The PALIMPSEST

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH AT COUNCIL BLUFFS

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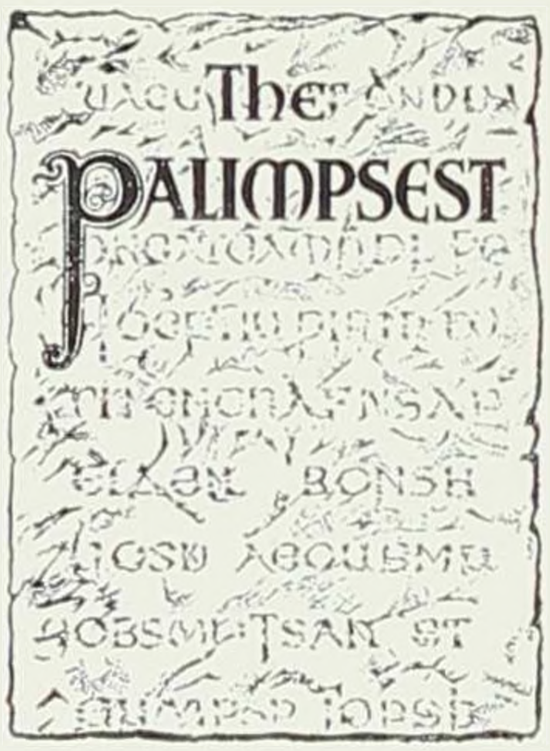

The Meaning of Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest was a parchment or other material from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete; and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the record of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

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THE PALIMPSEST

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English Origins

In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, under Henry VIII and Edward VI, by a series of acts by King, Parliament, and Convocation, the Church of England renounced all connection with the "Bishop of Rome" and asserted its independence as a branch of the Church on equal footing with any and all others. In the tumultuous times of the Reformation, similar actions were taken in other nations, notably in the Scandinavian monarchies of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The likenesses and the differences between what was done in England and what was done elsewhere have their importance, but cannot be discussed here. The official quarrel between the Church of England and that of Rome was originally stated in terms of organization, not of doctrine.

In the years 1553 to 1558, in the troubled reign of Queen Mary, the English nation was temporarily and uneasily reconciled with Rome. In the subsequent reign of Elizabeth the connection was again broken and has not been renewed.

Those responsible for the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome held, as their successors still hold, that the Church of England did not have its beginning in the sixteenth century, but was initiated in the fourth or perhaps even the third century when the first missionaries appeared in Britain. The Church in Britain had remained independent until the early thirteenth century, when shortsighted monarchs, notably King John, had bargained away that independence for dubious temporary advantages. The acts of these monarchs had never been fully accepted by the English people, either clerical or lay, and had been partly repudiated from time to time before the definitive acts of the 1500's.

Officially, the Church of England held and taught that its history was continuous, that its orders came in unbroken line from the Apostles, and that it had a claim to represent the historic Church shared by none of its rivals in the British Isles. The Church of England was a "Church"; the other groups were "sects." Expediency led to a modification of this absolute position in practice; but it was the official "party line," and it influenced profoundly the conduct of the Churchmen who came to the colonies, of the group that organized the Episcopal Church, and of those who carried on that Church.

During the eighteenth century, the zeal with which this position was asserted diminished, par-

ticularly on the part of bishops in England, who were often of the "Low Church," which tended to minimize the claim of uniqueness by the Church of England. During the same period, the hold of the dissenting groups on their membership grew weaker. Among all English Christian bodies there was a tendency to accept the proposition that all sensible people were of the same religion and that sensible people never talked about their religion.

But the official teaching of the Church was by no means wholly forgotten, especially by the lower clergy, whose relations with their bishops were often strained. And a curious variation of the proposition that sensible people were of the same religion was presently to appear in the Methodist Movement, which insisted that sensible people should talk a great deal about their religion.

M. F. CARPENTER

American Variations

Officially, as the King's Church, the Church of England accompanied His Majesty's flag to all parts of the world. Along with that flag, the Church came to the thirteen colonies, and in many of them had an exceedingly thin time. In some of them, owing to various quirks of charters and the strength given by them to local prejudices, the King's Church was for a time declared illegal. And, in spite of some genuinely earnest efforts, finding their most efficient expression in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church of England had little firm hold in more than two or three of the thirteen colonies before the Revolutionary War swept away all official English ties. There had been no Anglican bishop in colonial America.

Whether the former members of the Church of England in America could create a new Church that should to some degree maintain the Anglican tradition was a moot question. Many former Churchmen had grave doubts in the matter. Some openly proclaimed the conviction that the task was hopeless. But in 1789 a moderately sized group of not too discouraged persons organized the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States

of America, and started out on what was to be, rightly viewed, another of the triumphs of hope over experience that on occasion appear to delight the student of history. Bishop Samuel Seabury of Connecticut was consecrated in 1784, in Scotland; Bishops William White of Pennsylvania and Samuel Provoost of New York were consecrated in England three years later. In 1790 Bishop James Madison of Virginia also received his consecration in England. The first bishop to be consecrated on American soil was Thomas J. Claggett of Maryland (1792).

The state of religion in the new nation of approximately four millions of Americans, although somewhat dubious, was far from desperate. Only a minority professed allegiance to any church. Some intellectuals pooh-poohed historical Christianity as outworn superstition. The different Protestant bodies were organizing on a national basis and were soon to lose any special privileges they had known in colonial times. Support from abroad had largely been alienated or cast off. The various denominations stood as voluntary associations dependent on themselves for survival. Roman Catholics numbered about thirty thousand communicants, with a high concentration in Maryland. America's Jewish community could show six or seven synagogues in 1790. To live, the churches must win quickly an increasing number of adult adherents from the unchurched.

Such adult members Protestantism began to win rapidly in the nineteenth century. The technique was the revival, evangelism by preachers and lay workers, well convinced, after the fashion of the Wesleys, that all Christians had the same vital message which must be talked about as much as possible. By preaching this message, the churches could win converts, and by means of religious exercises hold and make them practicing Christians.

The message of the revivalists, of necessity simple and designed to effect prompt decisions in those who heard it, centered in the Atonement. All men, said the evangelists, were sinful and doomed to disaster in this world and damnation in the next. No man could be saved from his sins and the woe they entailed except by his acceptance of Christ as his personal Savior. The man who trusted in his own personal good conduct to deliver him was as certainly damned as he who wallowed blindly in his sin defiant of temporal and eternal consequences.

The technique and the message worked; by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Protestantism had stamped itself firmly on America, and had made its standards of conduct and belief the professed standards of millions.

Those who wonder how Episcopalians with a High Church tradition accepted revivalism need to remember that the Wesleys were High Churchmen. Like the Wesleys, Episcopal clergy in the

early nineteenth century in America were of the "High Church" group. Confronted, as the Wesleys never were, by the danger that the "sects" might swallow up the "Church," Episcopalians, both clerical and lay, grew uneasy. The devout among them felt that their Church in a peculiar fashion preserved the historic Church, and that a sense of historical tradition was necessary to Christians. Furthermore, Episcopalians possessed and felt a devotion to the traditional service of the *Prayer Book,* which most considered hardly inferior to the Bible. As a practical manifestation of the worth of historic Churchmanship, the liturgy of the Church was indispensable. Even more indispensable was the Holy Communion, the "Sacrament," for which the devout Christian prepared himself regularly and carefully, and from which he received strength to meet the stress of life and the fear of death. Only in their own Church did Episcopalians find these comforts.

This feeling, though many who held it were not free from snobbishness and narrowness, was not in itself snobbish or narrow. Perhaps the majority of Protestants tended to discount the value of tradition, of ordered service, and of sacramental practices. They had developed substitutes which for the time being served adequately.

By 1825 the leaders of the Episcopal Church were committed to a re-emphasis of their historic teaching of the uniqueness of that Church, an em-

phasis soon generally accepted. Episcopalians now strove to appeal in a special fashion to those unsympathetic to the general Protestant teaching.

Two developments from this change of position immediately assumed importance. First, the vigorous revived appeal of High Churchmanship brought an increased membership and a stronger morale. The Episcopal Church gained confidence and prestige. In 1835 its General Convention planned a more active and widespread missionary program, and chose its first missionary bishops for the Northwest and the Southwest.

Second, within the Church a party referring to itself as "Evangelical" felt grave concern that in breaking away from the general Protestant position the Episcopal Church might lose its hold on the great doctrine of Justification by Faith. As a sort of corollary, the Evangelicals, though quite High Church in their teaching, held that, properly disciplined, a modified form of evangelism was quite consonant with Episcopalianism.

M. F. CARPENTER

Beginnings in Iowa

The Right Reverend Jackson Kemper had been chosen by General Convention, meeting at Philadelphia in 1835, as missionary bishop of Indiana and Missouri. (Illinois, lying between, was already a diocese under Bishop Philander Chase.) In 1836, Wisconsin, then including Iowa, Minnesota, and parts west, was added to the sprawling jurisdiction of the missionary bishop for the Northwest.

Perhaps none of the heroes of the Church in the mid-nineteenth century was as effective and as attractive as Bishop Kemper. Unfortunately, Iowa felt but little of his influence. Though he was in control from 1836 to the beginning of 1854, Bishop Kemper was to see the state taken from his control, by agents of a group whom he distrusted, and made the testing ground of an attempt to discredit his activities and to counteract his policy.

The first services of the Episcopal Church had been held at Dubuque in the fall of 1835 by the Rev. Henry Tulledge, rector at Galena. Other clergymen from Illinois read prayers occasionally in 1836, 1837, and 1838, and Bishop Chase visited the state at least once.

Of Bishop Kemper's clergy, only the Rev. Richard Cadle, at Dubuque in 1836, is surely known to have read prayer in Iowa. Bishop Kemper visited Iowa in 1838 and secured a promise from the missionary committee of men for Burlington, Fort Madison, and Davenport, but it was not until 1839 that the first permanent missionary arrived.

In the fall of that year the Rev. John Batchelder, who had founded the first parish in Illinois, came to Burlington, where he organized St. John's Church, the first parish in Iowa. In 1842 the first Episcopal church building in Iowa was completed at Bloomington, present-day Muscatine. It had been promised to Bishop Kemper by Matthew Matthews. Tradition tells that the first service in the church was the funeral of the donor.

Muscatine also has the distinction of having built the first of the churches still in use in the diocese. The convention that organized the diocese met in the "new" church, which is now Trinity Church in Muscatine. The first church building that Bishop Kemper was able to dedicate was St. John's in Dubuque in 1851. St. John's was the first parish in Iowa to be self-sustaining.

In 1851 Bishop Kemper reported active missions at Burlington, Davenport, Dubuque, Keokuk, and Muscatine, with the prospect that work would be resumed at Fort Madison and begun at Cedar Rapids and Iowa City. Progress in Iowa had been slow; neither the number nor the quality

of his clergy had been adequate to the task. Two of the first three to come to Iowa had been deposed by sentence of ecclesiastical courts, and others had shown themselves to be erratic and uncertain. But in Alfred Louderback, a recent arrival at Davenport, the bishop had a man after his own heart, and the prospect of getting other such men was better than it had been. The bishop felt quite optimistic about Iowa.

