘propitiatory,’ which is only a department of it. What is unique in Christ’s sacrifice is its propitiatory power: its power to reconstruct a violated relationship between man and God—to restore man into union with God and with one another in the Church. But this restoration is a restoration to the original and fundamental life of priesthood and sacrifice which sin had destroyed. And the Church’s acts or attributes of priesthood and sacrifice are no more ‘metaphorical’ than Christ’s. St. Paul exhausts almost all the resources of sacrificial language in application to the Church, including the language of vicarious sacrifice (Col. i. 24). And he represents Christ not only as offering Himself for us, but as offering us in Himself (Col. i. 22, &c.; cf. Col. i. 28, Rom. xv. 16).

At this stage the Conference was adjourned till the following day.

THIRD DISCUSSION.

1. DR. SANDAY.—Our discussion to-day will no doubt be the most crowded of those in which we have been engaged, owing to the number of subjects that are down for our consideration. I think that yesterday afternoon we drifted away somewhat from the main points which were before us, though the questions raised were so interesting in themselves, and the treatment of them was so helpful, that I could not regret it; but I would suggest that we should try this morning to keep to the three points which are on the paper: (1) 'The Mystical Union—what is it, and what does it imply?' (2) 'The relation of the body to its "organs"'; and (3) 'The provision for the perpetuity of the Christian priesthood.' Perhaps as the third subject is a very wide one it may be advisable to narrow it down to the question of transmission.
2. FATHER PULLER.—I am afraid that what I am about to say will transgress some of the suggestions that you, Dr. Sanday, have made. I do not propose to keep to the question of transmission, but rather to speak of matters bearing on the question of the perpetuity of the Christian priesthood.
3. DR. SANDAY.—They were only suggestions for general guidance.
4. FATHER PULLER.—I think that we shall all agree that our Lord is a '*priest* for ever,' however much we may differ in our views as to the functions of His priesthood; but I am afraid that we shall not all be agreed that His

sacrifice continues for ever, that it is a perpetual sacrifice. To my mind, however, the perpetuity of our Lord's sacrifice is brought out with very special clearness by St. John in the Apocalypse. In his vision he sees our Lord in glory as the 'Lamb standing, as though it had been slain.'

It certainly seems probable to me that that particular symbol was used with the object of expressing the idea that our Lord continues to be a sacrifice, and that, whatever there may or may not be on earth, there exist at any rate in heaven not only a High Priest but also a Sacrifice. But in fact I believe that Holy Scripture teaches that the oblation of the sacrifice of Christ is not limited to heaven, but that it takes place also on earth in the celebration of the eucharist. The whole account of our Lord's institution of the eucharist implies the sacrificial character of that rite. Every detail is sacrificial. I notice first that our Lord taught us to use at the eucharist *bread* and *wine*. It may be admitted that to an ordinary Englishman of the nineteenth century these elements may not suggest sacrificial ideas. But it was surely otherwise with those who were gathered around our Lord in the upper room. The meal-offerings consisted of preparations of fine flour. The drink-offerings consisted of wine. Bread and wine were also largely used in the heathen sacrifices. The very word, 'immolation,' is derived from 'mola,' the sacrificial meal that was sprinkled on the victims. Thus the bread and the wine, which formed the basis of the eucharistic rite, were sacrificial things. These sacrificial things our Lord blessed and consecrated; and having consecrated them, He identified them with His own precious body and blood. He said: 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood.' But His body and blood are the sacrificial things which He perpetually presents in heaven. He has, as our High Priest, brought His 'blood of sprinkling' within the veil, that it may 'speak better things than that of

Abel.' He appears openly before the face of God on our behalf, clothed with His glorified body, the body of the 'Lamb standing, as though it had been slain.' Moreover, by the institution of the eucharist our Lord was inaugurating a *new covenant*. He said: 'This cup is the new covenant in My blood, which is being poured out for you.' And according to the teaching of Holy Scripture covenants are made and ratified by sacrifice. Once more, our Lord, after instituting the eucharist, gave an injunction to His Church, saying: 'Do this for My *memorial*' (εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν). The word ἀνάμνησις corresponds in the LXX to the Hebrew מִזְבֵּחַ, which is also rendered in some passages of the LXX by the word μνημόσυλον. It normally signified a sacrificial offering burnt on the altar. Thus in Lev. xxiv. 7 it is written: 'Thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each row [of the shew-bread], that it may be on the bread for a memorial (εἰς ἀνάμνησιν), even an offering made by fire unto the Lord.' In the case of the meal-offerings the מִזְבֵּחַ was that part of the offering which was burnt on the altar, the rest being eaten by the priest. From what has been said it seems clear that the principal words used by our Lord at the institution of the eucharist, and also the elements which He appointed to be used in that rite, point in the same direction, and indicate the sacrificial character of the ordinance; and it would require very explicit and authoritative statements in the opposite direction to induce me to give up my belief that the holy eucharist was instituted by our Lord as a sacrifice, the earthly counterpart of the sacrificial oblation which is being carried on in the heavenly tabernacle. Had there been time I should have gone on to point out how from the Apostolic age onwards the eucharist has always been understood in the Church to be a sacrifice.

5. ARCHDEACON WILSON.—We are now approaching the real point at issue. We are agreed that the idea of sacrifice,

and the usually concomitant idea of priesthood, are all but universal in men, and were highly developed in Judaism, and to a certain extent (on the amount of which we differ) underlie the reports of our Lord's teaching and that of His disciples as regards His work, both in the eternal world where He is with the Father, and in the temporal life which He spent on earth. We are agreed also that the element in Christ's sacrifice, which we may imitate and share, is the life of self-consecration; and that His whole Church and every member of it, and especially its ministers, are bound to repeat, continue, and present that sacrifice in Him and through Him, and that this has no propitiatory effect, but helps us to draw near to God as Christ's mystical body. Now we come to the dividing question, which is really prior to and underlies heads (2) and (3) of the questions set down for to-day. Are there any propitiatory, mediatorial, absolving powers committed to any order of men, or any powers other than ministerial and representative? Are there any powers which are exclusive, personal, transmissible?—any which we are wise in calling sacerdotal, remembering what that word connotes as well as denotes? On this question I have only time to offer three remarks. (1) If this power of transmitting grace through individual men is real it must be demonstrable, by its results. As in everything else, proof finally rests on observation and is of an inductive nature. The theory is tested by facts, and is either verified or disproved, and there is no appeal. To my judgement the verdict of experience on the claim for exclusive possession and mediation of grace on the part of any order of men is that such claim is disproved. The gift of the Spirit is wider than any human ministry. (2) We all wish not to minimize the high and true conception of sacrifice and priesthood, but we wish to minimize what we regard as the lower conception; and

I regard as lower all those actions which are professional and delegated, and consist in special and personal acts, as contrasted with those which are human, universal, and affect the whole life : in a word, the mechanical as contrasted with the ethical. We wish that the thought of sacrifice and priesthood shall not remain longer than necessary on the lower plane. Our Lord, as we think, lifted it to the higher or ethical plane. We think that He was followed by His disciples ; but that it slipped back, owing to our imperfect nature, and specially to those elements in it which are so strong in Paganism and Judaism. We desire to keep it ethical, spiritual, and universal, and to free it from that which is mechanical and professional. (3) It is impossible to dissociate the question from that of the supernatural, and our view of it. In some minds the contrast of natural and supernatural is sharp ; and to lose the sharpness is to such minds the loss of the supernatural. In others the distinction fades away. My own belief is that the distinction is not tenable. The spheres described are identical, and the contrast is provisional, depending on our knowledge and its limitations. To those who take the other view, the supernatural element in the human priesthood must be very dear and necessary. Before they can understand how devout minds can dispense with all sacerdotal claim as commonly understood, they must face the question of natural and supernatural, and their possible identity or continuity ; and that of certain other contrasts which seem to me to be arbitrary, artificial, and to belong to what may be called the Latin type of mind.

6. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—I should like to thank Archdeacon Wilson for what he has just said as to the piety of peoples who know no priesthood, and as to the inability of mere Church mechanism to create the higher godliness. I come of a race which loved the ministry though it had

no priesthood, yet it is a race whose piety is as eminent, as real, and as abiding, as any that history knows. As their son, born and nurtured in the heart of their awed and reverent godliness, I feel that I dare not think of any institution or agency as necessary to the higher piety which was superfluous or even alien to theirs. Characters that are to me ideals of Christian saintliness would become reproachful memories, were I to attempt to believe that failure in some matter of outward order had restricted or obscured the grace of the God in whose eye they so tremblingly lived. But we have so many grave questions to discuss this morning that even personal affection must not tempt me to linger by the way. 'The mystical body' is a Pauline idea; 'the body of Christ' is a Pauline phrase (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 27; Eph. iii. 6; iv. 12, 16; Col. i. 18); and so we are bound to interpret idea and phrase through the Apostle to whom we owe them. But it is here as in the case of our Lord: there is no reference to any priesthood in the Church which is the body of Christ, or to the performance of priestly functions by its ministry. What we have is not simply silence, where, indeed, silence would be inexplicable, but the picture of a state where the priest as a priest does not exist. This appears most impressively in the account of the eucharist. The cup is a communion of the blood of Christ, the bread a communion of His body (1 Cor. x. 16; cf. xi. 23-29); but this participation is not effected by any specially commissioned person in a specially defined office, but is an act performed in common. 'The cup of blessing which *we* bless,' 'the bread which *we* break'; and the 'we' who constitute the 'one body' are defined as 'the many,' i.e. the Christian people or multitude. Cf. the careful distinction as to what the Apostle himself does, and what the corporate people do, in the verbs λέγω, φημί (1 Cor. x. 15,

19), and *εὐλογοῦμεν, κλῶμεν* (ver. 16). The terms that would have turned the rite into a priestly sacrifice are absent; it is a communal rather than sacerdotal ceremony; preserves the domestic forms or family customs under which the most creative and important of all the events in the history of Israel had been wont to be celebrated. And so out of the eucharist as Paul describes it—and he is the one Apostolic writer who does describe it, though only in one of his epistles—the idea that it was a sacrifice offered by a sacrificing priesthood cannot, by literary exegesis, be reasonably deduced. And this inference is confirmed when we come to look at his idea of the ‘body’ through his enumeration of its constituent organs or ministers. Here we have three most significant passages. First he tells the Corinthians (I, xii. 27, 28) that they are ‘the body of Christ, and severally members thereof’; and then he specifies, as organs or members set in the Church by the act and will of God, ‘Apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healing, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.’ The priesthood is not simply conspicuously absent; it is not even glanced at in any of the offices or functions enumerated in the list. Secondly, in Rom. xii. 4–8, the Church appears as the body of Christ, with members who though they differ in duty or office, are all yet as it were so inter-incorporated, as to be members one of another through each being an organ of the whole. The gifts which he specifies as differentiating each organ or member from the others, even while enabling each to contribute to the harmony and efficiency of the whole body, are prophecy, ministry (*διακονία*), teaching, exhortation, charity, government; but he never names priesthood, nor anything priestly. What he conceives is a worship by the spontaneous obedience of God and the ethical service of man, rather than by the observance

of sacerdotal forms. Quite as explicit is the third reference in Eph. iv. 11, 12. The Church, as Paul there conceives it, is 'one body, and one spirit' (ver. 4); and he specifies the various organs which are needed for 'the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of the ministry, unto the building up of the body of Christ.' And what were these organs or ministers? Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers; but again, no priest, and no reference to any priestly office or function. These are decisive passages, for they are the great texts concerned with the mystical body and its organs; and I feel quite unable to conceive how Paul could have omitted all reference to a priesthood and its sacrifices if they had been in his mind, or the mind of the Apostolic Church, necessary either to the being or to the well-being of that Church. And this suggests another thing which belongs to the perspective, and what we may term the general proportion and harmony, of the picture. Consider the place assigned to the priest and his sacrifices in the Roman Church, to the eucharist and to the celebrating priest with his ritual and his robes in the Anglican Church; then imagine a series of letters as individual in character, and as specific in detail as are our Pauline Epistles, addressed by some person high in authority to each province of the Roman Church, or to each diocese of the Anglican; and could you conceive the questions touching the priesthood and its functions and sacrifices treated, or rather completely omitted from treatment, as they are in these epistles of Paul? And does not this imply a total change, if not, as regards the thought, in the centre of gravity, yet in the perspective of the picture, and in the proportion, quality, and value of the figures that represent and embody its life?

7. DR. MOBERLY.—I begin with one or two comments upon what has been already said.

1. The crucial question is whether the corporate body of the Church can be said to be priestly. It seems to me a mistake to let the discussion turn primarily upon the application of priestly terms to an order within the Church. This is not unimportant, but it is, comparatively speaking, a detail. Whether Christ's priestliness can be predicated of the Church as a whole is a question of cardinal importance. If this be once conceded, the use of priestly terms of the Church's ministry is a mere corollary, which will drop into its own proportions, and follow in its own time.

2. Archdeacon Wilson used terms just now about the ministerial order (as separate, exclusive, &c.), to which I should demur. Without staying to make any comment, I would merely offer instead the phrase that the so-called 'priests,' instead of exclusively absorbing the priestly character, are strictly the 'ministerial organs of the Church's priesthood.'

3. I should like to say that the suggestion of the identity or continuity of the natural and supernatural is one which I do not at all shrink from. Again I would comment only by offering the single, unexplained phrase, that 'ideally, in the Church, *everything* is supernatural.'

Turning to our main question, I observe that there is much tendency to accentuate the contrast between what Christ is, and what the Church can be said to be. 'Oh, yes!' it is apt to be implied, 'we quite agree that such or such a thing is true of Christ; but it is *not* true of the Church of Christ.' I do not say that there are not aspects in reference to which such a distinction may have to be drawn. Christ is a separate figure in history, as well as a spiritual unity. Nevertheless, it seems to me that we are, speaking broadly, upon the wrong tack, when we are constantly basing ourselves upon this

distinction. The Pentecostal Church is the expression of Christ, and the presence of Christ. Of course the phrase 'body of Christ' is scriptural and familiar. But that very phrase is sometimes treated as if the emphasis were all upon body—the *body of Christ*, but not Christ. But it is the body not as contrasted with spirit. The body is alive, and the spirit is the breath of the life of the body. The spirit is everything. *Ecclesia proprie et principaliter Ipse est Spiritus*. 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His.' Whether we think of the individual personality of a Christian, or of the Christian corporate body as a whole, I think we are wrong when we essay to find what either is by itself—in contrast with, or separation from, Christ. The deeper way of understanding either is precisely the opposite. Either individual personality or the corporate Church, is what it is by virtue of identity—an identity of spirit even more than of body—with Christ. Our main principle should be that what Christ is, the Church is; because the Church is the body, whose breath is the spirit, of Christ; because the Church is Christ. That Christ is this or that, but that the Church of Christ is *not*, is a dangerous basis of thought.

