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175 Years Ago: The Call of John Bate Cardale and the Contemporary Idea of Apostleship

Introduction

Historical accounts written by members of the Catholic Apostolic Church differ in various respects on details of the call of John Bate Cardale, the first apostle of modern times. Ernst Adolf Rossteuscher's account has been particularly influential. Differences between the first and the second editions of his book are mirrored in later accounts. We are going to discuss them in more detail in the course of this article. Louisa Anne Hewett's unpublished English translation of the first edition has made Rossteuscher's account influential in English speaking countries. The translator copied whole passages of it into her own popular historical account of the beginnings of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Furthermore, the unpublished translation was used by Copinger, who referred to it for some facts reported in his "Annals of the Lord's Work", and finally it is still available for scholarly purposes as part of the great "Boase Collection" in the British Library.

Beginning with Shaw's book on the Catholic Apostolic Church, published in 1946, the accounts usually include a version of the words spoken at Cardale's call to the apostleship that give the impression that Cardale was then already commissioned to perform sealings as they were performed since 1847.⁶

¹ This article contains the original wording of all English language quotations. Quotations from German have been translated into English. The original German texts can be found in the German version of this article, entitled "Vor 175 Jahren: Die Rufung John Bate Cardales und das zeitgenössische Verständnis vom Apostelamt" (http://www.nak.org/de/news/publikationen/article/15378/).

² Rossteuscher, E.A. "The Rebuilding of the Church of Christ upon the original foundations", [1871]. Translation by L.A.Hewett of *Der Aufbau der Kirche Christi auf den ursprünglichen Grundlagen*. 3 vols in 1. Now available as part of the Boase Collection, British Library, 764n13.

³ L[ouisa] A[nne] H[ewett], *The Story of the Lord's Work. A Book for the Young*, Glasgow ⁷1925 [British Library reference to the first edition: Glasgow 1899, 764.b.18]. This book was translated into German, entitled *Die Entstehung des Werkes Gottes in unserer Zeit* (Berlin 1896 and later editions).

⁴ Harold Bernard Copinger, "Annals of the Lord's Work" [referred to below as Copinger, "Annals"]. The manuscript used (in photocopy) is identical with the original as described by Seraphim Newman-Norton, *The Time of Silence*, London (The Albury Society), ⁴2005, pp. 4 f. References to Rossteuscher can be identified by the references "R.I" viz. "R. II" or "R. III." in the margin.

⁵ Cf. the bibliography in Tim Grass, "The Church's Ruin and Restoration. The Development of Ecclesiology in the Plymouth Brethren and the Catholic Apostolic Church, c. 1825 – c. 1866", unpublished Ph. D. thesis, King's College, London, 1997, p. 205.

⁶ Plato Ernest Shaw, *The Catholic Apostolic Church, Sometimes Called Irvingite*, New York 1946, p. 75. Based on this: Rowland A. Davenport, *Albury Apostles. The Story of the Body Known as The Catholic Apostolic Church (Sometimes Called "The Irvingites")*, London ²1973, p. 77. More detailed information on the date of the letter as well as of the sermon in which it was quoted can be found in Columba Graham Flegg, *'Gathered Under Apostles'. A Study of the Catholic Apostolic Church*, Oxford 1992, p. 59, n. 47.



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Before going into a detailed discussion of those reports, we need to point out that they are not based on contemporary documents, but rather on what witnesses of those events remembered many years later with the wisdom of hindsight. Their accounts are biased due to the fact that – knowingly or unknowingly – they interpret earlier events in the light of later experience and, in particular, of the sealing as introduced in 1847.

So far, historical accounts published by the New Apostolic Church have uncritically adapted Rossteuscher's and Hewett's accounts as well as the report on the words spoken at Cardale's call to the apostleship as quoted by Shaw.⁷

We have been able to find some new references to Cardale's apostleship in contemporary or near contemporary sources. Against this background, we are here going to take another look at the traditional reports based on what people remembered some years after the event.

We will give special attention to the changes taking place between 1832 and 1847 in people's concepts concerning the dispensing of the Spirit by apostles. In that context it will also become clear that the concept of the apostle ministry as the ministry at the head of Christ's church, with which we are familiar from later teachings, took shape by degrees when the Catholic Apostolic movement gradually developed into the Catholic Apostolic Church. The Catholic Apostolic apostles felt this to be a process guided by God, which at times was quite painful for those involved. Generally speaking, Cardale's view of the apostle ministry differed quite clearly from Edward Irving's original expectations of what apostles might mean to the Church.

⁷ Salus [Eberhard Emil Schmidt], Alte und Neue Wege, Leipzig ¹1912, p. 252, Leipzig ²1913, pp. 248 f. dates the call on 7 November 1832 following [Gotthard Freiherr von] Richthofen, [Die Apostolischen Gemeinden, ihre Entstehung, Verfassung und Gottesdienste, Augsburg 1884,] pp. 41 f. The articles written on the occasion of the centenary of the call in 1932 also take it that the call was on 7 November 1832. Cf. the leading article in the periodical Wächterstimme of 1932, No. 21 of 1 November 1932 and the article in Amtsblatt 1932, No. 21 of 1 November 1932, p.162; Apostelkollegium der Neuapostolischen Gemeinden [Apostles' college of the New Apostolic Churches], ed., Das Zeugnis der Apostel [The Testimony of the Apostles], Frankfurt 1932, p. 3, available in "Vorbemerkung" published at http://www.nak.org/de/news/publikationen/article/14641/. On the occasion of the 150th anniversary an extended article by District Apostle Günter Knobloch was published, entitled "1832-1982 - 150 Years Apostle Ministry of the end-time." This was a special edition of the periodical New Apostolic Review of 1 November 1982. It is reprinted in: International Apostle Unity Zurich, ed., Neue Apostelgeschichte -New Acts of the Apostles, Frankfurt 1985. Ibid., pp. 166 f. (New Apostolic Review) viz. pp. 34-36 (New Acts of the Apostles) there is a reprint of the passage referring to it taken from the 2nd edition of Rossteuscher's book. Gottfried Rockenfelder, ed., Geschichte der Neuapostolischen Kirche, Frankfurt, n.d., p. 34 (further editions Frankfurt 1958, p. 50, Frankfurt 1968, p. 48, Frankfurt 1972 p. 48) adapts the text of Louisa Anne Hewett's book and thus that of the 1st edition of Rossteuscher's book; then, following a revision in the publishing house Friedrich Bischoff the 1987 edition of this book adapts the dating given in the 2nd edition of Rossteuscher'sbook. It has been pointed out that Rockenfelder pla-Hewett's book, cf. statements on http://www.nak.org/de/news/offiziellegiarized our verlautbarungen/article/14846/