In the same year the Episcopal Missionary Association for the West was organized in Philadelphia and announced its intention of giving special attention to Iowa, "hoping, under God's grace, that its virgin soil may receive now through us the indelible impress of Gospel Faith."

An essential preliminary step to bestowing the "indelible impress" was the removal of Iowa from the jurisdiction of Bishop Kemper. Bishop Kemper and the Western Society were on opposite sides of a conflict then distressing the Church. The issues of that conflict ran deep, and in it were foreshadowed other conflicts that were at a later time and in a less public fashion to distress other Protestant groups.

The fear of the Evangelicals that High Churchmen might lose their grip on the vital doctrines of Protestantism as interpreted in America in the early nineteenth century was justified far sooner than most Evangelicals could have anticipated. In the late 1830's and the early 1840's two strong

movements, each destined to become stronger with the years, appeared both in America and in England.

The first of these, Anglo-Catholicism, concerned itself primarily with the history and the teachings of the Church. In England its most influential leader was Edward Pusey, though the one best known today is John Henry Newman. Both men may have been influenced by acquaintance with American bishops. Anglo-Catholics declared that no branch of the Church could neglect any part of the history of the Church without losing valuable contributions to faith and morals. The Church of England had neglected certain parts of the history, which it should restudy and apply.

In America the greatest controversy was aroused by the contentions that the teaching of the Church and its statement of truth was progressive, not static, and that good works played a part along with faith in securing salvation. The practices that seemed most dangerous were the holding of more frequent communions, the sanctioning of confession to a priest, and the formation of monastic orders. These doctrines and practices were abhorrent to orthodox Protestants; they were, however, part of the teaching and usage of the Roman Catholic Church. Their acceptance by the Episcopal Church would move that body away from Protestantism and toward Rome.

The second movement was known as Ritualism. It was not identical with Anglo-Catholicism, some of whose advocates detested many of the practices dear to Ritualists. Nor did all Ritualists accept Anglo-Catholic teaching in doctrine or in usage. Ritualists wished primarily to provide for refined and cultured people incentives to reverence and devotion in the form of worship they followed and in the construction and decoration of the church buildings. They found much that they liked in Roman Catholic procedure and freely used what they liked.

Neither the High Churchmen, who had shaped the policy of the Church, nor the Evangelicals, who had accepted that policy with reservations, liked the Anglo-Catholics or the Ritualists. Both movements were condemned by the House of Bishops, and both movements persisted because more and more of the lower clergy found in them strength and comfort. And eventually the High Church party, which had tended to look upon the Anglo-Catholics and the Ritualists as nuisances rather than menaces, came to accept both as real aids to the Episcopal Church.

With the Evangelicals it was otherwise. Anglo-Catholicism, by direct teaching, and Ritualism, by implication, led men to base their hope of salvation, partly at least, on certain acts either of devotion or of charity. From the Evangelical point of view, one who counted on anything else but faith

to save him merited damnation. High Church bishops who encouraged or even tolerated imitation of Rome in this matter imperiled the souls given to their charge.

This "betrayal" by tolerant bishops was at its worst in the Northwest. A pact in 1835 had given the control of home missions to the High Church party and of foreign missions to the Evangelical. And Bishop Kemper, chosen under this agreement, was High Church. And among High Church bishops, he was most kindly to Anglo-Catholics. In Wisconsin one might find an Episcopal monastery and Episcopal services closely resembling those of Rome.

Clearing the way for Gospel faith in Iowa required quick action. Only General Convention could recognize a diocese and authorize its election of a bishop. General Convention met next in the fall of 1853. If Iowa did not apply then for recognition, nothing could be done until 1856. Time was of the essence, as the "Western Society," as it was generally called, realized. New men paid entirely by the Society were sent to Iowa. For the most part they were well chosen, the leader being the Rev. John Ufford, who came to Muscatine in the spring of 1852.

Besides assuming the entire support of certain missionaries, the Society gave stipends to others. Furthermore, pious laymen and laywomen made opportune gifts to parishes to help complete build-

ings, purchase equipment, or pay off debt. Evangelical support was made to seem very real.

Ufford began immediately to agitate for the organization of a diocese. Before he had been in the state a year, he called a meeting at Muscatine to consider the matter. Six of the seven active clergy in the state, the Revs. William Adderly, John Batchelder, R. D. Brooke, Samuel Goodale, C. C. Townsend, and John Ufford met on May 31, and sent a letter (dated Muscatine, June 29, 1853) to Bishop Kemper asking him to call an organizing convention in the course of the summer. No laymen were asked to this meeting, and the Rev. Alfred Louderback did not attend.

The bishop, though opposed to organizing a diocese, was bound by canon to call the convention, which met on August 17, 1853, in the present Trinity Church at Muscatine. All seven active clergy were present; lay delegates came from Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Davenport, Iowa City, Keokuk, Muscatine, Washington, and Dubuque. Bishop Kemper, who had hoped to be present, was held at Galena by low water.

Louderback was chosen chairman, perhaps to forestall his leading a fight from the floor. The convention worked rapidly and in two days had organized a diocese, named delegates to General Convention, and adjourned to meet on May 31, 1854, in Davenport, to elect a bishop.

General Convention made no difficulty about

recognizing Iowa, though it denied a similar request from California. So the convention came together at Davenport, where it was forced to meet in the lecture room of the Presbyterian church because of delay in completing Trinity.

Bishop Kemper was present. So, too, were six of the seven clergymen present at Muscatine the previous August, Townsend being held in the South by ill health. The Revs. Denison and Haff, new in the diocese, attended, the latter being too new to vote. Of the lay delegations of 1853, Iowa City failed to appear. Delegates from Bellevue, Fort Madison, and Dubuque were, however, accepted as entitled to vote.

Letters preserved from Bishop Kemper show that he had hoped to avert the choosing of a bishop: the new diocese could still continue under his supervision. But the shrewd and conciliatory advice that he gave the convention suggests that he had given up the fight. A small group, headed by Louderback, fought against such action. Their contention was that the canons required that a new diocese have at least six presbyters with a year's residence in their current parishes before it chose a bishop, and that that condition did not hold in Iowa. The records seem to show that this contention was technically correct. Practically, the plea was valueless, for the conditions would shortly be fulfilled, and the majority of the clergy and the parishes desired a bishop. The convention

voted by five clergy to two and by six parishes to two to proceed to such an election. (One parish refrained from voting.) The convention then elected the Rev. Henry Washington Lee of Rochester, New York, bishop of Iowa, by five votes to one in the clerical order, and by five votes to four in the lay. (One clergyman, presumably Louderback, did not vote.) Louderback and three laymen signed a formal statement of protest, which was spread on the minutes and sent to the bishops and the standing committees. It was ineffective. The convention passed a resolution praising Bishop Kemper and adjourned.

The biographer of Bishop Kemper notes that he took no part in the consecration of Bishop Lee, although he had shared in the consecration of every other bishop chosen by dioceses formed from his original territory. Probably his absence was not accidental.

Removed by a century from the election, an historian can see excellent reasons for wishing that it could have been avoided. Though the earnestness of the Evangelicals and their willingness to make sacrifices for their faith are beyond question, they understood neither the essential strength of the Episcopal Church nor the trend of the times. Within a quarter of a century, the Evangelical party was to disintegrate, and certain of its members were to head the only schism in the history of the Episcopal Church. In so doing, they allied

themselves with that section of Protestantism which was most conservative in its theology and is still most alien to humane Protestant thought today.

Though the Western Society through its active support of work in Iowa enabled Bishop Lee to achieve results that seemed marvelous, it also exercised pressure on him to accomplishment that lent itself to advertisement. Consequently, much of what he did was doomed from the start to failure. Worst of all, by its willingness in the early years to find money for Iowa, the Society seriously weakened the self-reliance of Iowa.

M. F. CARPENTER

Growth and Spread

In 1853 Henry Washington Lee was thirty-eight years of age. His name smacks of Virginia, but he had no connection with that state. Born in Connecticut and reared in Massachusetts, he had been consecrated by the venerable Bishop Alexander V. Griswold. After serving briefly in Springfield, Massachusetts, where he built a mission into a parish, he went to St. Luke's Church in Rochester, New York. By 1853, Henry Washington Lee was widely known as an able administrator, a zealous supporter of missions, and an eloquent preacher.

His family had been prominent and well-to-do if not wealthy. He had excellent connections both social and financial. He was generous in money matters and fortunately able to exercise that generosity. Politically he was of the group that were successively Whigs, Free Soilers, and Republicans. In Churchmanship, he was a moderate Evangelical, though he tended to become more rigid as he grew older. Though he had received honorary degrees from Hobart and Rochester and was to receive a third from Cambridge near the end of his life, he was not noteworthy as a scholar. Nor was he keen to understand or ready to sym-

pathize with views other than his own. Physically he was impressive, a giant of a man. And he was possessed of great driving energy.

In addition to this physical strength and earnest zeal, Bishop Lee brought to Iowa an endowment fund estimated at $30,000. The middle 1850's were boom times, and money came easily. But Bishop Lee, thanks to the hold he had in the East, found money even in bad times. Though the Panic of 1857 dissipated the endowment, unwisely invested in land, and though he committed himself to several harmful and costly experiments, his diocese fared well financially during the greater part of his administration.

For some twenty years, 1854–1874, he drove himself and by precept and example urged his clergy to make Iowa the great exemplar of an Evangelical diocese that the Western Society had envisaged. On the surface, he succeeded. When he took active charge, Iowa had thirteen parishes and but twelve clergy. There may have been four hundred communicants. When he died, a disturbed, aging man in 1874, the parishes numbered fifty-seven and the clergy forty-five. The official report counted 2,436 communicants. The giving of his parishes was just short of $60,000 annually.

In the course of that time Bishop Lee had carried the diocese past the Panic of 1857 and the Civil War into the bad times of the early seventies. And in doing so he had also broken his own

health and, one fears, his own spirit, and felt himself betrayed in the house of his friends.

For by 1874 Bishop Lee had come to realize that his success was neither as complete nor as sound as the figures seemed to indicate. Grave weaknesses, apparent from the first to any who looked closely, had grown graver with the years. The interest of the laity in the Church apart from their parishes had been feeble. In no year after 1856 had one-half the parishes chosen delegates to the diocesan convention, and in no year had one-third actually had men on hand. A high proportion of the clergy had no cure of souls, though a majority of the parishes were without resident priests. Most of the clergy were on missionary status. Some were in bad repute. Griswold College at Davenport and the "Bishop's Church," renamed the "Cathedral," were made possible by money from outside the diocese. The college had no hold on Episcopalians, who sent their children elsewhere. The "Bishop's Church" was resented in many parishes. The conventions, hitherto harmonious, grew quarrelsome in the 1870's.