If I do not wholly say that it is an inadmissible distinction; if there are spheres and purposes for which it has reality; yet, after all, it is not so much that there are such and such reserved points—predications which are to be made of Christ, but denied of His Church; as that He alone is in Himself the *cause* and the *possibility* of all that identity of the Church with Himself: an identity which, when caused and made possible—and actual—by Him alone, is then itself, ideally, quite absolute and without reserve.

8. DR. RYLE.—I wish to preface what I have to say with a reference to a remark of Canon Scott Holland yesterday.

He demurred to the use of the word metaphor as applied to sacrifice and priesthood. It is important that there should be no misapprehension here. I should be very sorry if any words I had used could be thought to derogate from the supreme importance of the doctrine of the atoning sacrifice. From the physical point of view the death of Christ was a dying; from the Roman point of view it was an execution; from the Jewish point of view we may say it was a murder. From the Christian point of view it was a sacrifice, and it becomes sacrificial by the description of the historical fact under metaphorical terms. The reference to sacrificial institutions was the best means for interpreting eternal truths. Then with regard to the priesthood, there is a very fundamental difference as to the way in which we regard the question. In Christ we have a new priesthood in which all have complete access to the Holiest—an access which before was only permissible to the high priest. The Christian ministry may be conceived of as a priesthood, an order representing the community in the dedication of service and of offerings; and in that way the eucharist may be regarded as sacrifice. The phrase 'a sacrificing priesthood' for the Christian ministry appears to me to be either incorrect or misleading. It is incorrect if it indicates that the sacrifice of Christ was not absolutely the one complete expiatory offering. It is misleading if the priest is simply offering sacrifices of thanksgiving or almsgiving; for sacrifice is generally associated with expiatory offering. No doubt the phrase was used in early times, but it was used with reference to an offering of prayer and thanksgiving. We cannot dwell too strongly on the fact that we have but one expiatory sacrifice.

9. DR. SALMOND.—I should like to refer for a moment to some remarks which fell from Dr. Moberly, and which

seem to me of great importance. If I understood him aright, he is quite willing to dissociate his position from the use of terms like *sacerdotal* and *priestly*, and would prefer to speak of 'ministerial organs of the Church.' Now that is exceedingly important.

10. DR. MOBERLY.—I do not think that is correctly quoted. You have left out the word 'priesthood.' It was 'ministerial organs of the Church's priesthood.'

11. DR. SALMOND.—Then that leaves me not without hope that a good deal of our difference is a matter of terms and definition of terms. ('Hear, hear.') I wholly admit, of course, that Christ founded a Church, and that He instituted certain rites in it. I also hold that it is open to the Church to take order for its administration and organization, but then I have to part company with many brethren after that. I see that the New Testament speaks of a priesthood of the Christian people, but I discover in it nothing like a priesthood of any particular official. As I have already said I do not find the recognized term for 'priest' applied anywhere in the New Testament to the Christian minister as such, but I find it always restricted to Christ Himself, and to the Christian people, where the Christian idea of a priest or a priesthood is in view. I have no proof, therefore, of the institution by our Lord in His 'Church' of anything like *priestly* rites or prerogatives, using the term *priestly* in the proper sense of *sacerdotal*. Hence all such phrases as 'sacrificing priests,' 'a sacrificing priesthood,' &c., seem to me to be without New Testament warrant, and also to be as misleading as they are inappropriate.

But I understood Canon Moberly to say further, that it was a mistake to distinguish between Christ and the Church, because the Church has the Spirit of Christ. Now in this there is something that I could at once and most cordially accept, but it would be with the explana-

tion that it is not in the sense of such an identification between Christ and the Church as is sometimes meant by it. And this brings me to the immediate questions—What is the *mystical union*, and what is the point of the phrase 'the body of Christ'?

Now there is no doubt that the idea of the *mystical union*, and the description of the Church as 'the body of Christ,' have a large place in the New Testament. But what is meant by them? Do they lend any support to the sacerdotal conception of the Christian minister and to the various things connected therewith?

If we go back to our Lord's own discourses we find in them much that relates to the question of unity. In His words unmistakable and varied expression is given to the great truth that there is a oneness between Him and His disciples. He speaks of it also in more than one aspect. He speaks of it as a union which is not realized at present, but which is to be aimed at now, and to have its complete fulfilment hereafter (John xvii). He speaks of this oneness also as a relation of life (John xv), on the believer's side a relation of dependence so vital that apart from Christ he can do nothing. Paul takes up these truths and unfolds their meaning and applications in the light of his own knowledge of Christ and his own experience of the Christian life. In his writings this idea of oneness between Christ and His disciples is set forth at large, in various forms, and, in especial, in its relations to Christ's death and resurrection. He speaks of a union with Christ to moral effects (Rom. vi. 1-6; Col. iii. 1, 2; Eph. ii. 5, 6); of a union with Him to legal effects, or effects of standing and relation (Rom. v. 12-19; viii. 1; 2 Cor. v. 21); of a union with Him in life (Gal. ii. 20). All this with much else is said with reference to the individual believer. But in Paul we have also the larger conception of a oneness between Christ and the Church—

the Church as a whole. This is what he illustrates by the figure of the 'body' of which Christ is the 'Head' (Eph. i. 23). It is a great and singular conception, of which my time permits me to say but one or two things, and these very shortly. In the first place it should not be forgotten that this is only one of various figures under which Paul expresses the relation between Christ and His people, or His Church. It is not to be pressed, therefore, to the neglect of others. If we wish to get a correct and complete view of Paul's idea of the Church and its relation to Christ, we must take all his different figures and forms of statement together. In the second place, it is to be noticed that the particular respect in which this great figure of the *body* and the *head* is introduced in Eph. i is that of *dependence* on Christ, *subjection* to Him as Lord of and over all. And in the third place it seems to me to be very evident that by the *Church*, which is called Christ's *body*, Paul does not mean a visible society or organization, but the general body of believers, the totality of those, wherever found, who are described in the preceding verses as 'chosen,' 'fore-ordained unto adoption as sons,' 'holy,' 'believing,' 'forgiven,' 'sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise.'

12. CANON GORE.—In my opinion the very essence of Christianity is the conception that Christ is realized in the visible body of the Church, and everything that weakens that conception is to be deprecated. It is in and through corporate fellowship that we realize all that is possible for us as individuals. I was rejoiced to find in 'the catechism of the Free Churches' a recognition of the doctrine of the visible body, the importance of which it was hardly possible to exaggerate. Christ lives as a quickening Spirit in the body in order that the whole body may become a great priestly race. If the Levitical priesthood is abolished it is that the funda-

mental or Christian priesthood—that priesthood which the whole of the New Testament exists in order to express—may be found through Christ in the Church, and I would ask whether it is not in that truth that lies our best hope of being drawn together. I agree with what Dr. Moberly said about the mystical union, and I would say in public what I have already said in private to some members of the Conference. It appears to me that the difficulty about ‘sacerdotalism’ would be best met if the opponents of ‘sacerdotalism,’ instead of introducing the idea of the priestliness of the whole body as a mere repartee or foil to the priestliness of the ministry, would agree to emphasize this priesthood of the whole body in its rich positive meaning. I think we all on this side of the table are conscious of the perils of ‘sacerdotalism,’ which history has only too abundantly illustrated and which we all most earnestly desire to counteract. It is the same idea of the priesthood of the whole body which is our best antidote to any false emphasis on the priesthood of the ministry. I believe, then, we could make one important step towards agreement if we all realized that the true way of counteracting the evils of a false sacerdotalism lies in emphasizing and not minimizing the priestly character of the Christian life and society as a whole. Archdeacon Wilson has referred to the Eastern and Western theologies. I think that you will never acclimatize the type of doctrine which is identified specially with Clement of Alexandria and Origen, in England; but if you want a man whose doctrines are best calculated to undermine mistaken ideas of sacerdotalism, you will find him in the Western Saint Augustine. In his doctrine of the eucharist you have that which counteracts all that is mistaken in sacerdotalism. Again, I cannot easily conceive any human composition which expresses the

ethical character of Christianity more completely than those liturgies in which the first Christian company expressed their ideas about the eucharist. That is my point—let the true sacerdotalism expel the false—the broader conception the falsely narrow—the ethical the mechanical.