^{* &}quot;... no one rightly knew what an Apostle was, what duties and functions appertained to the apostolic ministry. We were all obliged to learn as children; we all had to go to school, and many of us to a very severe one." Carlyle, *A Short History of the Apostolic Work*, London 1851, p. 10. Cf. also the Great Testimony, § 110, as published by the Work Group History of the New Apostolic Church as a synopsis of three variants of the text on http://www.nak.org/de/news/publikationen/article/14439/.



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When and by whom was Cardale called to the apostleship?

If we take a look at the various books published by members of the Catholic Apostolic Church on their history before the publication and translation of Rossteuscher's book we soon notice that the authors of the earlier accounts find it impossible to affix a precise date to Cardale's call to the apostolate. Dowglasse, who joined the Catholic Apostolic movement in 1834, tells us in 1852, that Cardale was called in 1832 at a prayer meeting in a private house. Charles William Boase, a Catholic Apostolic since 1836, writes in 1872 that Cardale was called to be an apostle "through H. Drummond" in 1832. Robert Norton, who first opposed the Catholic Apostolic apostleship and then, since 1852, acted as an apologist for it, quotes letters by a witness of the events, but suppresses the witness's name. The date given there is simply "a few days afterwards", meaning a few days after 22 October, 1832. Norton does not refer to Drummond taking part in that event.

One might say that Rossteuscher's account of the first call of an apostle has given shape to what has become the standard account in Catholic Apostolic historiography. Depending on the edition used, accounts depending on Rossteuscher's book give either 31 October 1832¹² or 7 November of the same year¹³ as the date on which the first apostle was called. Both dates, we may remark, were on a Wednesday, and the accounts in each case say that the call took place in the course of a prayer meeting at a private house. A note by Rossteuscher tells us that for dating the event on 7 November 1832, he referred to a manuscript by the deceased Apostle Henry Drummond, to which he had access at Albury. For the alternative date (31 October) given in the second edition, he refers to information given him by Apostle Woodhouse. He goes on to say that there was a second call by Taplin.¹⁴

⁹ [Thomas Dowglass], A Chronicle of Certain Events which have taken Place in the Church of Christ, principally in England, between the Years 1826 and 1852, London 1852, p. 9.

¹⁰ Charles William Boase, *The Elijah Ministry to the Christian Church*, [Supplement], Edinburgh 1868, p. 794.

¹¹ [Robert Norton], *The Restoration of Apostles and Prophets; In the Catholic Apostolic Church*, London 1861, p. 65. There are some remarks on Robert Norton's biography in our article "Work in Progress: Different editions of the Great Testimony", p. 3, note 16 published on http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/14578/. Edward Miller, *The History and Doctrines of Irvingism*, London 1878, vol. 1, pp. 110 f. is based on Norton's account.

¹² Ernst Adolf Rossteuscher, *Der Aufbau der Kirche Christi auf den ursprünglichen Grundlagen*, Basel ¹1871, pp. 360 f.

¹³ Ernst Adolf Rossteuscher, *Der Aufbau der Kirche Christi auf den ursprünglichen Grundlagen*, Basel ²1886, pp. 346 f. In English historical writings Flegg, *'Gathered under Apostles'*, p. 58 and Timothy C.F. Stunt, "Cardale, John Bate," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford and London 2004, vol. 10, p. 16 continue this tradition Among later writers in German this tradition is continued by Karl Born, *Das Werk des Herrn unter Aposteln*, Bremen 1974, p. 16.

¹⁴ Rossteuscher, Aufbau ²1886, p. 347, note 1. The supposed correction by F.V. Woodhouse may be challenged on various grounds. For one thing he, in his own published account, makes it appear that Cardale's call to the apostleship was part of a chain of events that took place between 1833 and 1834, whereas there is proof that Cardale was called in 1832. Woodhouse does not enter into anything like a detailed discussion of that event at all. Cf. [Woodhouse], *A Narrative of Events*, new extended edition London 1885, reprinted London 1938, p. 119. Thus, Woodhouse may not be the most reliable source of information. A second objection may be based on the fact that the call on 7 November, which ac-



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Copinger dates Cardale's call to the apostleship on 31 October 1832 without having access to the second edition of Rossteuscher's book, obviously using notes written down by Apostle Woodhouse. Mary Ann Elizabeth Cardale, the apostle's sister, in a letter of 13 February 1872 gives the date of her brother's call as 7 November. Finally, we may note that in this case Edward Trimen, whose official position gave him access to the documents in the central church archives, had to rely on later accounts by people who had witnessed those events. There were no "official" documents drawn up at that early date. Apparently, Trimen was not influenced by Apostle Woodhouse's notes, for he follows Drummond and Miss Cardale in giving 7 November as the date of Cardale' call to the apostleship. To the second s