A detailed examination of the reasons back of this mixture of failure and success is neither necessary nor pleasant here. All that need be done is to suggest how the frame of mind in which the bishop and his supporters worked gave reason for both the rapid growth and the insecure results. For the Evangelicals had labored as men who felt

that they and they only could meet a desperate need by achieving an immediate success.

The Evangelicals, whom Bishop Lee and the more zealous of his clergy represented so well, believed fervently that the life of Christianity, which they equated with Protestantism, depended on a devotion to two great principles: first, justification by faith, which they believed must result from a definite conversion; second, sanctification, for which the ministrations of the Church were essential. The proper balance of these principles only Evangelical Episcopalians understood. Anglo-Catholics and Ritualists were fast forgetting the first principle; Protestants other than Episcopalians had a most imperfect grasp of the second. The Evangelical party had laid on its shoulders the duty to preserve a sound faith.

The Evangelical party, through the Western Society, had elected to fight a significant battle for Christianity in Iowa. Those sent to wage a spiritual warfare there had the duty of showing to all Christians, through the Evangelical party, the meaning of true faith. Hence the consecrated interest in the work, and the fierce anxiety to present immediate results with too little concern about their permanence.

At this period in the history of the United States, a type of thought about Christianity was current to which for a time the teaching of the Evangelicals was quite acceptable. Some of the

success in Iowa came because of that thinking. A change in thought helped in the failure.

In the later fifties and the early sixties, many men, moved largely perhaps by the grave political and economic conditions, pondered most deeply on eternal values. The result was a "quiet revival" marked by little of the fanfare of earlier movements. For men of serious temperament, and such men were often greatly moved, the appeal of Evangelical Episcopalians was most effective. All churches gained members, but perhaps no other single group received any more useful additions than did this body. Its combination of order and earnestness was singularly satisfying.

These men, living in a time when sharp decisions were demanded, readily accepted the doctrine of the vital single choice. Perhaps the doctrine of the Church as a means of grace was not so clearly endorsed in their experience, but it was not repugnant to them and it was easy for most of them to interpret the ministrations of the Church in terms of good taste, decency, and consideration for the feelings of a humane man.

In the Episcopal Church men of this stamp, both clerical and lay, became hospitable to a new view of a closer cooperation between churches then becoming popular. The spread of this view among Episcopalians was to have an important effect on the Church in general, and an especially important effect on the Diocese of Iowa and on Bishop

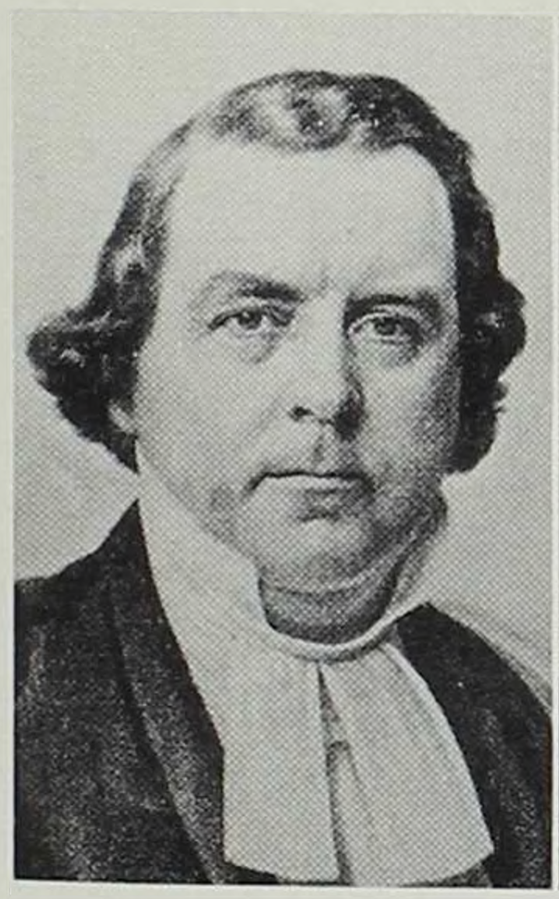
Lee. For Bishop Lee was not hostile to such views; he would welcome them, within proper bounds.

Those anxious to resume a united front with other Protestants played their cards poorly. They elected to join battle on an issue where the tide of thought was turning against traditional Protestantism. The conviction that a decisive choice by a mature person was necessary to conversion and salvation had already made infant baptism a "quaint practice" in the minds of most Protestants. With this point of view the collaborationists among the Episcopalians sympathized. Some of them omitted the word "regenerate" in performing infant baptism. For this they were disciplined by their bishops, who had no choice. General Convention in 1871 permitted an explaining away of the word, but not its deletion.

So, in December, 1873, a group headed by the Rev. George D. Cummins, Assistant Bishop of Kentucky, seceded to found the Reformed Episcopal Church. For that church, all special claims made for the Episcopal Church, by Evangelicals as well as by High Churchmen, were renounced.

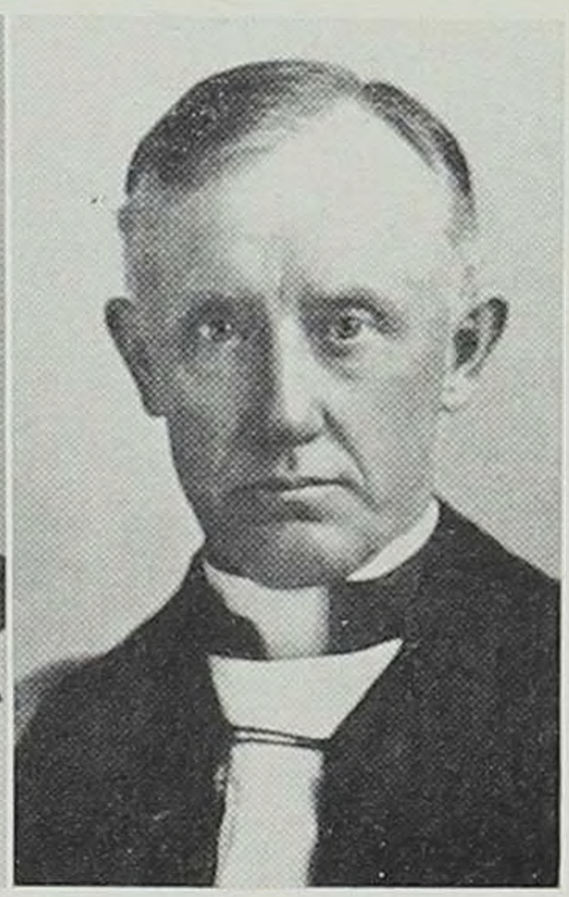
Bishop Lee, who had preached the sermon at the consecration of Bishop Cummins, was deeply hurt. His diocese was hurt even worse than he realized. In the hard times still prevailing many small parishes in Iowa were making scant headway in towns where stronger Protestant congre-