13. CANON BERNARD.—Something has been said about dying with Christ as bearing on the thought of our joining in Christ's sacrificial act. But is it not the case that St. Paul (as in Rom. vi. 4) associated this thought of dying with Christ with the sacrament of baptism, and not of the eucharist? No view of the 'mystical union' ought to be taken which evacuates the meaning of a personal, independent existence of each soul, and any system which overlooks that in any way cannot be brought home to the people generally. There has been mention made in this Conference of convictions which lie deep in human nature, which must be taken account of in all attempts to bring religion home to men; and this conviction of separate individuality is one of them. It is extenuated and disregarded when we look at the individual exclusively in the light of his relation to the Church or even of his relation to Christ. The great steps which were made towards individualism under the guidance of the prophets, and particularly Jeremiah and Ezekiel, were not retraced under the Gospel. I know that the question between the Church and the individual as to which is the proper subject of justification is supposed to be left open in the Epistle to the Romans, but for myself I believe that the important conception always will be that of the individual human soul over against Christ, devoted to Christ, inspired by Him, and in communion with Him: Christ alone atoning once for all, and the believer apprehending the atonement more and more. I should also like to protest that the idea of offering to

God the elements in consecration, is a matter entirely distinct from the early Christian conception of offering alms and food, prayer and thanksgiving, and I believe that the date of the new conception can be fixed by Church historians with tolerable clearness.

14. DR. SANDAY.—Would you say when?
 15. CANON BERNARD.—About the time of Cyprian, I suppose.

With regard to the use which was made at the beginning of the discussion, of *ἀνάμνησις* as suggesting with other things a sacrificial idea of the eucharist, it is hardly necessary to remind the Conference that St. Paul explains *ἀνάμνησις*, in 1 Cor. xi. 25, by *καταγγέλλετε* in ver. 26, and that that word is always used in the New Testament of proclaiming to men, and never of setting forth to God.

When St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 1-4) wished to produce parallels from the wilderness-history for the two sacraments of the Gospel, why did he choose manna and water from the rock, instead of sacrifices, as a parallel for the eucharist, if the character of the latter was primarily sacrificial?

16. DR. DAVISON.—It appears to me that the position the discussion has reached is this. There is a general agreement, I am happy to think, that our Lord's sacrifice and priesthood are unique, that there is a peculiar element which constitutes that a work by itself, and we proceed this morning to ask whether it is desirable to emphasize that part of our Lord's work in which the Church may claim some share under the style and title of Priesthood and Sacrifice.

I think we must all agree with most of what has fallen from Dr. Moberly and Canon Gore, and I at least was glad of an indication such as they furnished of a common

ground upon which we might meet together. Agreeing as I do, with them on what has been said concerning the mystic union, may I say now why I cannot go further with them? It is because of the very nature of the subject that has called us together, viz. sacrifice and priesthood. The mystic union does not join Christ and His followers together in this respect. I know that the word 'sacrifice' covers a wide area, and that is the very reason why I do not think it desirable that it should be emphasized to describe the work of the Church or of an order in the Church. In this I am following the New Testament, whether we take St. Paul, or the Hebrews, or other Epistles.

17. CANON GORE.—My object was to begin at the other end, with St. Paul's conception of our Lord's priesthood.
18. DR. DAVISON.—I know that there is a line of continuity between Christ's work and that of His Church, and I value it highly. But is it not clear that the attempt to preserve it down the line of priesthood and sacrifice has brought in disputable and even mischievous elements?

We must remember, too, that we cannot take 'sacrificing priesthood' without 'absolving priesthood.' Very little has been said about that to-day, but it is an integral part of the subject. And in coming to what are called the ministerial 'organs' of this priesthood in the Church, does not all history show how easily and imperceptibly these tend to fill the place of Christ Himself? It is for this reason that, while holding a continuity on certain lines between the work of Christ and that of His Church, yet on the subject of Sacrificing Priesthood I think the most important thing is to preserve the contrast between the two.

I have not time to speak of what is called 'the eucharistic sacrifice,' but I find in the New Testament no

warrant for speaking of the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice—a mode of speech which properly begins in the Church about the time of Cyprian. The 'offerings' spoken of in Clement of Rome, the *Didache*, Ignatius, and the earlier Fathers, are capable of, and demand, a different explanation.

19. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—Dr. Fairbairn has alluded to the rarity of reference to the priesthood in the Epistles. But I cannot help recalling what was said once by the Archbishop of Canterbury in St. Paul's, that, in reading the Bible, we must remember that the most important things were often what it left out. We want to know the habitual and everyday facts of the early Christian life; and these are just what are omitted as not worth noticing. So, in the Epistles, the points of the Creed that were in dispute occupy the main bulk; while if we desire to know the deep elemental verities about which every churchman was agreed, we have to unearth them from casual and passing references to them in the Salutations or Benedictions with which St. Paul opens or closes an Epistle.

Now the references to the eucharist may be rather rare; but, when they occur, they obviously refer to something that everybody is bound to know and understand—to some recognized and indisputable ground of belief and conduct common to the whole body. The rehearsal of the matter in 1 Cor. ix and the appeal to it in chap. x. 16 make this absolutely certain.

As to the sacrifice of Christ, I want still to plead what I have said before, that the inward motive is not, in itself, sacrificial until it has obtained an outward realization—until it can succeed in *making* an offering. The 'Lo! I come to do Thy will' becomes sacrificial when it has completed its intention in the offering of the *body* prepared for it. The will that is to be done

is that He should have a *body* to present in sacrifice. And so it is that our own offerings of spiritual thanks and praises only gain the right to use sacrificial language through the sacrifice, present in their midst, of the body and blood. It is this that constitutes them sacrifices.

We have all agreed that the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ are absolutely unique and alone effectual. There is no other sacrifice; there is no other priesthood. The only question is—how do they reach and touch this or that soul across the centuries? What is their mode of arrival? Canon Bernard says, they arrive at each soul individually, by the direct and hidden action of God upon the individual. We say, they arrive at each soul through its membership in the body. The body, the society, the Church, is the scene of the action—is the organ of contact. The body mediates the sacrificial life. The contact with the eternal offering of Christ is a social act. It happens to the soul through its place in the fellowship. We plead that this tallies with all St. Paul's language.

If so, then it arrives through man to man. Men are the material of the body. For the law of 'through man to man' is the primal law of the Incarnation. To fulfil its necessities, Christ became a man. Everything that we know of Christ is mediated through men to us. We have no single phrase or word of His that has not reached us through another man's memory and mind. Christ chose this method of making Himself known, when He abstained from all writing, and gave us no means of knowing what He said, except by the impression conveyed through another.