To sum up our findings so far: Nearly all accounts tell us that it was Drummond who called Cardale an apostle, either on 31 October or 7 November 1832. So we might expect Drummond to inform us on this event. At a very early date, in 1834, Drummond wrote his first historical account of the setting up of the church at Albury, which he had presided over since Christmas 1832, as an Angel ordained by Cardale. But in that account Drummond only writes that Cardale, "who had been named by the Holy Spirit to the office of Apostle," had arrived at Albury on 24 December and ordained Caird as an Evangelist on the evening of that same day. On 26 December, Drummond goes on to report, Cardale, exhorted to do so by the Prophet Taplin, had ordained him, Drummond, Angel of the Church at Albury. 19 His report on those events is based on a letter which an eye witness, Robert Story, minister of Rosneath on the Gareloch, had written only two days after the event. According to that report Taplin had pronounced the following words: "The Lord commandeth you, you who are called to be an apostle, to lay hands on the angel of this church, and ordain him to rule and feed his people; to feed them with the body and blood of the Lord: be faithful, be faithful, and Jesus will honour you."20 This is the earliest source telling us that it was through a prophetic call that Cardale was designated as an apostle.

cording to Woodhouse (as reported by Rossteuscher), was supposed to have been pronounced by Taplin, whereas Cardale in 1855 denied that Taplin had had any part in his call to the apostleship, cf. [Cardale], A Letter on certain Statements contained in some late Articles in "The Old Church Porch" entitled "Irvingism", London [1855], pp. 17 f.

¹⁵ Copinger, "Annals", p. 29. A handwritten reference is added, reading "P. R. of W. 12". We suggest that this may mean "Personal Recollections of Woodhouse", p. 12. An analysis of the "Annals" (pp. 21 – 43) shows us that this source refers to the period between 1831 and 1834.

¹⁶ Cf. the references above, note 5.

¹⁷ Edward Trimen, "The Rise and Progress of the Work of the Lord," 1904 [mimeographed edition], p. 28. Those mimeographed editions of Catholic Apostolic writings were made by Norman Priddle, cf. information given by Seraphim Newman-Norton, who had close contact to Mr Priddle, in a conversation with Manfred Henke on 1 August 2007. Trimen was a Priest Evangelist and according to Seraphim Newman-Norton, "A Biographical Index of Those Associated with the Lord's Work," London 1971, p. 111 "in charge of Records and official papers". Please note that "Records" (capital letter) refers to official written accounts of prophecies.

¹⁸ [Henry Drummond], *Narrative of the Circumstances which led to the Setting Up of the Church of Christ at Albury*, Printed for private Circulation only (printers: Mills, Jowett, and Mills, Boult-court, Fleet-street [London]), [British Library 764.k.11.2] p. 24.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Shaw, *Catholic Apostolic Church*, pp. 76-8 reviews the way the letter was handed down to us. He reprints the letter as given in Story, Robert H., *Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Robert Story of Rosneath*, London 1862, Appendix iv. Miller, *Irvingism*, vol. 1, pp. 115-119 also reprints that letter. In Sto-



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In 1851 Drummond had another historical account printed, but unfortunately, he tells us even less about Cardale's call to the apostleship. Without giving any names, he there distinguishes between "the first two of those who were called to the office of the apostleship" and "the others who were called to the same office."

In an anonymous pamphlet, published in 1838 and directed against a re-established apostle-ship, the author who claims to be a former member of Irving's church, writes that a person who can easily be identified as Cardale, had been considered an apostle by the members of that church as soon as he had first raised his voice in it in "ecstatic utterances". On those occasions his words had been "distinct, beautiful, and forcible," whereas on other occasions "it was almost impossible to arrive at his meaning, through his interminable parentheses". Later, he had been declared to be an apostle "by a gentleman well known in religious Societies" (a term well describing Drummond).²² Thus the earliest source telling us that it had really been Drummond who had called Cardale to the apostleship in 1832, is from 1838. If we accept the reports telling us that Cardale had begun to utter words "in power" on 20 October or on 22 October 1832,²³ the hostile account quoted supports a dating of the call towards the beginning of November 1832.

The earliest definite statement by a contemporary that Cardale acted as an apostle in Irving's church is contained in a letter posted by Irving's brother in law William Hamilton on 8 December 1832. Even before he married Elizabeth Martin, sister to Irving's wife Isabella, Hamilton had been an Elder and intimate adviser to Irving in the Presbyterian Scots church to which Irving was pastor. When Irving was excluded from the Regent Square church on 26 April 1832, Hamilton continued there as a Presbyterian Elder, but Irving still relied on him for help in private matters. Following Hamilton's request, Irving on 7 December 1832 penned a short explanation of what had transpired between him and two opponents of his theological position. On that occasion Irving informed Hamilton on what had taken place amongst those members of his former church who still adhered to him and Hamilton then reported it to Samuel Martin. In that letter we read: "Edw[ar]d says that the office of the Apostle and of the Evangelist has been restored amongst them – the former was the person of Mr Cardale and the latter in Mr Drummond. I apprehend but am not quite sure."²⁴

ry's version of the letter the names of those who acted are only referred to by their first letters. Apart from that, the text is nearly identical with that given by Drummond.

²¹ [Henry Drummond], *A Brief Account of the Commencement of the Lord's Work to Restore His Church*, privately printed (printers: C. Whittingham, Chiswick), 1851, p. 14. We may explain Drummond's way of reporting on those events if we keep in mind his attempts (often demonstrated in his letters to Cardale) at securing for himself a position of equality with Cardale once the apostle ministry was acknowledged to be the ministry leading the church.

²² Anon., The True Apostleship not Modern; or a Refutation of the Claims of the Churches commonly called 'Irvingite,' to an Apostleship and to Spiritual Gifts. By a Member under the care of the late Rev. Edward Irving, London 1838 (British Library 764.b.2/2), p. 65.