EPISCOPAL BISHOPS OF IOWA



HENRY W. LEE
1854–1874

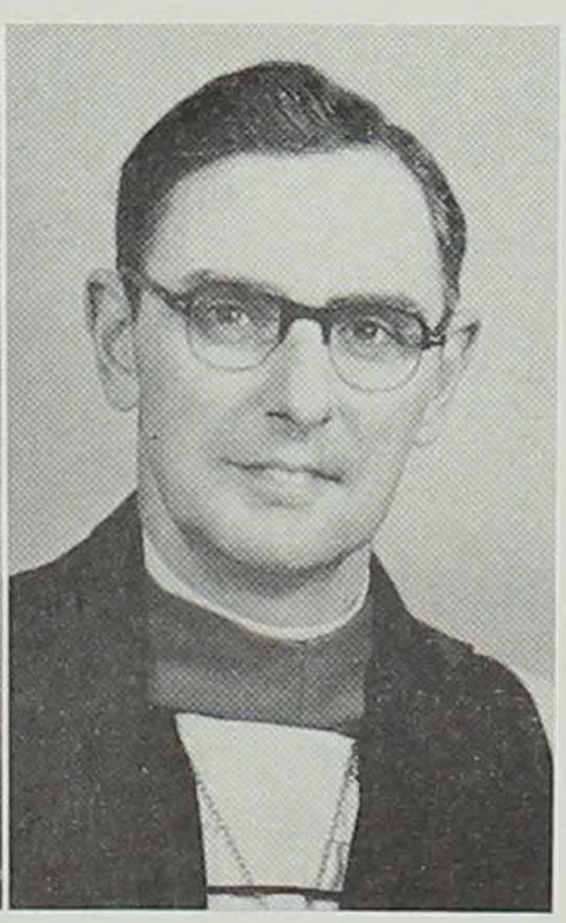
WILLIAM S. PERRY
1876–1898



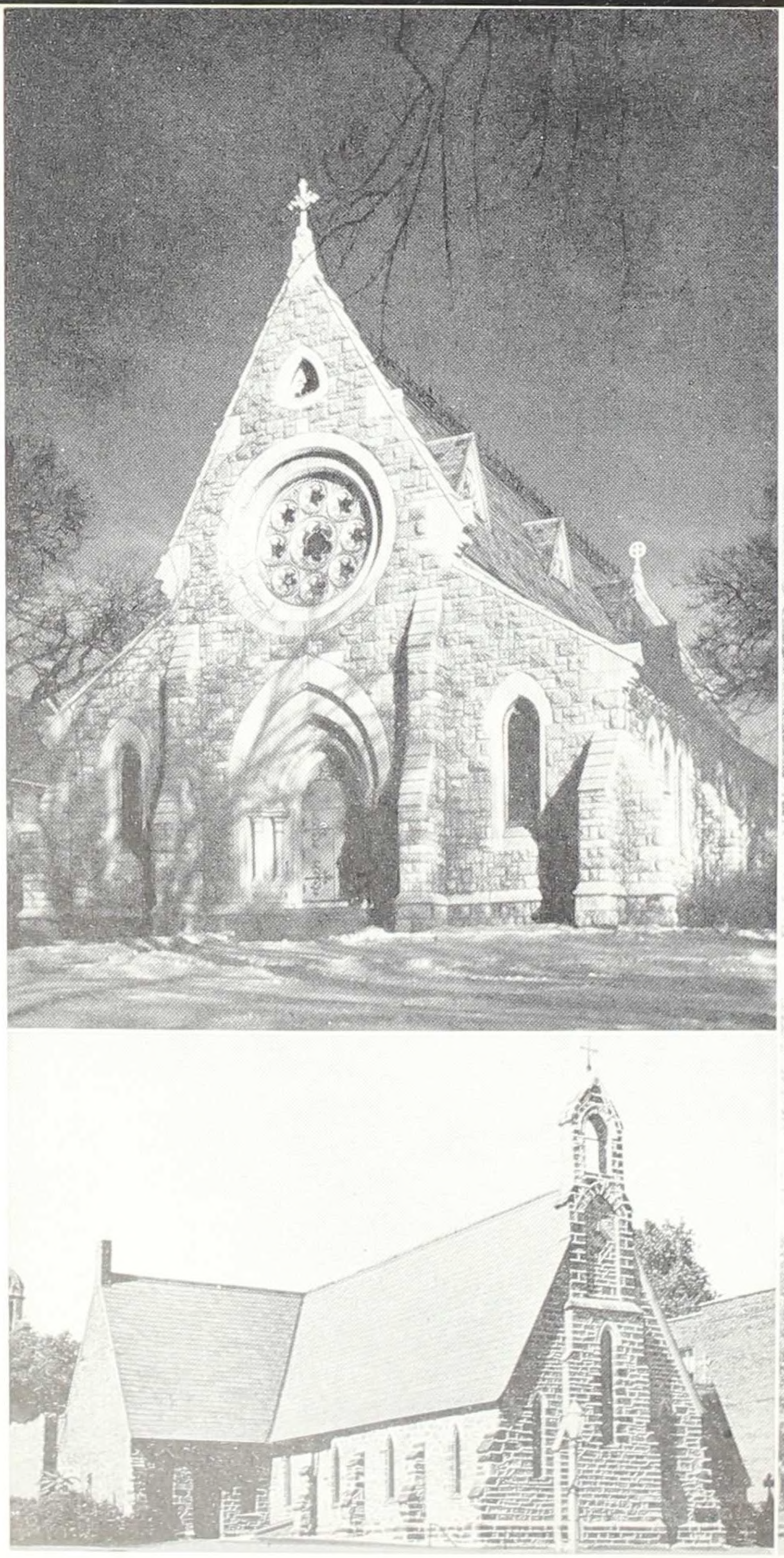
THEODORE N. MORRISON
1899–1929

HARRY S. LONGLEY
1912–1943

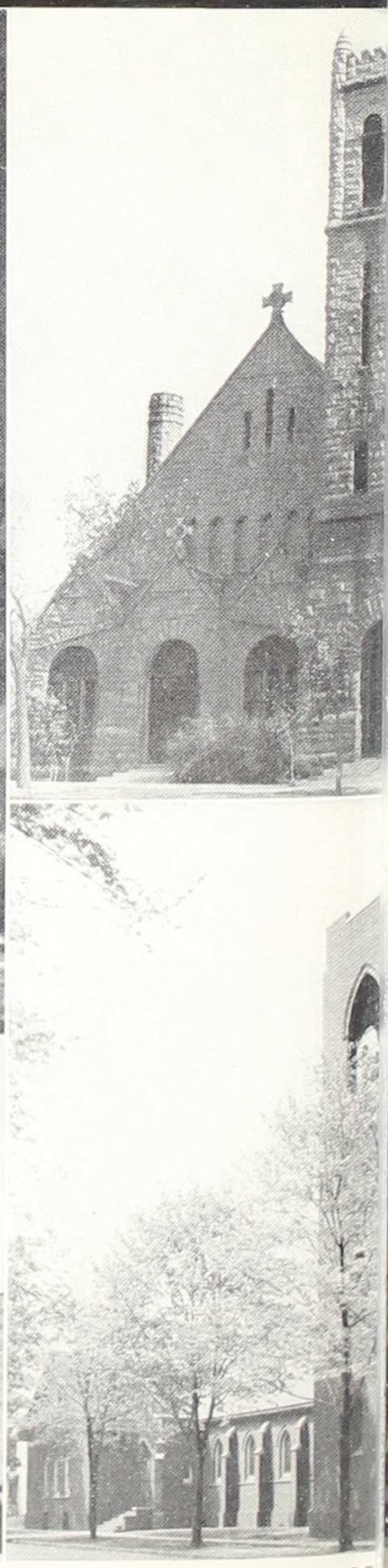
ELWOOD L. HAINES
1944–1949



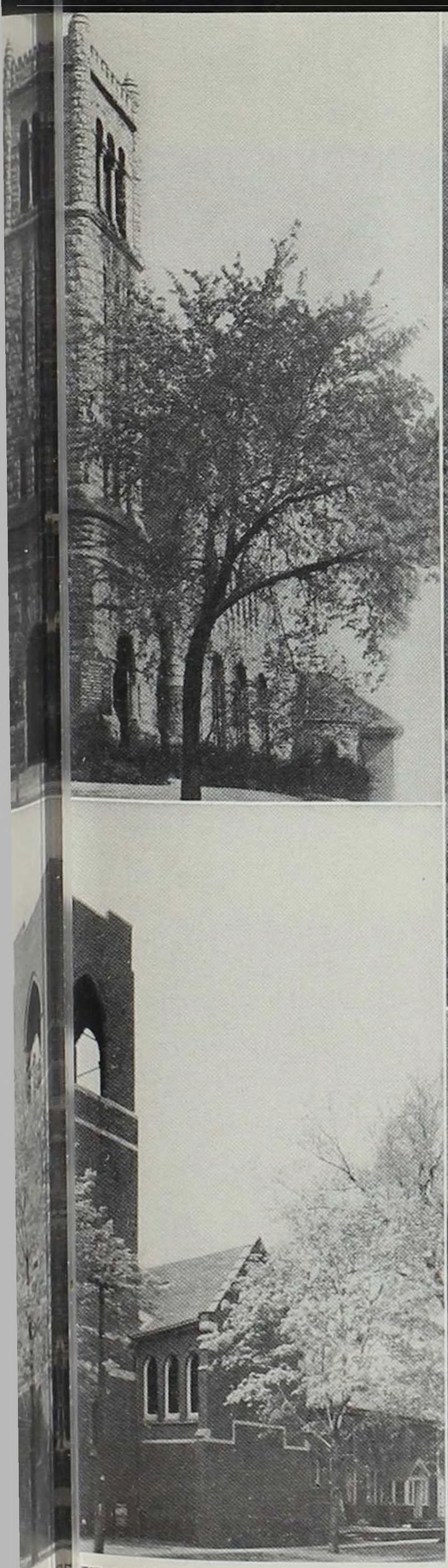
GORDON V. SMITH
1950–

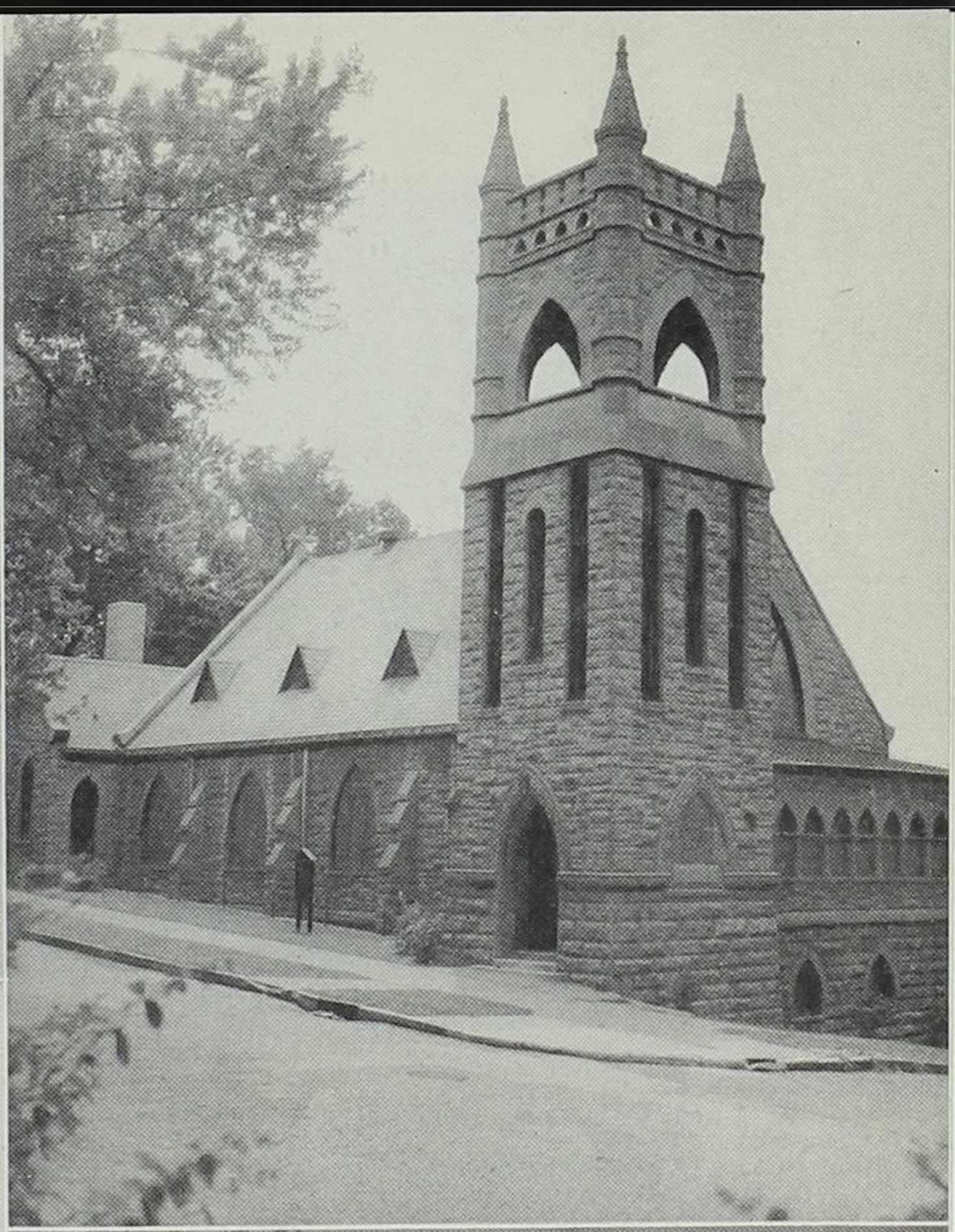


Trinity Cathedral, Davenport
Trinity Church, Muscatine



SOME EPISCOPAL
St. Thomas'
St. James'