In everything, salvation uses man to bring God to man. Why not in the sacrament?

And does not this thought open out into criticism

upon a phrase that has been used of 'Every man his own priest'? Is that not a contradiction in terms? A priest is one essentially who acts on behalf of another.

The priesthood of the layman lies in his power to put out his powers to succour another, to plead for another. We have confined our talk very largely, in these Conferences, to the nature of the soul's own salvation. But the soul's capacity for priesthood begins at the point where, being already saved, it can lend itself out to the redemptive purposes of the body. It is when it has become capable of service, that it can claim to be priestly. Every Christian is a priest, so far as he is not saved alone, to and for himself, but is incorporated into a brotherhood to which he can contribute force, as well as receive force from it.

20. DR. SANDAY.—This has been the most important of our meetings. It was, of course, to be expected that as we became used to the method of proceeding we should go more directly to the point. The speeches of this morning are of extreme value, equally those of both sides. I would say just one word as to the annulling of the Levitical priesthood and sacrifices. Might we not say that they were only annulled *qua* Levitical not *qua* sacrifice or priesthood?

Then as to the mystical union, I feel that I am not arguing with any one—I am arguing only with myself. I appreciate very strongly both sides of the question which have been put before us. It has been present to my mind just as has been stated. We have the mystical union applied in a number of ways in Scripture; but is it not the case, that just the way in which it does not seem to be applied in Scripture is in connexion with these two ideas of sacrifice and priesthood? That is my difficulty. The question is—can we generalize the idea?

I feel very strongly the arguments that have been put forward for generalizing it.

Another question of fundamental interest has been raised with reference to the doctrine of Personality. Some years ago I took a certain view which was entirely due to that doctrine ; but I have been shaken as to the validity of the conclusions I then drew. That has come to me, I may say, partly because it has been my duty in the last year or two to lecture upon the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and so to reconsider the whole question as to the nature of Personality.

Another point upon which, if there were time, I should be glad to hear a little more said would be as to the question of the ministry under the form of organs of the body. There again I face both ways. On the one hand, with reference to the way in which the question has been presented to us by Archdeacon Wilson, I suspect that my friends on the right could not accept a good many of the terms in which he described the relation of the organs to the body. On the other hand, I should very much like to know from my friends on the left what exactly is their view in regard to such relation. Do they think that these particular organs are interchangeable with other organs, with the members of the body generally? Do they think that it is open to any member of the body to undertake those functions which are specially appropriated to a particular organ? I am not putting it very well, and they will do it much better. I should like to ask for some sort of answer to that question.

The third point was in relation to Transmission. I must confess that I appealed to Dr. Driver with the view of getting an expert's account of the real meaning of the 'laying on of hands' in the Old Testament, but strange to say, just the one passage on which I had been

in the habit of laying most stress myself (Gen. xlviii. 14; see pp. 38, 40), was the one that he ruled out of court. It is, of course, not ultimately ruled out of court because the word used was a different one in Hebrew to that which was used in other connexions; still the fact must be noted. I confess that I was taken quite by surprise. I have not yet got my ideas quite in order. I suspect that the fundamental passage, so far as the transmission of office in the Church is concerned, has been that which relates to the laying on of hands of Moses upon Joshua. I share the feeling which is strong on my left that we should guard against the idea of magical effect in ordination, if I may use the word for want of a better.

21. THE REV. ARNOLD THOMAS.—It has been a pleasing and surprising thing to me to find how much I am in sympathy with gentlemen on the other side. Scarcely a sentence has been said to which I could not cordially assent, though of course it is possible that I should not interpret some terms which have been used quite in the way in which they would be interpreted by the speakers. Still, it is one of the happiest results of this Conference that we find ourselves so near to one another in things that are most essential and most sacred.

I am glad of all that has been said by Canon Scott Holland—who appears to be three parts a Congregationalist—on the subject of the Church. I do not think we can make too much of the Church, and its claims, and functions, and privileges; and I may say that one reason why some of us value Congregationalism is that it attaches so much importance to the idea of the Christian fellowship, and affords its members such large opportunity of mutual and common ministries in spiritual things. While claiming independence of secular control we recognize in the most practical way our dependence on each other for the mutual society, help, and

comfort, that we feel one ought to have of another in the family of God.

But is it not possible, in laying so much stress on the relation of the individual to the society, to be too little mindful of the personal relation of the soul to God? One speaker said, I think, that the Christian life begins in the Church. But is that quite so? 'The life,' says St. Paul, 'which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me.' There is something intensely individual in that confession. The Apostle's Christian life had a beginning, it would seem, that was not related to the Church, but directly to Christ. And while we may, no doubt, carry individualism too far, may we not also err in the opposite direction, and give too little heed to the responsibilities for the exercise of the faculties of thought, and feeling, and faith, which rest on the individual soul?

Much has been said on the priesthood of the whole Church, and I am thankful for it. But how is this priesthood to be exercised by the laity, if their priestly functions are delegated to special officers? Is there not danger that this delegation will come to mean practical surrender? Will not the layman, though *de jure*, perhaps, still a priest, cease to be one *de facto*? That is my fear whenever an order of priests is instituted. What is the prerogative of the Christian priest? It is, I suppose, to enter into the Holy of Holies, to have access to the Father, and to offer the spiritual sacrifices of the new dispensation. But must not every Christian do these things for himself? can such offices be discharged by proxy? and if we transfer these rights to others, do we not part with a privilege which we are not at liberty to part with? When the spirit of adoption is crying within me 'Abba, Father,' a human mediator would seem to be superfluous. There is no need for him.

There is no room for him. The child, accepted in Christ, is face to face with his Father.

It is true, of course, as has been most justly said, that God uses men in the fulfilment of His redeeming and reconciling work. But my brother's function is to bring me, by instruction and persuasion, into the holy presence, and when he has done that his work is accomplished. It is not for him then to stand in any way between the soul and the Saviour. That intercourse must be personal, immediate. So I interpret the New Testament. As I have heard it put: 'When a man walks with God, there is no room for the priest between them.'

A word on the meaning of the Church. I understand Canon Moberly to say that it is the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ that is the making of the Church. But can we say, then, of any community in which this Spirit is manifestly dwelling that it is no part of Christ's mystical body? And if we find, as I think we do find, that the gift and operations of His Spirit and grace are limited to no one form, or polity, or means of communication, can we say that these saintly people are 'of the body,' but that those other people, equally saintly, are not 'of the body'? Are not all 'of the body' who are filled with the Spirit? There are differences of opinion among honest and learned men as to what our Lord did, or intended, in regard to the constitution of the Church, and what was left thus doubtful can surely not be of the first importance. But has He not made it clear by the evidence of indubitable facts that His Spirit is bestowed on all alike who trust Him fully, and serve Him faithfully with the surrender of the heart and will, and do not these facts suggest a larger conception of the Church than that which has frequently prevailed?