²³ Norton, *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 65, refers to utterances of that kind on 20 and 22 October; Copinger, "Annals", p. 28, mentions 22 October in the typewritten part of his text, but adds a handwritten reference to 20 October. Rossteuscher, *Aufbau der Kirche Christi*, ¹1871, p. 356, dates this as happening "about the middle of October" (as also on p. 342 of the 2nd edition).

²⁴ MS owned by the United Reformed Church History Society, Westminster College, Cambridge, Irving letters no. 12: Hamilton's (undated) letter is written crosswise on a letter written by Irving to Samuel Martin on 7 December 1832 in reply to a letter Martin had written him on 20 November. Irving had then given his letter to William Hamilton who – according to the post stamp – sent it to Martin on 8 Decem-



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Another, slightly earlier hint that Cardale occupied a new and more important position in Irving's church is contained in diaries that have of late become available to scholars. They were kept by James Gilliland Simpson, husband to a certain Jane Simpson who had assumed the role of prophetess in Irving's church. Following an initiative undertaken by the other prophets of his church, Irving had commanded her to abstain from prophesying some months before. In reaction to that, James and Jane Simpson had separated from the church. As a final effort in putting an end to the conflict, Irving and some leading members of his church went to see the Simpson family on 26 November 1832. For the first time, "John Cardale" is mentioned as a member of that delegation, and he at once addressed the lost sheep in words of authority although Irving in his position of Angel still led the group. In contrast to what was happening then, Irving had on former occasions been accompanied by the prophetically gifted members rather than by John Bate Cardale.

The words used in Cardale's call to the apostleship— diverging reports based on what witnesses of that event remembered

In 1946 Plato Ernest Shaw published what, at first sight, seems to be the most exact report of the words Drummond uttered in calling Cardale to the apostleship. Shaw refers to a letter written by Deaconess [Mary Ann Elizabeth] Cardale, one of the Apostle's sisters, from which William Bramley-Moore is said to have quoted in a sermon of 10 July 1895. The date of the letter cannot be found in Shaw's account, but the words quoted make it obvious that the letter was written many years after the event, probably even after Cardale's decease (on 18 July 1877) and that Miss Cardale interprets events with the wisdom of hind-sight.²⁶ The crucial passage in the extract quoted by Shaw reads as follows:

On the evening of November 7th, 1832, I was at a prayer meeting at Mr. Irving's house amongst a great many more, and my brother engaged in prayer, and was very earnestly asking the Lord to give us the Holy Ghost, when Mr. Drummond rose from his knees and went across the room to my brother, and said, in great power, "Convey it, convey it, for art thou not an Apostle?" Of course it was very solemn, but none spoke of it; the prayer-meeting went on, and my brother

ber. For an account of the relations between Irving and William Hamilton, cf. remarks in Margaret Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London*, London ⁴ [1865]: cf. the Index for "Hamilton, William", "Hamilton, Elizabeth" and "Letters". (The fourth edition of Oliphant's biography is the first that includes an index.)

²⁵ National Library of Scotland, Acc. 12489/4 Diary of James Gilliland Simpson, 15 July 1832 – September 1838, p. *38 f. (numbering refers to the second series of pages in the last part of the diary), entry of 27 November 1832. Cf. another entry of 8 June 1832, *ibid.*, pp. 29-34 of the first part of the diary. According to Presbyterian usage, some members of the presbytery took part in the proceedings with the Simpson family. We would like to thank Barbara Waddington, archivist at the Regent Square United Reformed Church (Irving's former church), for kindly transcribing the diary for us.

This passage was introduced by the following words: "I will relate to you the account of my brother's call, as I was present; as he was the first of the Apostles called or designated in those last days; and we did not for months, perhaps years, see the close parallel between what took place in his case, and in that of Paul and Barnabas, the first Apostles of the Gentiles, (Acts XIII) ..." Shaw, *Catholic Apostolic Church*, p. 75.



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soon commenced doing Apostolic work, although always being moved to it in the power of the Holy Ghost.²⁷

In 1861 Robert Norton published a report taken from letters written by a member of the church. The crucial passage reads:

At the conclusion of the service on the Monday following, Mr. C---- blessed the people in the power of the Spirit, as Mr. D---- had done two days before; the first buddings, although we knew it not, of the coming apostleship: and a few days afterwards, while Mr. C---- was in prayer, asking God for the outpouring of His Spirit upon the Church, there came a word of prophecy, declaring that the Lord had called him to be an apostle, and to convey His Holy unction.²⁸

Unfortunately, Norton gives us no clue as to who may have been the member of the church who reported and when the account was written. What we can say is that it was not written by Miss Cardale – for she would not have referred to her brother as "Mr. C[ardale]" – and that it was not written immediately after the event, for there is no more precise dating than a statement that it happened "a few days" after they had moved into their new meeting place in Newman Street on 19 October or rather on the Monday following that (22. Oktober). It even seems that the account was written after the sealing had been introduced in 1847, for, as far as we see at present, it was not until then that the imposition of hands for conveying the Holy Spirit was referred to as the "Holy unction". We are not even sure if the writer was present during the call to the apostleship or if he or she refers to an account - which, unfortunately, has not been transmitted to us - related by Irving in next morning's early service.²⁹ Apostle Woodhouse relates in 1885 that Cardale had been "praying especially for the pouring out of the Spirit as at the first on all the members of the body", a "word" (meaning in Catholic Apostolic parlance a prophetic utterance "in power") had come "through Mr. Henry Drummond". The words had been: "Convey it then! Art Thou not an Apostle?" In a disarmingly frank statement Woodhouse himself continues that those words had originally not been taken notice of by those who had heard them,³⁰ only in 1847 they had remembered it when deciding on the sealing.³¹ This may explain why that event, which in later times appeared of such tremendous importance, was not mentioned in the first edition (1847) of the same book.