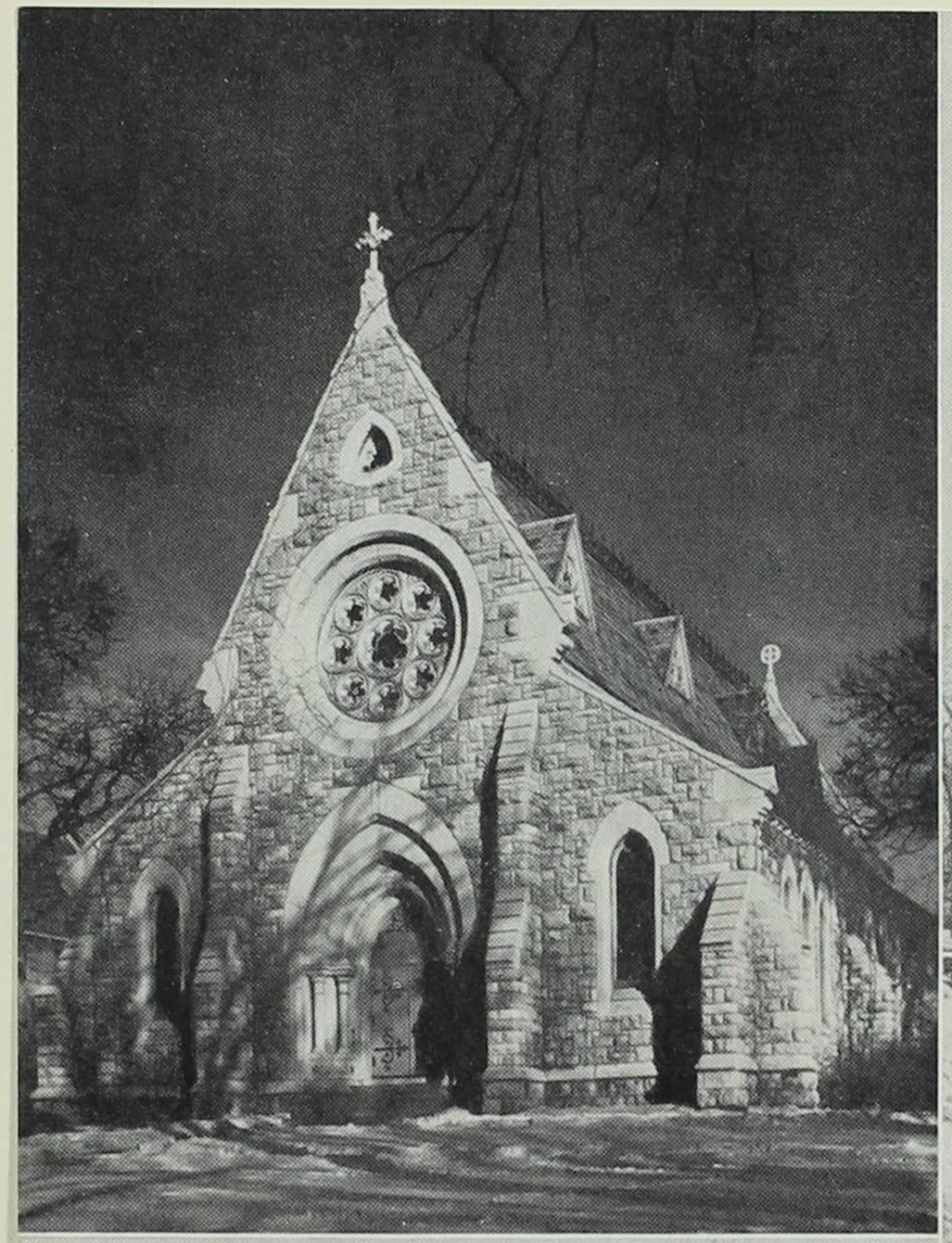


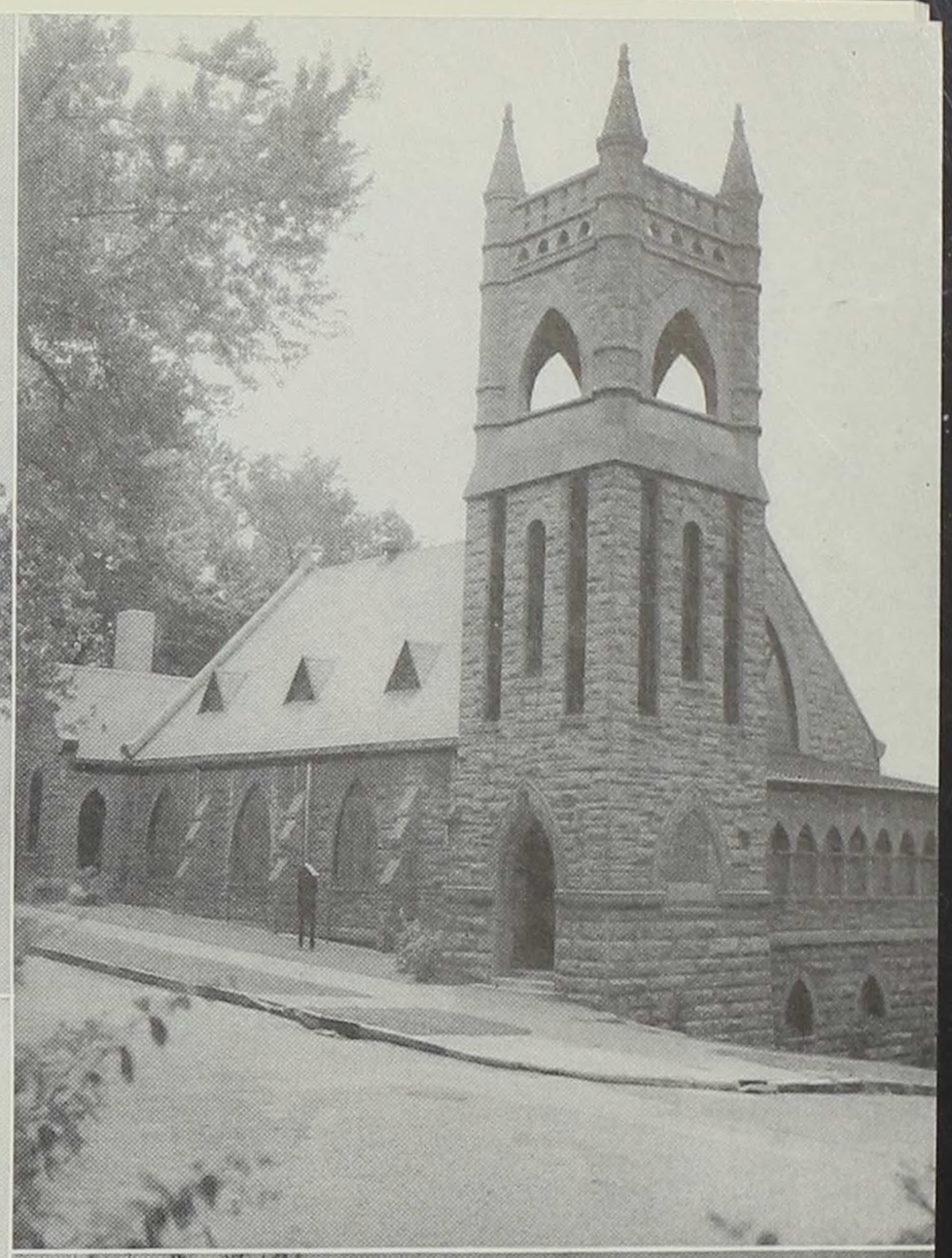


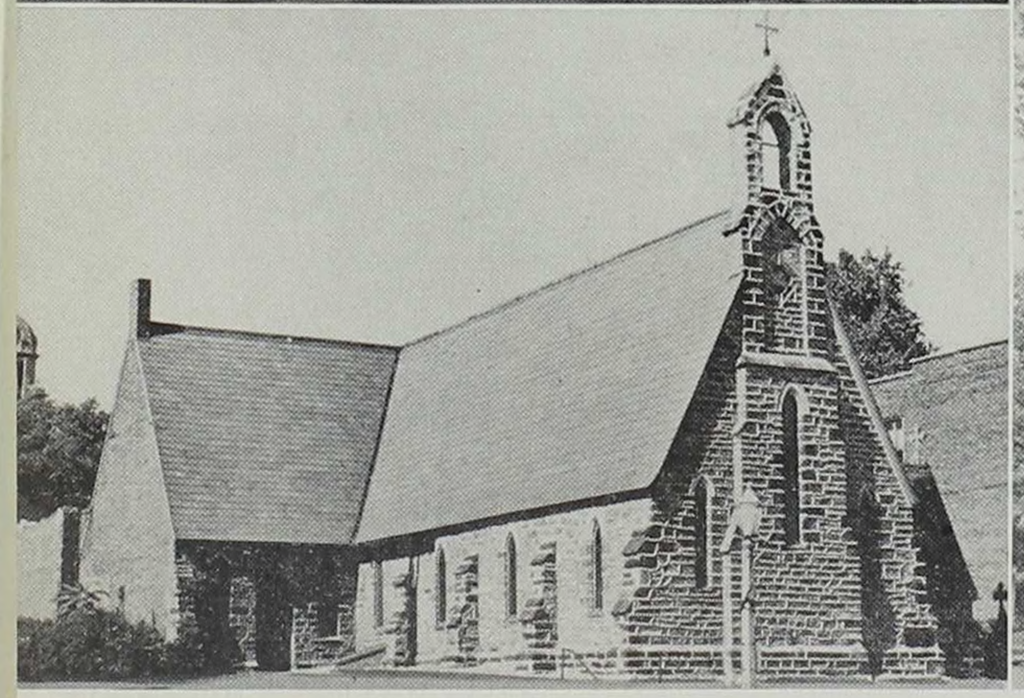
IRCHES IN IOWA

h, Sioux City
, Oskaloosa

Trinity Church, Ottumwa
Christ Church, Waterloo





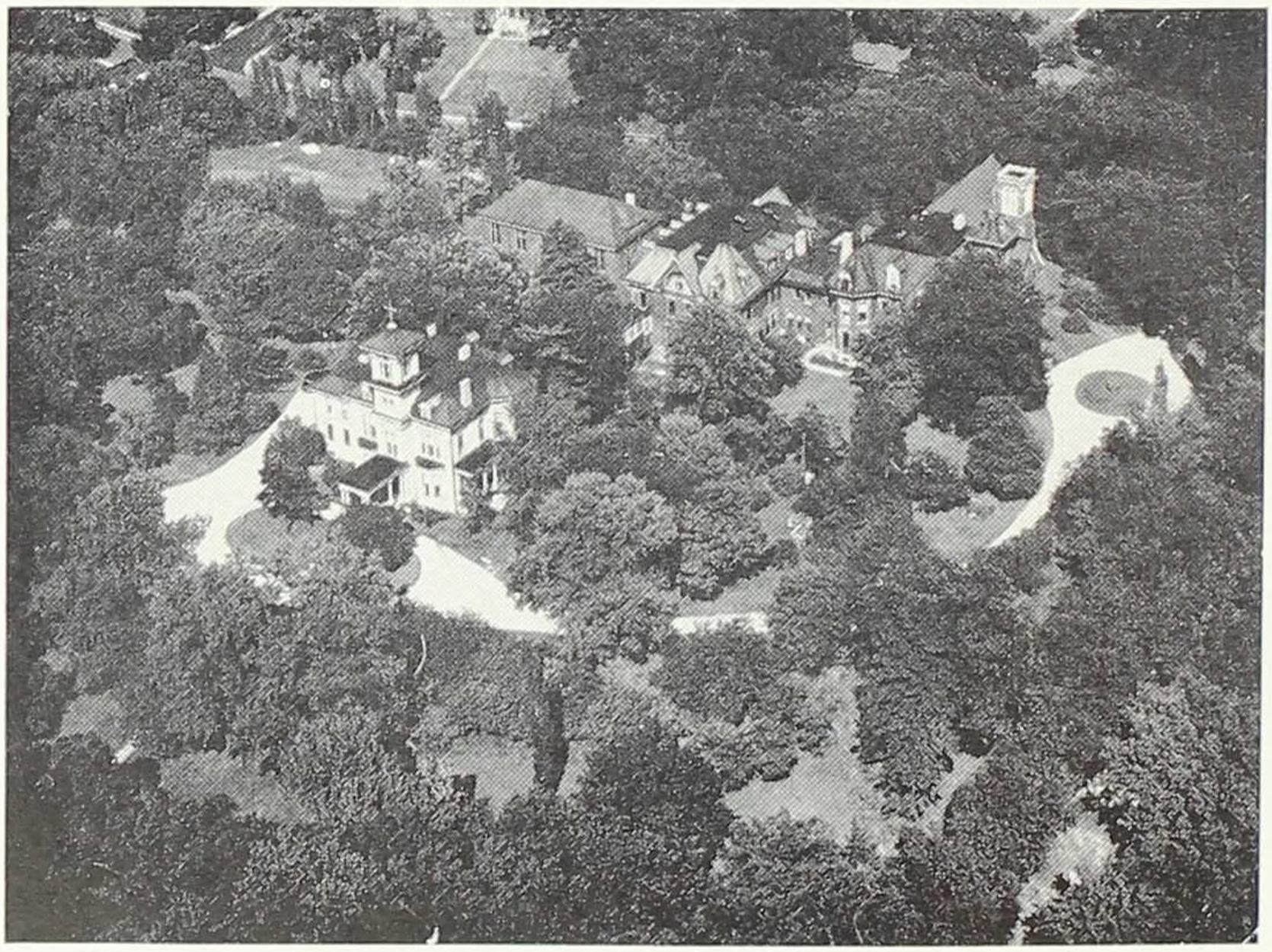


SOME EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN IOWA

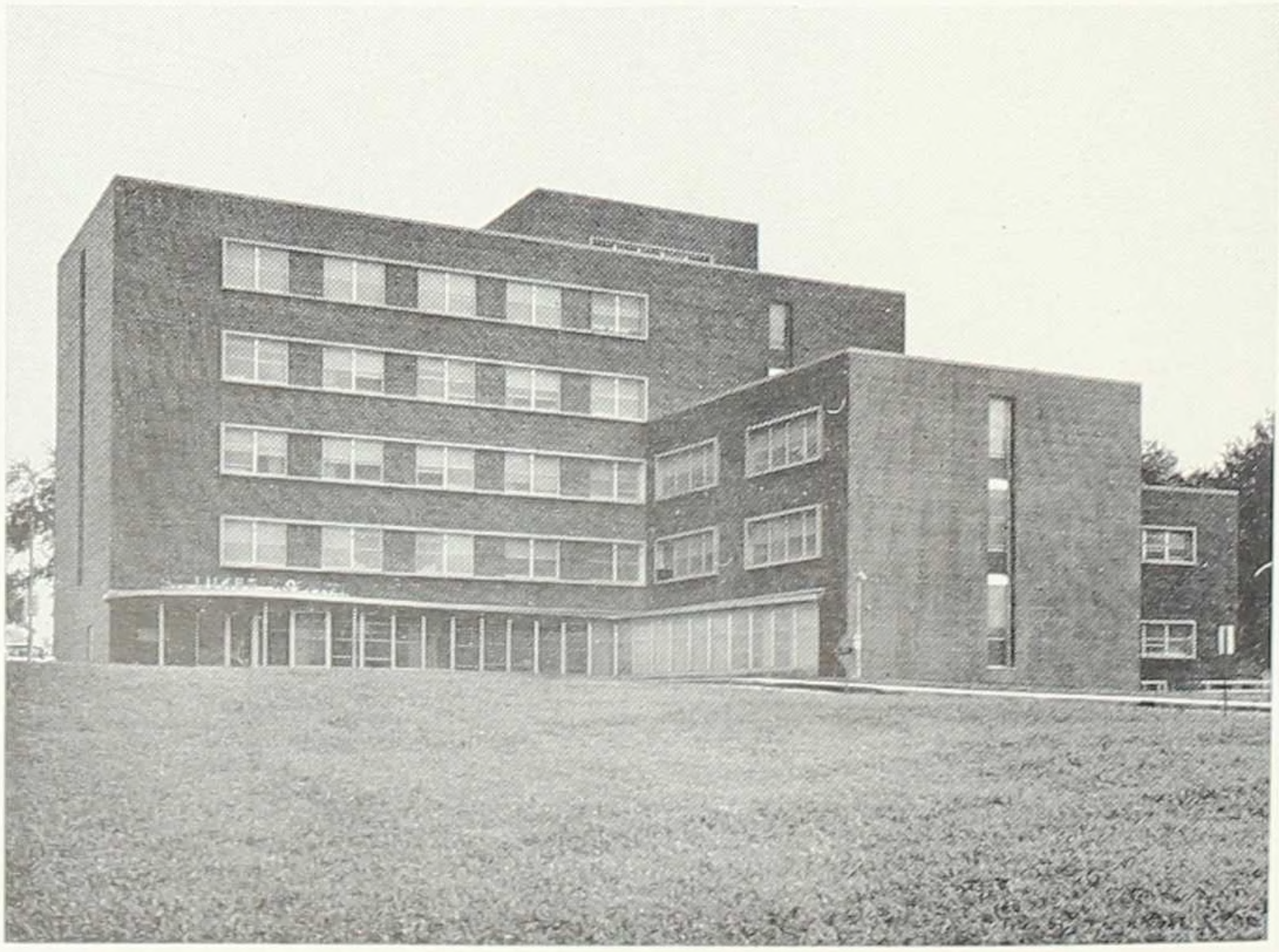
Trinity Cathedral, Davenport
Trinity Church, Muscatine

St. Thomas' Church, Sioux City
St. James' Church, Oskaloosa

Trinity Church, Ottumwa
Christ Church, Waterloo



St. Katherine's School, Davenport



St. Luke's Hospital, Davenport

gations existed. The statement of a friend of their bishop that the Episcopal Church was not unique weakened every such parish.

In his Addresses of 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1874 to his diocesan convention Bishop Lee, saddened by death and defection of friends in the episcopate, seems increasingly defensive and even apologetic. On September 26, 1874, on the eve of his departure for General Convention, he tragically but unromantically died from the effects of a fall in his home.

M. F. CARPENTER

The Golden Age

Those in the Diocese of Iowa who hoped for a continuation of help from the East controlled the special convention called to the Davenport Cathedral, December 9, 1874. They effected the election of the Rev. Henry C. Potter of New York City, who promptly wired his regrets. Still hopeful, the convention promptly chose the Rev. W. R. Huntington of Worcester, Massachusetts, and adjourned before word of his rejection could come. Both men had futures before them in the East, and only highly hopeful or sadly ignorant men could have expected either to accept election from an embarrassed diocese.

When the annual convention met at Cedar Rapids in May, 1875, to sandwich in its business between ballots for bishop, the picture had changed decisively. Dr. Charles H. Seymour, an effective rector of St. John's in Dubuque, had the support of a slender but determined minority of the laymen. Dr. James H. Eccleston of Philadelphia was the choice of a somewhat larger and equally determined majority of the clergy.

The issue was primarily between High Churchmanship and Evangelicalism. When, in the course of the balloting, Dr. Seymour withdrew, his sup-

porters found other candidates of his persuasion. On the sixteenth formal ballot, Dr. Eccleston gained a one vote majority in the laity while holding his clerical vote. He was declared bishop-elect, but he, too, declined to serve.

When the annual convention of 1876 came together at Des Moines, a compromise had been arranged, through the surrender of the discredited Evangelicals. The Rev. William Stevens Perry of Geneva, New York, president of Hobart College, historiographer of the Episcopal Church, and long an active participant in Episcopal administration and politics, was elected on the first ballot with only nominal opposition.

Bishop Perry, then in his forty-fifth year, was a scholarly, cultured High Churchman with no antagonism to Anglo-Catholicism or Ritualism. He thought quietly that Evangelicalism was dead. His interests in history had made him tolerant, and had also drawn him away from the type of thinking natural to most of his new flock in Iowa. He had no sound understanding of the nature or the magnitude of the task awaiting him, and at no time was he able to think of the duties of a bishop of Iowa as his chief concern. He was always more at home out of the state than in it.

He was not, however, an ineffective bishop. Though, as has been said, somewhat aloof from the people whom he served, Bishop Perry sensed correctly the ways in which Episcopalianism must