22. THE REV. C. G. LANG.—There is no one in this room

who can better appreciate the force of Mr. Arnold Thomas's words or those of Dr. Fairbairn than I do. It is known to most of you, I suppose, that if I had followed the way of my birth and early training, I should have been sitting on the opposite side, and not where I am now. No one who has had, with Dr. Fairbairn, the experience, graven into his life by his very blood, of the singular piety, devotion, and nearness to Christ of generations of the Scottish Presbyterian ministry, can allow any view that he may come to take, to narrow his sense of the bond which unites all to the one Christ through the one Spirit of God. Let me say a very fragmentary word in regard to this point of the mystical union with our Lord, and how we are to connect it with our share in His sacrifice. Surely it all depends upon the conception we have of the office and work of our Lord in the eternal sphere. It is impossible to dissociate that conception of the office of the living and eternal Christ from the sacrifice which He has achieved once and for all. With Father Puller I am still feeling that that sacrifice is not a thing completed in the sense of being past in time, and therefore ended. It is completed in the sense that it is perfect—there is nothing to be added to it—it is eternal. That is why I cannot quite agree with Professor Ryle's words; because I feel that in some deep mysterious sense—a sense which it is hardly possible to express in language, for language is of things in space and time—the function, so to say, of that sacrifice is not ended, but is eternal as itself. I can imagine nothing that speaks to one's life's need more than the conception of being associated with the perpetual pleading of the eternal sacrifice; it is there that the importance of the eucharist comes in. In the eucharist, we have the assurance of the Divinely appointed pledge and symbol of being identified with the eternal sacrifice of the Lamb of God. And so I cannot

conceive it as being a mere commemorative rite. It is in some mysterious sense a real sharing of the body and blood of a living Christ, who *is* the eternally perfect sacrifice. The symbolic act is not *in itself* expiatory. It is nothing in itself apart from Christ, through whom it is offered. It is not, therefore, to my mind expiatory, but it associates us with the eternal presentment by our Lord—our eternal High Priest—of His sacrifice for the sins of the world. It is an act by which we are permitted, by Divine condescension, in some degree to share in what Christ is doing.

One word only as to the conception of priesthood. I feel very strongly that the point of real importance is the priestliness of the whole body. It is the one thing which it is necessary to contend for. The special priesthood of any class within the body is derivative from the priesthood of the body itself, and that is derivative from the priesthood of its head. It is more or less a matter of history as to *how* that priesthood has been exercised. Such an historical investigation is beyond our present purpose.

23. THE REV. A. C. HEADLAM.—So much has been already said on either side that perhaps there is little left to emphasize. First of all I should like to associate myself with Dr. Moberly's phrase, 'the ministerial organ of the Church's priesthood,' and secondly, I should like to associate myself, as far as transmission goes, with what Archdeacon Wilson has written (see p. 57 f.). I will now pass on to a point touched upon by Archdeacon Wilson and Canon Gore—the Eastern Church. I suppose that what Archdeacon Wilson desired to draw our attention to and to emphasize was the survival in the Eastern Church of certain aspects and traditions of the primitive Church which have been lost or obliterated in the West.
24. CANON GORE.—I quite agree.

24a. MR. HEADLAM.—This is, I think, particularly important with reference to the subject we are now discussing. The Eastern Church brings out much more clearly than the Western—not only the Roman, but also the Anglican—that sacraments are not the work of the priest, but through the priest. ‘The seven sacraments,’ a Russian writer tells us, ‘are in reality not accomplished by any single individual who is worthy of the mercy of God, but by the whole Church in the person of an individual, even though he be unworthy¹.’ So in the East, they do not say, ‘I baptize,’ but ‘So-and-so is baptized.’ I think I am right in saying that until the sixteenth century, when it came under Roman influence, the Eastern Church, like the primitive, had no form of absolution which was not a prayer. And, to give one more illustration, in the Coptic liturgy it will be noticed how the people generally by their responses are clearly shown to take a part and share in the whole consecration prayer².

Turning to the question of the eucharistic sacrifice, I may say that I am not particularly anxious to call it a sacrifice, my point is that it has been so called from the beginning. It seems to me that those who explain away the sacrificial language of St. Paul in the Corinthians on the institution of the Last Supper, can explain away anything.

25. DR. RYLE.—What kind of sacrifice?

26. MR. HEADLAM.—I merely refer to the word sacrifice. What I mean is that we should develop a wholesome idea of eucharistic sacrifice, as against one that is unwholesome. I do not like the phrase ‘sacrificing priesthood’ at all, and I think that the way in which we should guard against erroneous ideas, and the way in which English Nonconformists could help us, is not by continually attacking the use of the word sacrifice or priest,

¹ Khomiakoff in *England and the Russian Church*, by Birkbeck, p. 206.

² See Brightman's *Liturgies*, pp. 176, 177.

but by joining us in developing the real sacrificial element. If we do not do that, we put a strong weapon into the hand of those whom we should both alike be glad to correct. With reference to what Dr. Sanday said, I find in reading carefully the writings of the early Church from the fourth century backwards, that two elements come out strongly—the idea of the congregational element, and the idea of the theory of transmission in the ministry, and we have to keep both these elements clearly before us. In the Church of England we want to emphasize the congregational element, and perhaps in other Churches there is the necessity of getting a clearer hold of the element of transmission.

27. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Would you use or substitute the word ‘continuity’ for the word ‘transmission’?
28. MR. HEADLAM.—I use ‘transmission’ in the sense of transmission of authority, as it was used by Archdeacon Wilson.
29. DR. SALMOND.—You say continuity as a means of transmission?
30. MR. HEADLAM.—Yes.
31. DR. FORSYTH.—I value all continuity. Everything depends on the nature of the continuity. Let it only be a continuity of ministerial office and not a continuity of a distinct and separate order. I would lay stress on the continuity of sacrifice in man’s relation to God, and I would go further than some by adopting the word ‘associated’ in connexion with the eucharist—that there is active association of us with the sacrifice of Christ, and more than a mere commemoration. Of course, we must take care that our identification is not with the primary atoning work of Christ, as was made clear yesterday, but with what I may call the inferior and ministering aspect of Christ’s work, which we may participate in. I should fully agree that what the Church is, the priest is. The

priest is the expression of the Church's priestliness. I think we might regain—and perhaps Dr. Moberly may help us to regain or to restore—the sense of the Church's inherent priestliness, using it more than we do as a positive principle rather than a weapon of war ; only we should take more care than he has always done to confine it to the ministering aspects of Christ's work, and not to its piacular aspect. The true nature of the Church is priestly. The priest is what the Church is. He is representative, not imperial. But I cannot follow Dr. Moberly when he goes on to say in his fine book that the Church is what Christ is. That means an ecclesiastical pantheism. The Creation is not the Creator. With reference to what Mr. Arnold Thomas said as to the Christian beauty and power of individuals in bodies in which the sacraments were not observed, I would observe that we cannot, in the face of facts, say that sacraments are absolutely necessary for individuals. But such people have been reared often in a sainted home or body, whose traditions and sacramental influences they unconsciously inherit and carry on. In my judgement, sacraments are essentially corporate acts, and they are necessary for the continued existence and power of a corporate body like the Church. The question to consider really is how, on the Catholic theory, we can explain the growth, both in extent and energy and sanctity, of those *Churches* which have repudiated utterly the Catholic ideas of the sacraments, some of them having reduced the sacrament of the eucharist almost entirely to a commemorative act. I would also ask whether the continual and fertile presence of the Holy Ghost in the long history of the non-episcopal Churches is not a surer fact than any exclusive commission from Christ to a ministry of a particular kind.

[At this point the general discussion began.]

32. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—I fear it would be very inconvenient were we to spend any of the little time remaining to us in breaking fresh ground, but we have reached a point where we might very profitably deal with some questions which have emerged in the course of the discussion. We have made manifest our belief in the truth and reality of the Church, in the continuity of the Church, in its being our common mother, as it were, in whose bosom we were born, through whose gracious influences we were reborn, and within whose sacred precincts lived those who brought us into holy and real communion with God and His Son. But three ideas which have played a great part in our discussions, ought to be most carefully analysed and clearly defined: first, what do we mean when we speak of the Church as ‘the mystical body of Christ’; secondly, what does its priesthood mean; and thirdly, what do we intend the phrase ‘the ministerial organs of its priesthood’ to signify? We have the more need to be here explicit and distinct, as it is evident that while we are all agreed as to the priesthood of the Church, we are yet by no means agreed as to what that priesthood is and involves. In order to make a beginning with the first of these ideas, may I put this question to Canon Moberly? If, as he said, the Spirit of Christ constituted the Church, would he convert that proposition and say: Where the Spirit of Christ is, there is the Church?
33. CANON GORE.—When Dr. Sanday was saying that it was exactly to the particular point of the sacrificing priesthood that the doctrine of the mystical body was not so conspicuously applied, I felt that I should like to bring to his mind a few sentences from his own printed ‘answers’; and that I should find in these sentences

exactly the answer which I think should be given to Dr. Fairbairn's questions. "St. Peter doubtless meant by *ιεράτευμα* not a mere aggregate of individual priests, but a priestly community. 'Such a priesthood is doubtless shared by each member of the community in due measure, but only so far as he is virtually an organ of the whole body, and the universality of the function is compatible with variations of mode and degree as to its exercise' (Hort, 1 *Pet.*, p. 126). The last sentence appears to mean that though all are priests, some may be priests in a fuller and more special sense than others." I should have thought that expression could not have been improved upon; and Dr. Sanday further says (on p. 27) 'it may be observed that the idea of the Church as the body of Christ is correlative to the idea of its members as *ἡγιασμένοι, ἅγιοι, κλητοὶ ἅγιοι*. This character comes to them through the sacrifice of Christ.' I think those words exactly express what the 'mystical body of Christ' means on its priestly side.

34. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—We owe the phrase 'the Church is the body of Christ' to St. Paul, and it is as sure as well as a simple lesson of exegesis that the phrase ought to be interpreted in the terms and through the usage of the man who coined it. Now while he uses terms of the Church that signify that its members are 'holy,' 'called,' and 'beloved,' he nowhere describes them as priests; while he speaks of its ministers as 'Apostles,' 'prophets,' 'pastors,' 'teachers,' or 'evangelists,' he does not ascribe to them sacerdotal acts or functions. And so I do not see how it is possible to extract from the phrase, as it stands in the original and authoritative source, the ideas either of a priestly body or a ministerial priesthood.
35. CANON GORE.—St. Paul's metaphor of the body expresses a truth which St. John and St. Peter teach as well as he—the truth that the 'saved' relation to Christ is only

realized in the community. And St. Paul, like St. Peter and St. John, holds that the community of the redeemed is a priestly body, i. e. one existing to offer up spiritual sacrifices (Rom. xii. 1) which are more than individual—which have a corporate reference (Rom. xv. 16, Phil. ii. 17, iv. 18, Col. i. 24, 1 Tim. ii. 1). Is there any other sense in which St. Peter or St. John held the Christian community to be priestly?

36. DR. SALMOND.—I should like to say a word or two on this point. If I understood Canon Gore aright, he begins with the idea of a corporate society. Now we have a corporate society and we have the individual member, and everything hinges on the place which we would give to each of the two. Canon Gore's view appears to be this, that the corporate society is the prior thing, that it is in virtue of our entering it that we become individually members of Christ's body, and that it is through that corporate society we get all that we have and need in the Christian life. That is his view, and he argues that Paul's words could be interpreted in no other light than that. Now I wish to say that I take absolutely the opposite view, and hold that we must begin with the individual believer. I cannot say, in the sense apparently intended by Canon Gore, that the Church makes the individual member. I say rather that the individual members make what we call the Church—that body of Christ, which consists of all those lovingly subject to Him. I cannot read Paul's language, even in the great passage to the Ephesians, in any other way, because I find that there, as everywhere else, he is speaking of persons chosen of God in Jesus Christ, not of persons chosen of God or sanctified in the Church; and it is these persons that he speaks of as forming that great whole, the totality of all believing and separated ones, of which Christ Himself is the head. Any other

view than that seems to leave us with an idea of Christ's Church which identifies it with some particular organization. With that I disagree, believing it to be far short of the spiritual view of the Church which appears in Paul and all through the New Testament. In Paul's Epistles certainly I find nothing to bear out the idea that the Church in its ultimate definition is an organization, far less an organization of one, fixed, essential form.

37. CANON GORE.—St. Paul speaks of being 'baptized into Christ.' He says also 'by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body.' That which brings a man 'into Christ,' brings him also 'into the body' or community. There is no being in Christ, except as a member of the community. I quite admit that those who become Christians in the belief of the heart are at first outside the body. And the faith that leads them into the body comes to them through the Spirit of Christ. No doubt it was the awakening of the consciousness of the individual that led him into the body, and that awakening was outside the body. But its end was to lead him into the body. I feel that the more you go into St. Paul, the more convincingly anti-individualistic he becomes.
38. MR. ARNOLD THOMAS.—It may be that a man is associated with the Church, although he has no relation to the internal body.
39. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—May I now repeat the question which was before asked of Canon Moberly: If it be true that the Spirit of Christ constitutes the Church, is it also true that where the Spirit of Christ is, there is the Church?
40. MR. HEADLAM.—That expression occurs in Irenaeus. It means that wherever the Church of Christ is, there also is His Spirit.
41. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—I have nothing to do with Irenaeus. I am dealing with Dr. Moberly (laughter).
42. DR. SALMOND.—It will be remembered, at any rate, that

in Irenaeus we have both terms, not only 'where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God,' but also 'where the Spirit of God is, there also the Church and every grace exist.'

43. DR. MOBERLY.—I am quite ready to answer Dr. Fairbairn to the best of my power. I must answer by declining to accept the simple conversion of my proposition. I do not think it would be right to say *simpliciter*, or in the way of definition, upon earth, that where the Spirit of Christ is, there is the Church. In other words, I believe that, while the whole meaning of the Church is Spirit, there is, none the less, such a thing as a *true* and *proper* outward organization of the Church; and that in the orderly continuity of that organization is the due historical expression of the Spirit on earth. In respect of the status of those who are separated from it, and otherwise organized, I do not pronounce anything. I do not define that their position is exactly this, or is exactly that. But so far as they are sundered from the true historical order, I should certainly not be willing to make the assertion that they were, or were a portion of, the Church. At the same time, I freely recognize the working of the Spirit amongst them; I do not dream of denying spiritual reality in their ministries, and have, indeed, no basis for delimiting the methods or possibilities of the working of the Spirit amongst those whom I must still consider to be, in respect of their refusal of the true organization of the body, irregular.
44. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—May I call Canon Moberly's attention to this fact, that in all the reformed confessions from Augsburg down to the XXXIX Articles, the definition of the Church is one and the same: 'A congregation of saints in which the Gospel is purely preached and the sacraments rightly administered.' There is nothing

said as to any special organization or forms of ceremony being necessary to the existence of the Church; but they are most explicit on these three points, the saintliness of its members, the true preaching of the pure word, and the due or right administration of the sacraments. Am I correct in inferring that Canon Moberly does not accept this definition, and that he holds that, apart from a special kind of organization, the Church cannot be, nor as a consequence can there be due administration of the sacraments?