We may compare the description of that event given by **Rossteuscher in the first edition of his book**. In a private prayer meeting on **7 November 1832**, he alleges, a young medical man had prophesied through a deceiving spirit and been silenced by Drummond, who had the gift of discerning of spirits. Then Drummond had continued to talk of the Church soon to be filled with the Holy Spirit, while Cardale had at the same time been praying "in the spirit" for the Church to be equipped with the Holy Spirit, "that it might be equipped with power from on high". Then Drummond had faced him "with a mighty call: 'Art thou not an Apostle? Why

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁸ R. Norton, *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 65.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³⁰ [Woodhouse] *Narrative of Events*, p. 119: "No further notice was at the time taken of this word ..." Born, *Werk des Herrn*, p. 16 claims that the wording was "Convey the Holy Ghost, for art thou not an Apostle?" We have been unable to trace these exact words in any of the reports on that event, but think that Born gives a kind of contraction of the words as reported by Miss Cardale and Woodhouse. ³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 120 f.

One possible meaning is that Cardale prayed silently while Drummond was talking, another one that Cardale was speaking in the manner of prophetic utterances – which, however, would mean that both Drummond and Cardale were speaking at the same time.



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then do you not convey the Holy Ghost?" According to Rossteuscher, Drummond had added detailed teachings concerning the apostolic ministry.³³

So this report seems to accord with that given by Miss Cardale. In both cases it is said that the call took place on 7 November, and the words of the call as quoted by Rossteuscher seem to be very similar to those reported by Deaconess Cardale. If we follow Miss Cardale's report we get the impression that Cardale's prayer instigated Drummond's appeal to Cardale to convey the Holy Ghost. Her account lacks all the dramatic details reported by Rossteuscher. On reading it, one would not be inclined to think, either, that Drummond added detailed teachings on the apostle ministry.

In the second edition of Rossteuscher's book more is changed than just the date of Cardale's call to the apostleship, which is now said to have been on 31 October. All the dramatic occurrences originally reported in connection with the first call are now left out; instead, they are assigned to a second call which was alleged to have been pronounced by Taplin on 7 November. Now we get the impression that Cardale audibly prays in both assemblies and that first Drummond and then Taplin react to those prayers.³⁴

If the words spoken at his call had really contained such a clear commission to convey the Holy Spirit by the laying on of his hands, one may be surprised that Cardale ignored them for about 15 years – until the sealing was introduced in 1847. We remind the reader of Apostle Woodhouse's statement quoted above, who wrote in 1885 that those who had heard those words had not taken any notice of them.³⁵

Among the eye witnesses' accounts referred to in later times there is one version of the words spoken at Cardale's call to the apostleship in which there is no mention of a commission to dispense the Holy Ghost through imposition of an apostle's hands. **Max von Pochhammer** in **1868** explained in an evangelist's discourse: "Through one of the prophets the Spirit told a man who is still alive and known to me: 'Are you not an Apostle? **Do an Apostle's work**.' "³⁶

³³ Rossteuscher, *Aufbau der Kirche Christi*, Basel ¹1871, pp. 360 f. There is an (unacknowledged) English translation of parts of this report in L[ouisa] A[nne] H[ewett], *The Story of the Lord's Work. A Book for the Young*, Glasgow ⁷1925, pp. 82-84. We may note in passing that Miss Hewett leaves out all details that might suggest an interpretation of events that does not fully accord with later teachings regarding the sealing.

³⁴ At the end of this article, the reader will find a synopsis of both accounts.

Woodhouse] *A Narrative of Events*, p. 119: "No further notice was at the time taken of this word ..."

Max von Pochhammer, *Drei Vorträge gehalten zu M-Gladbach am 26. April, 3. und 6. Mai 1868* [Three discourses held at M-Gladbach on 26 April, 3 and 6 May1868], M[önchen]-Gladbach 1868, p. 89. Louisa Anne Hewett, *Die Entstehung des Werkes Gottes in unserer Zeit*, a German version of her *The Story of the Lord's Work*, referred to in an edition Berlin 1924, on p. 62 reports the version reported by Max von Pochhammer, whereas on p. 65 we read the version reported by Rossteuscher. One might surmise that Miss Hewett, being related to Max von Pochhammer by her brother's marriage to Max von Pochhammer's sister Clara, knew von Pochhammer's version of those words. However, the case cannot be explained so easily, for the whole paragraph is missing in the English version, cf. (L[ouisa] A[nne] H[ewett], *The Story of the Lord's Work. A Book for the Young*, Glasgow ⁷1925, p. 80. The passage as translated from the German would read, "Each minister needs to be called through words of prophecy, only in the case of an apostle those words are not needed," whereas it is in the original "The call by the word of prophecy is necessary in the case of all other ministers, as well as of apostles." The change in the German edition apparently aims at minimising the importance of a call to



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We will now first explain what the ideas concerning the conveyance of the Spirit through the imposition of an apostle's hands were among Edward Irving's adherents when Cardale was called to the apostleship and then proceed to compare them with the teachings given by Cardale in 1847 on the laying on of apostles' hands for sealing with the Holy Ghost in order to show how those ideas developed.³⁷

In this context it is worthy of note that Drummond had joined the circle around Irving before Cardale had done so.³⁸ Even in 1833 his ideas of the new spiritual ministry were charismatic rather than expressed in terms of a church as an institution. He expects the Holy Spirit to dwell in believers to such a large degree that he pleads with Christ to "come ... in the power of thine own Almighty Spirit".³⁹

the apostleship (as performed by Geyer in 1860, 1862 and at later dates). It may be helpful to observe that the version reported by Max von Pochhammer appears in Gotthard Freiherr von Richthofen, *Die Apostolischen Gemeinden, ihre Entstehung, Verfassung und Gottesdienste* [The Catholic Apostolic Churches, their Rise, Constitution and Divine Services], Augsburg 1884, pp. 41 f. Cf. our remark *su-pra*, note 7. (As to Miss Hewett's relationship to Max von Pochhammer: She was a sister to Sir George John Routledge Hewett's, the third baronet and the third baronet was married to Max von Pochhammer's sister Clara. We thank Seraphim Newman-Norton for information provided in an e-mail to Manfred Henke of 17-10-2007 which in combination with the information on the Hewett family as contained in Seraphim Newman-Norton, "A Biographical Index of Those Associated with the Lord's Work", London 1971, p. 56 cleared up this point.) It may be worth while mentioning that the tradition started in the German edition of Miss Hewett's book is continued in the various editions of Rockenfelder, *Geschichte der Neuapostolischen Kirche* [History of the New Apostolic Church] as mentioned supra, note 7.