present its case and the reasons it must advance for survival. Though Protestantism, especially in the West, was largely committed to an insistence on a "conversion experience," individual Protestants had grown skeptical of the necessity and even the validity of a sudden change of heart under emotional stress. The absurdity of training a child in good morals and sound religion in infancy and telling him on his approach to early adolescence that he was a vile sinner had been pointed out by Horace Bushnell long before. Bishop Perry, who had no qualms on "regenerate" in the baptismal service, was ready to proclaim that Anglicans had held what Bushnell had found.

Furthermore, as a humane student of history, Bishop Perry knew that religious feeling could be disciplined and developed. Already mild interest in satisfactory ritual was apparent in many people whose attachment to Protestantism was by no means secure. By using its liturgy sensibly, the Episcopal Church could attract such waverers. And its teaching on sacramental grace could be appreciated by many Americans under the influence of quiet thought, broader acquaintance with the world, and a more sympathetic understanding of the practices of older churches.

Bishop Perry understood very inadequately, if he understood at all, certain forces against which he and his Church must fight. The movement toward interdenominational activity was gaining

strength. An increasing number of educated individuals were becoming more aware in an inchoate fashion that biological science and biblical criticism were cutting into literalist views of Christianity. The interest in reform movements, which had begun before the Civil War and had been seized on by Charles G. Finney and others as a proper exercise for Christian converts, had increased steadily. Many individuals were regarding Christianity in practical terms as a movement to do good to others largely by saving them from vice or by freeing them from political corruption or by creating for them opportunities for culture and recreation. To persons affected by such lines of thought, destined to gain an increasing hold on "superior" people, a faith that stressed a historic Church and a sacramental approach to God would present difficulties. The appreciation of the nature and extent of these difficulties was not given to many Episcopal clergy.

Bishop Perry's first task was to take stock of the assets and the liabilities of his diocese and to see what could be done about utilizing the former and liquidating the latter. This initial duty he performed on the whole adequately and tactfully.

He found that he had within the diocese some twenty parishes capable of supporting clergymen and experiencing growth. These parishes he cultivated with satisfactory results. He found a grave laxity among certain clergy. These he soon

deposed, being aided perhaps by his experience as a college president. He found the incomplete Cathedral satisfactory as it was — the tower was and still is missing — and raised no more funds for it. He felt that Griswold College might grow if support came from the entire West. Presently it was the official college of the province, a promotion that helped little. Bishop Perry also considered the idea of making it a branch of the State University of Iowa.

Meantime he worked on his *History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587–1883,* a magnificent two-volume work published in 1885. He also found time to make visits abroad, where he was received in the homes of the nobility and even of royalty.

Not all of the diocese liked his proceedings, but he did add prestige to the Church and, when better times came with the eighties, the Church grew. In that rapid growth, the set of the times helped greatly. Most churches grew then in Iowa. The Congregationalists, for instance, call the period 1875–1905 their "Golden Age." The golden age of the Episcopal Church ended sooner. Its banner year was probably 1892.