45. DR. MOBERLY.—I conceive that due administration is not really separate from the conception of due organization of the body, or from that coherent history of the Church, which runs back to the very beginning.
46. CANON GORE.—May I ask Dr. Fairbairn whether the salvation of the individual is not necessary just in order that he may become a part of a living and active body?
47. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—No doubt I believe that the 'saved man' is *ipso facto* a member of Christ's mystical body, or conversely, that that body is a body composed only of saved men. But the question before us is, what do we mean when we speak of its priesthood and the priesthood of its ministerial organs? We have been hindered from reaching this point by the attempt to discover what the Church, the mystical body, is in order that we may find out what we understand its priesthood to be. Now if we go back to St. Paul, to whom we owe the phrase, we find that he never predicates priesthood of the body, and that though he enumerates its organs he never attributes to them the priestly office, least of all the great priestly functions of expiation and absolution. Now what I wish to have explained is this:—Whether, and in what sense, priesthood was incorporated into the mystical body of Christ as Paul conceived it? And

whether he conceived its ministerial organs to be priestly, when he attributes to them neither the priestly name nor any special priestly functions?

48. DR. MOBERLY.—The question should be not as to the priestly character of the ministerial organs, apart from the body; but whether the body itself has a priestly character. The ministerial organs are not priestly in detachment from, or antithesis against, the body, but because the body is priestly, they are the organs of its priestliness.
49. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—I do not wish to put the question of the ministerial organs apart from the mystical body; they were not held apart by St. Paul. But if we can interpret the organs through the body, we can also interpret the body through the organs, and these St. Paul describes as ‘Apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healing, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues.’

The point that needs to be elucidated is this: Since the Apostle does not predicate either of the body or of its ministerial organs, priestly functions, on what grounds do we attribute to them a character which they had not in his mind?

50. DR. MOBERLY.—I am expressing no view as to the precise condition in which those ministries stand, which are not organized in the way which I hold to be right. All that I positively insist upon is the character and privilege and secure validity of the Church and her ministries, as they are organized (as I should say) apostolically and historically aright. As to any definition of the precise status of those Christian ministries which are organized otherwise, I should, if pressed, decline, and decline on principle, to pronounce one.
51. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—That is not my point at all; nor does it in the least concern me. We have not met to discuss

or revise our judgements of each other's commissions, though it is a matter of cordial and common congratulation that we have so much community in the possession of fundamental truth. But what I am concerned about is Canon Moberly's interpretation of St. Paul. He is the apostolical authority as to what the phrase means.

52. CANON GORE.—We know that on this point we shall not wholly agree. Our purpose in being here is not to emphasize differences, but rather to remove them.
53. DR. FAIRBAIRN.—Allow me to restate the reason for this emphasis on St. Paul. The term and the idea are his, through him they come into the Church, and therefore his usage is determinative of the apostolical idea.
54. CANON GORE.—I cannot isolate St. Paul in that way from St. Peter and St. John. I think, as I have said, that St. Paul held in substance what they held about the priestly community or body.
55. DR. FORSYTH.—How would it affect the organization or the definition of the Church if it were made out that the Church of the New Testament was congregational in its form of organization in opposition to the historical?
56. CANON GORE.—It would make the vastest difference. I think that all New Testament considerations lead not to the congregational but to the other view.
57. ARCHDEACON WILSON.—I now think that something should be decided with reference to the nature of the report which is to be published, because some of our members will not be able to remain till after the lunch. Business arrangements will be discussed this afternoon, and it will be necessary to share the expenses of the printing, &c., and I have no doubt that those who are absent will agree with the majority in carrying out what-

ever may be now decided upon (hear, hear). But at this moment it only remains for us to express our gratitude to Dr. Sanday—and I must associate with him Dr. Moberly and Dr. Fairbairn—for the great hospitality they have shown to us, and particularly to Dr. Sanday for the courtesy with which he has arranged our meetings, and also for the manner in which he has occupied the chair. We owe him, and I am sure I speak for all who are present, the very deepest gratitude for having given us this unique opportunity of meeting one another and getting to the bottom of some of our differences. To myself, it has been a most instructive and profitable Conference, for it has shown me how much there is in common between us all. I have therefore much pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Sanday.

58. DR. SALMOND.—I suppose I have travelled the longest distance in order to attend this Conference, and I take it upon myself very much for that reason to second the motion which has been made by Archdeacon Wilson. I cannot express for myself how great is my sense of obligation to Dr. Sanday, Dr. Moberly, and Dr. Fairbairn for having given me an opportunity of being present. I should have been well satisfied to have travelled three times the distance in order to attend this Conference (laughter), not only because it has given us an opportunity of becoming acquainted with each other, which I feel indeed to be itself a great pleasure and a great boon, but also because we have gained not a little by our discussion. I think it is something to look back upon with satisfaction and thankfulness that we have had on all sides so frank a recognition of the all-sufficiency and alone-sufficiency of Christ's work. It is quite possible that some who are associated with us on this side may have felt at times a little dread lest the particular doctrine of the Church with which others are associated might not

be quite consistent with that. Now I am here to say that if any such fear has been entertained it has been a groundless fear, so far as this Conference is concerned. I will go further and say that there is absolutely no difference between us on what is the fundamental matter, viz. the absolute completeness and uniqueness of Christ's work and our entire dependence on it. I am sure I am right also in saying that we on this side heartily and thankfully welcome the full recognition which those in this Conference who do not see eye to eye with us in all things have made of the great truth of the priesthood of the Christian people, and for myself I wish to say further how grateful is the statement made by Canon Gore that he is prepared to place that in the forefront. Another thing that has impressed me greatly is this, that there has been such agreement as to what makes the real essence of the unity of the Church, whatever else may be associated with it. I mean the fact that the Spirit of Christ is in the Church. Now when we come to confess together these three great fundamental truths, I think we may say that we have not travelled here and talked with each other in vain. We have exchanged opinions and looked into each other's views of New Testament truth to some good purpose. I thank God for it. I thank Dr. Sanday for all that he has done, and I venture to throw out the suggestion that he might add to the debt under which he has laid us by arranging another series of Conferences in which we might deal with the whole theory of the Church, its ministry, and its sacraments at some future time. I desire in the strongest possible manner to express my own sense of obligation and my thankfulness, and I finish by praying that we may all be filled with the grace that is given to all them that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

59. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.—I rise to add my tribute to that which has already been said. The gentlemen with whom I am associated know a good deal about the subjects with which we have been dealing, but I know nothing whatever. Therefore I have particular reason for thanking Dr. Sanday for inviting me here, and I do thank him from the bottom of my heart. I should like to say, with reference to the points which have been raised at this Conference, that the idea of a priest coming between me and Christ is so inconceivable that the moment of the priestly offering at the altar is the special moment of most direct contact with the personal Christ. I have always felt that everybody who is in Christ has that in him which constitutes him a Churchman.
60. DR. DAVISON.—I should just like to express my sense of obligation to Dr. Sanday. I have travelled a considerable distance during the last two days in order to be present, and I have greatly profited by what I have heard; and although perhaps I have not altered my opinions very much in consequence, I am deeply indebted to Dr. Sanday, Dr. Moberly, and Dr. Fairbairn for their kindness and hospitality.
61. DR. SANDAY.—I thank you from my heart for what has been said. The Conference has been of great interest to me, and it has also caused me some anxiety, but the result has far exceeded my expectations. I have been more than repaid for anything that I may have done to bring the conference about.

The sitting then terminated.

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