³⁷ It may be useful to remind the reader that the laying on of apostles' hands as practised in the Catholic Apostolic Church cannot simply be identified with the sealing through apostles as practised in the New Apostolic Church, although, from a New Apostolic perspective, there is a certain continuity in the sense of a further development of doctrine concerning the Sealing. This was pointed out by Apostle Walter Drave in a lecture entitled "Leben und Wirken des Apostels Thomas Carlyle" [Life and works of Apostle Thomas Carlyle], held in the New Apostolic church of Hamburg-Borgfelde on 27 August 2004 as part of a festive meeting to remember the 150th anniversary of the first apostolic imposition of hands performed in Hamburg.

³⁸ Since the first of the Albury Conferences in November 1826 Irving had worked in close co-operation with Drummond. Irving's earliest letter to Drummond in the papers left by the latter is of 1 December 1828 (Alnwick Castle, Drummond Papers, C/9/2). At first Irving addresses Drummond as his "dear friend" viz. his "dear and honoured friend" (C/9/3) from September 1832 as his "dear friend and brother" (C/9/7 ff.) and from January 1833 only as his "dear brother" (C/9/10 ff.). Please note: Cardale regularly addresses Drummond in his correspondence with him as "My dear Mr. Drummond". (Drummond Papers C/11). On 24 October 1832 Drummond prophesies in a public service in Irving's church (Edward Irving, Exposition and Sermon delivered at the Church in Newman Street, on Wednesday Evening, October 24, 1832, London (Harding), p. 7).

³⁹ [Henry Drummond], *The Spirit in Mr. Baxter Tried by Scripture*, London 1833, pp. 40 f. The idea of a "coming of Christ in the Spirit" before his personal advent can still be traced in some remarks in the Great Testimony § 101. (We published a synopsis of three editions of the Great Testimony on http://www.nak.org/de/news/publikationen/article/14439/)



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What did Edward Irving and his circle expect to result from the laying on of an apostle's hand for conveying the Spirit?

From between late 1831 to mid-1833 an unusually large number of printed sermons by Edward Irving and Nicholas Armstrong, who was an apostle later, have come down to us. At first, reports of their sermons taken in shorthand appeared in the regular issues of a periodical called *The Pulpit*, but then the stenographers attached to that periodical appeared at more and more of the sermons preached to the public by Irving and Armstrong, and their reports were separately printed. Apparently, there was a ready market for this, due to the stir aroused by the "manifestations", the tongues and prophecies.

In reviewing those publications we find that in those public sermons references to the apostle ministry are of relatively late date. One reason may have been that as a consequence of the attention the tongues and prophesyings had aroused in the public press, Cardale and Irving refrained from public references to Cardale as an apostle. Another reason, which seems at least equally convincing after reading those sermons, may have derived from the fact that neither Irving nor those who listened to his sermons had realized the future importance of the apostle ministry. For the time being, their expectations concentrated on an "outpouring of the Spirit", which would enable believers to perform astounding miracles. In what follows we shall look at that in some detail.

As mentioned above, Taplin called on Cardale on 26 December 1832 to ordain Drummond as angel of the church at Albury seeing he had been named an apostle. According to the reports we reviewed, this call had taken place on 31 October or 7 November 1832 in a prayer meeting, which thus took place on a Wednesday. Drummond's ordination as Angel at Albury likewise took place on a Wednesday in a prayer meeting, and in that context Drummond explicitly warned the participants "that the purpose of thus meeting was to unite in supplicating the Lord for the outpouring of His Holy Spirit, and the revival of His gifts to the whole church, every where, throughout the world". 40 The meeting in which Cardale had been called to the apostleship had apparently served the same purpose. This is made quite clear in the letter on which Norton's account is based, 41 and also the terms used by Rossteuscher can be interpreted to mean that.⁴² Thus we **can conclude that an initiative** started by James Haldane Stewart in the 1820s was still bearing fruit. He had called upon Christians of all denominations to join in praying for a general outpouring of the Holy Spirit. As he saw it, that outpouring of the Holy Spirit was to effect such a state of glory in "the church" before Christ's second coming "that multitudes of every nation, tribe, and tongue, shall bow to the name of Jesus, and confess that he is Lord". 43 Cardales prayer for

⁴⁰ Drummond, *Narrative*, p. 25.

⁴¹ Norton, Restoration of Apostles and Prophets, p.65.

⁴² Rossteuscher, *Aufbau der Kirche Christi* ¹1871, p. 361: "All that time Cardale had been kneeling, wrapt in prayer in the Spirit for the church, that it might be equipped with power from on high." Cf. *ibid.*, ²1886, p. 346: "Cardale, too, had been praying intensely for the church, that it might be equipped with power from on high."

⁴³ [James Haldane Stewart], An Appeal to Christians for General and United Prayer, for the Out-Pouring of the Holy Spirit, London, Religious Tract Society, volume 6, 1823, No.173, p. 213. Cf. some



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an outpouring of the Spirit on the church, which preceded his call, thus remained within the framework suggested by Stewart.