How much of the paper strength shown then was real, no one can say. But since Bishop Perry's day, the Episcopal Church has not regained the noteworthy numbers of 102 parishes and missions and 56 clergy that it showed in the early nineties.

The Panic of 1893 hurt all Iowa. Bishop Perry added to the troubles which the Episcopal Church shared with its neighbors by a lamentable ineptness in money matters. He struggled through five dismal years, in which his Church did not recover as others did. On May 13, 1898, after a breakdown the year before, he died rather suddenly at Dubuque without having restored the golden age of the Episcopal Church in Iowa.

M. F. CARPENTER

Twentieth Century Developments

One who observes the situation from the vantage point of 1953 can see reasons why the good days of Bishop Perry did not return. In 1898 two widely differing ideas of the function of the Church prevailed in Iowa; one might almost say that the state had two Episcopal churches. From this point of view, the distressing events that followed the death of Bishop Perry can be understood and regretted.

Bishop Perry's High Churchmanship had been widely accepted in Iowa. A sincere and, in the minds of many, a bigoted and unlovely devotion to the historic Church, its claims and practices was strong in many parishes. To those who held it, a Christian was primarily a Churchman.

Those who held this view had moved away from the view of liberal Protestants, on whom denominationalism was relaxing its grip. Upon certain Episcopalians, Churchmanship was likewise losing its hold. The prestige of the "Broad Church" of Phillips Brooks and his friends was still great. Their followers in Iowa regarded the Episcopal Church as a channel through which cultured worship and enlightening preaching might reach the people, but were by no means certain

about the channeling of any other form of grace. In this they were quite like most humane Protestants.

This group had an able champion in Dr. Thomas Green, who in 1898 completed his tenth year of service in Grace Church, Cedar Rapids. Dr. Green was a popular preacher, well liked in his community. He was tolerant in his views and active in civic affairs. It fell to him, as chairman of the Standing Committee, to administer the diocese after the death of Bishop Perry. To that end, Dr. Green resigned as chaplain of a regiment called into service — the Spanish-American War was in progress — and devoted himself to serving the diocese.

This action, which was generally approved in his own community, he justified by a commendable effort to build up the various parishes throughout the state. When the special convention met at Davenport on September 6, 1898, Dr. Green was elected bishop on the eighth ballot.

The margin of victory was small; the election was not made unanimous; rumors circulated that protests would be made. Dr. Green, therefore, entered a "nolle episcopari." But he permitted his name to be placed in nomination at the annual convention held in his own parish church on November 29. To have done anything else would have appeared at the time as a weak surrender, for the word had gone out that Dr. Green's oppo-

nents were prepared to attack his character on the floor of the convention. A withdrawal of his name would be equivalent to a plea of guilty. So he and his friends believed. The attack was made; the tactics employed in defeating him were deplorable. The convention finally elected the Rev. Theodore N. Morrison of Chicago. Dr. Green, whose conduct was eminently correct, moved a unanimous vote.

The election of 1898 and the subsequent career of Dr. Green set into clear focus a weakening of loyalty of grave consequence to all churches. After five years more at Cedar Rapids, Dr. Green left the active ministry to enter organizational work that was at first interdenominational in character and then definitely secular. For thirty years before his death in 1941 he served the Red Cross, winning noteworthy recognition at home and abroad.

The position of such persons, who usually would object to being called irreligious or even non-religious, is set forth mordantly by Gamaliel Bradford, himself no great friend of churches:

> The followers of William James
> Still let the Lord exist,
> And call him by imposing names,
> A venerable list.
> But nerve and muscle only count,
> Gray matter of the brain,
> And an astonishing amount
> Of inconvenient pain.

Some less rigidly thoughtful persons were uncertain about the permanence of pain, and sang:

O, beautiful for patriot's dream
That sees beyond the years,
Thine alabaster cities gleam,
Undimmed by human tears.

From toils of theology and ecclesiasticism many were to take refuge with Ella Wheeler Wilcox:

So many gods, so many creeds,
So many paths that wind and wind,
When just the art of being kind
Is all this sad world needs.

Thinking and feeling like that suggested in these three lyrical quotations on quite different levels of literary merit held sway over many persons in the years when Bishop Morrison faced the difficulties of a weak diocese upset by a contentious election. He was to guide the Episcopal Church in Iowa from 1899 to 1929, during a period of thirty years in which the movement toward interdenominationalism and even secularism continued. At its beginning, much of the training of youth in religion was passing from the churches to groups like the Y. M. C. A. Presently there was a shift toward groups like the Scouts without formal religious connection. And most Christian people accepted the transfer with no grave protest. Many rather liked it.

Bishop Morrison was in his fiftieth year at the time of his election. In appearance and manner,

he was austere. In personality, he was gracious and even winning. In earnestness and zeal, he was exemplary. In any special skill in the means by which a sick diocese might be restored to health, he was no more lacking than many zealous priests called to be bishop in disturbing times. Such skill is not given to all men of God.

Bishop Morrison, after a brief time in a small mission, had served for twenty-four years at the Church of the Epiphany in Chicago. It is possible that he lacked understanding of work in small parishes. He came to a diocese in which he found 47 parishes, 30 organized missions, and 27 unorganized. These were served by 50 priests and deacons, of whom all but 6 had some cure of souls.

He found also that 9 of his parishes and 21 of his organized missions had less than 25 communicants, and that 6 of the parishes and 24 of the missions were contributing less, in the case of most of the latter, far less, than $250 a year in total giving. All but one of the parishes and about one-half of the missions had church buildings in different states of repair. He was further confronted by an absence of 21 of his 50 clergy at his first convention, perhaps as a result of the conflict of 1898.

A survey of the past, which he surely made, showed that, except for attendance of clergy, conditions had been no better even at the best times of Bishop Perry. Fluctuations both in membership

and in giving had appeared, but these were too few to seem significant. Bishop Morrison was certainly confronted with a diocese in which the evidence of the persistent presence of "deadwood" seemed very strong.

Under the terms of his election, Bishop Morrison was bound to consider the High Church answer to this problem. His own training and conviction, moreover, would permit no other course. The Church would survive if people realized the importance of its ministrations and sacraments in fitting them to live well and to die well. In the cities, the appeal of High Churchmanship was increasing, not as rapidly as might be hoped, but still enough to be encouraging. The bishop and those of his clergy on whom he relied, believed that in God's own time similar gains might come in Iowa.

The majority of Iowans in the first quarter of the twentieth century set little store by Churchmanship of any sort. All Protestant bodies were weakened. The Lutherans with their strong inherited loyalty fared the best. The closing of small churches with a transfer of membership to other denominations was common throughout the state. Perhaps no ecclesiastical body suffered the immediate strain put upon the Episcopal Church.

The prominence given by the Episcopal organization to the bishop, even though his acts were subject to review by his conventions and other

bodies, led those whose churches were closed or denied support to lay much of the blame on the person by whose official pronouncements aid was given or denied. Furthermore, the fact that in the Episcopal Church alone, a central personal authority existed for the entire body throughout the state, created the feeling that this authority had in himself the power to make or break not only his diocese, but also each individual parish or mission. Unreasonable as this feeling could be in its disregard of local attitudes and forces that might strengthen or weaken a local religious body, the feeling persisted through the administration of Bishop Morrison and of Bishop Longley, in turn his suffragan, coadjutor, and successor.

In 1906 Bishop Morrison's health broke, and for about a year the diocese was without his services. In 1912 the diocese was able to find the funds to furnish him with the assistance of a suffragan, assistance that it had been unable to grant to Bishop Perry, who had desired it.

Bishop Harry Sherman Longley, chosen in 1912 as suffragan, was then forty-three years old. He came from St. Mark's Church in Evanston, Illinois, where he had served for about a year. He had had a long term as a successful pastor in New York. The diocese felt the burden of maintaining two bishops.

It was the conviction of Bishop Morrison, shared by Bishop Longley, that the Church gained

rather than lost by ceasing to maintain itself in places where it had apparently failed to gain any effective local support. The people in these places did not desire the ministrations of the Episcopal Church strongly enough to make such ministrations possible. By eliminating such Laodiceas, the Church could gain a sure strength elsewhere.

Naturally, this policy was not popular with the so-called Laodiceans. Nor did it appeal to aggressive clergy and laymen. On the basis of the information now available, this judgment must be given on the wisdom of the policy. It is evident that few of the eighteen parishes and missions dropped between 1899 and 1943, the term of the bishops, had demonstrated any sure reason for existing for ten years prior to 1899. A few were probably started in the spurt of activity that marked the term of Dr. Green as a quasi-acting bishop. At least four parishes were dropped because of union with another in their community. And the membership and the giving of the surviving parishes and missions generally gained.

The division of labor between Bishop Morrison and Bishop Longley, who was elected coadjutor in 1917, was never clearly defined. Nor were any of the reorganizations of diocesan work specially significant. At no time was there any sharply apparent change in policy or conditions.

When Bishop Morrison was struck by a car and killed in 1929, Bishop Longley was sixty-one

years of age. He became sole bishop shortly after the official beginning of the "Depression," which had been manifest in Iowa far earlier. If he had any expectation of taking new departures in policy, the year 1929 was hardly the time to initiate them. In the main, he continued the practices that had been established.

After the middle 1930's, however, economic conditions and mental attitudes grew more favorable for advances in the work of the Episcopal Church. More communities could maintain parishes or help to maintain missions. And more people had a wish for the special type of ministration given by the Episcopal Church. An important group among the clergy in the diocese found that laymen were listening more attentively to teaching and attending more regularly upon services that were alike more "churchly." Among both clergy and laity there was a wish for an advance.

When Bishop Longley retired in 1943 — he did not long survive that retirement — the desire for more aggressive action expressed itself in the election of Father Ernest V. Kennan, who had just gone to Baltimore from St. Paul's in Des Moines. The other leading candidates were clergymen still resident in the diocese. Both clergy and laity showed signs of feeling that leadership for an advance might come from within the diocese.

This feeling persisted among the clergy when Father Kennan unexpectedly declined the election.

But a majority of the laity had come to the opinion that no man elected from priests already resident in the diocese could escape from difficulties created by his past work. Consequently, at the diocesan convention in 1944, a majority of the laity consistently voted for the Very Reverend Elwood Lindsay Haines of Louisville, Kentucky. On the seventeenth ballot the clergy concurred, and thus on March 8 Haines was elected bishop.

Bishop Haines was then a man of fifty. He had a record of activity and success. He accepted his election as an obvious mandate to lead an advance. He came to his task with strong enthusiasm and vigorous energy. He felt with reason that he could count upon effective support from his laity; he expressed no doubts of his power to win leadership among the clergy, even though the various priests and deacons might feel that he had been forced on them. His confidence was justified.

At first, Bishop Haines followed a policy not inconsistent with that professed by Bishops Morrison and Longley, a policy that to some degree had been initiated by Bishop Perry. Each of these men had declared that, after a wise consolidation of strength, the Church could advance to regain abandoned, and to win new, positions. Bishop Perry had seen such a turn of the tide, only to see it reverse.