Since the first manifestations of spiritual gifts among those in fellowship with the twin brothers George and James MacDonald in spring 1830 the **expectations** raised by Stewart also led to the further expectation **that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit would be manifested in such gifts of the spirit**. Tongues, healings, and prophesyings "in power" were taken as signs that the person who exercised them had received the "baptism of the Spirit" immediately from God.⁴⁴ What was still lacking was a wider diffusion of those gifts linked with the **conversion of many nations** as described by Stewart. The MacDonald brothers expressly mourned for not reaching that stage.⁴⁵ In an undated paper called "The vision of Margaret MacDonald" a latter-day church is depicted which is in a special measure threatened by the power of the Antichrist on the one hand, but also equipped with special power on the other hand.⁴⁶

Quite obviously, these ideas prevailed amongst members of Irving's church. Since the spring of 1832 they had expected that a large number of Christians, equipped with power from on high, which would, among other things, be manifested in the exercise of the spiritual gifts already revealed in some of them, would bring about that conversion of the nations within the space of three years and a half.⁴⁷ By the effects of the Holy Spirit, they imagined, the members of the body of Christ would be enabled to overcome all

Bible passages which are important in Catholic Apostolic writings in Stewart, *Thoughts on the Importance of Special Prayer for the General Outpouring of the Holy Spirit*, London ²1821, pp. 18 f.

⁴⁴ Cf. Robert Norton, *Memoirs of James and George MacDonald*, London 1840, pp. 107 f. Margaret MacDonald, whose imminent death is being expected, proclaims, "there will be a mighty baptism of the Spirit this day." At "dinner-time" (which, the context suggests, was lunch time) she then prays that James "might *at that time* be endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost". "Almost instantly James calmly said, 'I have got it.' "He then commands his sister to rise from her sickbed, and she is healed. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 211: "The Lord confirmed the apostles' word with signs following at first; and doubtless will do so again, when he is pleased to call men into this high honour." *Ibid.*, p. 221, directed to Irving's church: "Regarding *all* the ordinations that have taken place among you, we must stand back and have no part in them; we can see no ground in scripture for laying on of hands of an apostle, and yet the Holy Ghost not given and proved to be given by 'manifestation'." James Haldane Stewart, *Thoughts*, *op. cit.* p. 4 had expressly rejected the idea that speaking in tongues or miracles were to be expected as a consequence of the prayers suggested by him.

45 Norton, Memoirs, p. 186.

⁴⁶ A handwritten version of this paper headed "Margaret McDonald's Vision" is part of a rather unmanageable volume of small pieces forming part of the Boase Collection, British Library 764.n.14. Without being expressly called by that name, it is printed in Norton, *Memoirs*, pp. 171-176. Norton introduces it, *ibid.*, p. 171, saying: "The following paper being recollections of a certain evening, having already, though surreptitiously, got into circulation, has been so much identified with the work of the spirit in the two brothers, that it seems right to insert it here." – Norton does not tell the reader that he reports words uttered by Margaret MacDonald, his late wife, who departed this life in 1840.

⁴⁷ The earliest sermon in which this theme was extensively treated was, as far as we know from our sources, Edward Irving, "Immediate Events in the Church unfolded from Prophecy, 4 March, 1832" in: Sermons by the Rev. N. Armstrong & Rev. E. Irving, London (Harding) 1832, pp. 9-14. Cf. Edward Irving, "England's Rejection of Christ," *The Pulpit* No. 489, 29 March, 1832, pp. 138 f., 142. Among those connected with Irving it was taught that Christ had been active on earth for three years and a half and that the gospel had been taught exclusively to the Jews for three years and a half, too; cf. Anon., "On the Sacred Numbers," *The Morning Watch*, vol. 5 (June 1832), p. 277.



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sin in the last days preceding the Second Advent.⁴⁸ They thought that their future activity was prefigured in the **Two Witnesses** described in the eleventh chapter of the book of Revelation and they felt ready for martyrdom through the power of Antichrist at the end of the three years and a half, but also expected to be raised immediately after. This group was held to be identical with the 144.000 described in the seventh and fourteenth chapters of Revelations.⁴⁹

In this context, they had formed ideas concerning the work to be done by apostles, which the first called apostle, John Bate Cardale, explicitly rejected at a later date. In the first place, it is to be observed that they expected all those who accepted the Lord in his then present manifestation through the gifts of the Spirit would then – partly through the laying on of an apostle's hands – receive the Holy Spirit in that special power they were waiting for and that they would also exercise one of the ministrations described in Ephesians 4. This was to be a **new spiritual ministry**. A **large number** of those endowed with the Spirit would receive the ability **to minister the Holy Spirit through the laying on of their hands** – and the manifestation of spiritual gifts together with an ability to convert large numbers of people would follow. Irving believed that a certain Robert Baxter was to be the first person who was to minister the spirit through the laying on of his hands "**like an apostle**". See the first person who was to minister the spirit through the laying on of his hands "**like an apostle**".

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Edward Irving, Exposition and Sermon ... At Cold-Bath Fields, Sunday Morning, June 10th, 1832; together with a Manifestation by Miss Cardale, London (Harding), pp. 12 f.

⁵¹ Edward Irving, "The Exposition and Sermon at the Church in Newman Street, Sunday Evening, November 11, 1832" in: *Two Services at the Rev. Edward Irving's Chapel, Newman Street, November 4th and 11th*, London (Harding), pp. 10 f.

Edward Irving, "Exposition and Sermon ... delivered at the Horse Bazaar, Gray Inn's Road, on Friday Evening, September 28, 1832," in: *The Discipline of the Church ...; with two Addresses in the Open Air, by Missionaries*, London (Harding), p. 2. Robert Baxter, *Narrative of Facts, characterizing the Supernatural Manifestations in Members of Mr. Irving's Congregation, and other Individuals in*

⁴⁸ Edward Irving, *Exposition and Sermon ... delivered in the Fields at Clerkenwell, on Sunday Morning, May 6th, 1832*, no publisher or printer, pp. 4 f.; Edward Irving, "Exposition and Sermon ... delivered at Deverell Street Chapel, Dover Road, ... together with a Manifestation by Mr. Taplin, October 8, 1832", *in: Expositions* and Sermons by the Rev. E. Irving and the Rev. N. Armstrong, London, (Harding), p. 4; Irving, *Exposition and Sermon delivered at the Church in Newman Street, on Wednesday Evening, October 24, 1832*, London, (Harding), p. 4; Irving, "A Sermon preached at Newman Street, Oxford Street, December 19, 1832" in: Irving, *An Address delivered at the Church in Newman Street, Oxford Street, January 9, 1833*, London, (Harding), p. 8.