Bishop Haines made a careful personal survey of the diocese, and by the end of his first year prob-

ably knew and understood its life better than any of his predecessors had known and understood it. Bishop Haines had fewer prepossessions to guard against and was freer to act in his own way than any earlier Iowa bishop. He accepted the principle, stated clearly and firmly by every bishop since the time of Bishop Lee, that no good came from establishing parishes and missions where there was little prospect of sure local support. He was ready to extend additional help and to resume work in towns where opportunity appeared. His nature was such that he was not over-cautious, and on occasion he was willing to interpret "opportunity" as a "sporting chance." In this attitude, he had the support of the laity responsible for his election.

The bishop's plans were far-reaching. They called for money, some of which he was able to raise. They called for the coming of more clergy, some of whom he was able to attract to Iowa. They called for a better organization of the laity, which he was in part able to effect. They called for his gaining from the clergy who were in the diocese an increasing loyalty and enthusiasm, some of which he was able to win. The spirit of his term may be well illustrated by a few words selected from his *Address* to the 93rd Annual Convention of the Diocese of Iowa in 1945: "I have fallen an easy and willing victim to the contagion of progressive-mindedness which marks the church in

Iowa. Each day I find myself increasingly happy that you called me to cast my lot with yours." Bishop Haines's plans called also for some break with the past, of which his moving his seat from Davenport to Des Moines for efficiency of administration was typical.

The plans also called for a normal expectation of life for him who made them and strove to bring them into effect. This was denied to Bishop Haines. By the beginning of 1949 the bishop was obviously very ill. On October 28, shortly after attending General Convention, he died at Los Angeles, California, where he had gone for treatment. He had been bishop for less than six years, but he had left a deep impress on the life of Iowa.

Perhaps the best evidence that Bishop Haines had brought a new spirit to the diocese was seen in the convention that named his successor. The only two candidates that showed any real strength when that convention met were both clergymen resident in the state. When, on the second ballot, the Rev. Gordon V. Smith of St. Paul's, Des Moines, was chosen, no bitterness developed. The contrast with earlier elections is sharp, but cheering.

M. F. CARPENTER

The Church Today

According to the *Journal of the 101st Annual Convention* (1953), the Diocese of Iowa reports 68 parishes and missions, and 11,015 communicants in 60 communities. Forty-three of the clergy are actively employed in cures of souls, while 15 are retired or engaged in other work. In the course of its history, the Episcopal Church has had establishments in more than three hundred cities, towns, or villages in Iowa, and has at times reported more than a hundred parishes and missions. Much of this was mere paper strength. But the Episcopal Church in Iowa today, in terms of communicants, giving, and services, is stronger than at any previous time in its history.

Two general organizations receive official recognition in the *Journal* — the Women's Auxiliary, and the Episcopal Men of Iowa. Of these, the former has by far the longer record of service. Its importance to the diocese would warrant a separate history. The Episcopal Men of Iowa was begun under the auspices of Bishop Haines and is not yet ten years of age.

The Diocese of Iowa maintains two schools, both for girls or women, St. Katharine's in Davenport and St. Monica's in Des Moines. The former

is all that remains of the ill-fated Griswold College except a board of trustees to administer the scanty remains of its endowment. Even the date of its death is shrouded in obscurity. The diocese has officially recognized Grinnell as its college, and the bishop is one of the trustees.

The diocese has contributed to build the church and parish house at Ames and the student center at Iowa City. Plans are being made to build a chapel at Grinnell. College work is conducted through the local parishes and through Canterbury Clubs among the students.

The diocese maintains Camp Morrison at Clear Lake, which is now the special charge of the Episcopal Men of Iowa. A series of meetings is held there throughout the summer. A chapel, a dormitory, a dining-hall, and several cottages have been built.

St. Luke's Hospital in Davenport was founded by the Episcopal Church and still continues as an official organization of the diocese, though its support comes from the entire community independent of church lines. Other hospitals begun under the direction of the Church have ceased to have an official connection with it. So, too, have other less conspicuous community activities once in name Episcopalian.

All churches in the Anglican fellowship inherit a tradition of responsibility for the welfare, economic, moral, and social, of the entire community

that accords with a state church. In the United States, where the Episcopal Church represented in most sections a distinct minority and where its past made any political activity suspect, the position of most Churchmen during the nineteenth century was that the Church as such had no concern with politics. Even issues such as Abolition and Prohibition, which aroused great fervor in many Protestant bodies, were for the most part officially ignored by the Episcopal Church. Both Bishop Kemper and Bishop Lee held firmly to this position. When the two bishops visited Kansas in the middle 1850's, they made no mention of politics. Bishop Lee, though a strong Unionist, deprecated any mention of the Civil War in sermons. Bishop Kemper ignored that war in his correspondence until it was more than half over.

The Episcopal Church in Iowa is, therefore, notably less active than are many other churches in interdenominational movements to advance social causes. Though a Committee on Christian Social Relations is part of the diocesan organization, the part played by that committee has not been conspicuous. A resolution urging greater activity in securing a world federation was tabled in the diocesan convention in 1952 on the expressed conviction that upon all such matters the Church did well to remain silent. Though conventions in Iowa have not always taken this position — a similar motion was passed in convention in 1948 — the

action of 1952 is probably quite typical. Probably most Episcopalians in Iowa justify this caution by the experience of many Protestant bodies in supporting Prohibition.

The Episcopal Church in Iowa has been cautious also in participating in other inter-church movements. It was not until 1948 that, under strong pressure from Bishop Haines, the diocesan convention voted to participate in the Iowa Inter-Church Council. Movements such as the one for an organic union with the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., have had tepid support.

Episcopalians acquainted with the most humane teaching of the Anglican communion keep in mind two points when they consider the claim their Church makes to uniqueness. First, no single Christian group can claim monopoly of the grace of God, and no Christian should presume to limit the ways in which God may help man. Second, human experience seems to show that not all means of grace are equally suitable, effective, or permanent, and that intelligent Christians of good will may properly make distinction among the ways by which aid from God best reaches man.

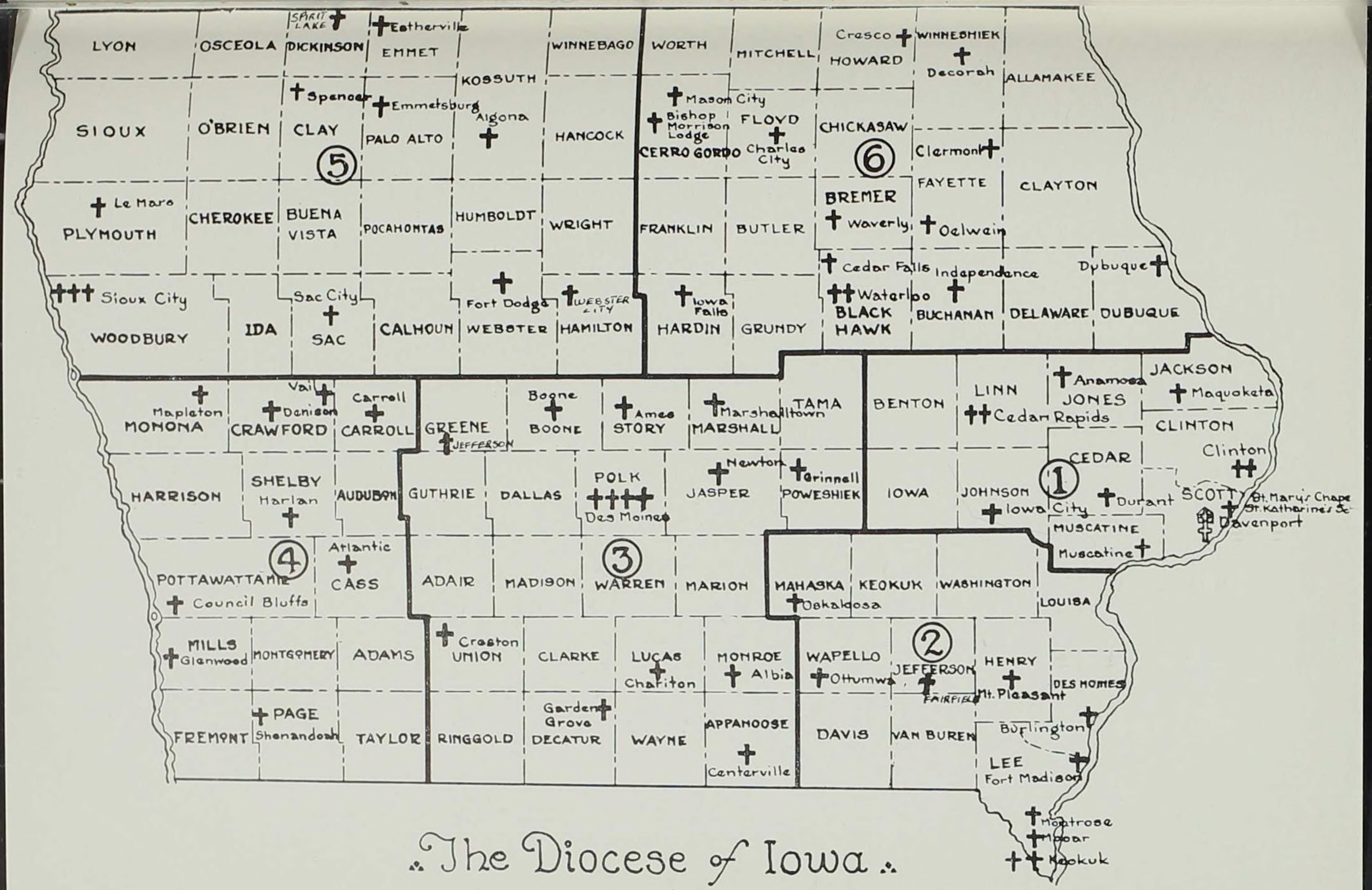
An Episcopalian may properly hold, indeed he should hold, that the means of grace his Church provides have, for certain sorts of men, excellences that he cannot find in the means that certain other Christian churches provide. He may further hold, perhaps he must further hold, that the means of

grace on which he relies have, when viewed historically, surety and permanence not as readily apparent in the means on which other Christian bodies rely. And he may contend with some reason that recent developments in American Christianity support Episcopal convictions. He would hold that particularly significant is the increasing emphasis on the part that the Church must play in preserving Christianity, the increasing use of formal worship, the general acceptance of the belief that children can be born into the Church, and the wish for sacraments.

In support of this position, an Episcopalian can cite such statements as that of a present-day student of Church History: "The tendency of many people, whether they are friendly or unfriendly to the Christian faith, to distinguish between the faith and the 'church' is a sign of Christian weakness, for actually it is impossible to be a Christian believer apart from the social reality of the 'church.'"

For the present, Episcopalians, like all men of good will, Christian or otherwise, must do the best they can from the knowledge given them and the faith based on that knowledge, and in so acting trust in what secularists like to call the "future" and Christians prefer to call God.

M. F. CARPENTER



The Diocese of Iowa