Street, January 9, 1833, London, (Harding), p. 8.

49 Irving, "Immediate Events", pp. 9-11; Irving, "England's Rejection of Christ," *The Pulpit* No. 489, 29 March, 1832, pp. 138 f.; Irving, "Exposition, Sermon and sacramental Address, ... at his Chapel, Newman Street, Oxford Street, November 4, 1832" in: Two Services at the Rev. Edward Irving's Chapel, Newman Street, November 4th and 11th, London (Harding), p. 3; Irving, "The Exposition and Sermon at the Church in Newman Street, Sunday Evening, November 11, 1832" in: Two Services at the Rev. Edward Irving's Chapel, Newman Street, November 4th and 11th, London, (Harding), p. 11; Irving, "Exposition and Sermon delivered at the Church in Newman Street, on Friday Evening, Feb. 1, 1833" in: Expositions and Sermons by the Rev. E. Irving, Jan. 29th, and Feb. 1st; and Rev. N. Armstrong, January 27th, 1833, London (Harding), pp. 23, 26, 29. Early sermons by Nicholas Armstrong, who later was an apostle, may be compared, e.g. Nicholas Armstrong, "A Funeral Sermon delivered over the Grave of the late Rev. Washington Wilks, at Bunhill Fields, June 16, 1832" in: Sermons by the Rev. N. Armstrong, & the Rev. H.B. Bulteel, London (Harding), p. 8. Irving also explained his views in articles published in the periodical The Morning Watch. Cf. in particular Irving, "An Interpretation of the Fourteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse," The Morning Watch, vol. 5 (June 1832), pp. 306-325 and ibid., vol. 6 (September 1832), pp. 18-44 262-285 (December 1832). It becomes clear that Irving clung to those ideas even after Baxter's "fall" (as he chose to interpret Baxter's separation from his church).



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Robert Baxter was a lawyer from Doncaster in Yorkshire. Between October 1831 and March 1832 he had visited Irving's church for a number of times. According to Cardale's computation he had altogether had contact with them for twenty-five days. During that time he had uttered words "in power" which had, it would appear, greatly influenced the expectations just described. One prophecy had been to the effect that they were to count 1260 days starting on 14 January 1832. At their completion they were to expect a special event. In the eleventh chapter of Revelations, those 1260 days are mentioned as the time when the Two Witnesses were to be active and at the close of which they were to suffer martyrdom and be raised again. So it seemed natural to conclude that the special number of the 144.000, which Baxter had declared to be identical with the Two Witnesses, was to be translated towards the end of June 1835 or – if one simply equated those 1260 days with three years and a half – on 14 July 1835. Irving clung to the conviction that Baxter had prophesied through the Spirit of God, but had been wrong in attempting to interpret his prophecy himself, an assessment supplemented by an anonymous writer in the periodical *The Morning Watch* by the remark that Baxter had perished because of his egotism of which he himself had warned when

England and Scotland, and formerly in the Writer Himself, London 1833, pp. 91 f. mentions a letter written by Irving, in which he had written him that the church was looking forward to his "reappearing in the midst of us with the full power of an apostle". In the original letter (post stamped on 2 March 1832) this sentence continues "... to minister the Spirit unto us by the laying on of hands". This letter is amongst papers left by Baxter, now in private ownership, which we could refer to in a transcription done by Tim Grass. Dr. Grass is at present writing a new biography of Edward Irving, in which he will, int. al., shed new light on the Baxter affair using those papers.

⁵³ [Cardale], A Letter on certain Statements, p. 71, copied in Copinger, "Annals," p. 24.

Doctrines reported in Baxter, *Narrative of Facts* can be found in Irving's sermons. We give some examples: Concerning the Two Witnesses and their activity during the three years and a half: *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 17 f., 44, 91 etc. *Ibid.*, p. 71 Baxter claims that Irving's preaching on this theme was caused by his prophecy. Following Baxter's statements, that prophecy can be dated approximately in February or March 1832. It cannot be denied that Irving was impressed by Baxter, but there were statements leading up to the views described here, in some earlier sermons by Irving. One rather gets the impression that Baxter adapted thoughts expressed by Irving and then felt less inhibited than Irving in carrying them to extreme consequences. Cf. statements in Edward Irving, "The Duty of Importuning the Father for the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, 23 Oct., 1831," *The Pulpit* No. 466, p. 127; Edward Irving, "The Gift of Tongues enjoyed in the Church [2], 26 Oct., 1831," *The Pulpit* No. 469, 10 Nov., 1831, p. 169. On perfectionism cf. Baxter, *Narrative of Facts*, pp. 64 f., 115 etc. Anon., "Mr. Baxter's Narrative of Facts," *The Morning Watch* vol. 7 (June 1833), pp. 391-398 treats Baxter's controversy with Irving on Christological questions and Baxter's description of his inward state when speaking in tongues.

Baxter, *Narrative of Facts*, pp. 18, 56 read in connection with Cardale, *A Letter on certain Statements*, p. 65. Cf. Shaw, *The Catholic Apostolic Church*, pp. 41 f. It was possible to equate the 1260 days with the three years and a half by adapting the Egyptian and Babylonian "lunar months" of 30 days each instead of "solar months" of unequal length – which was supposed to be better fitted for the interpretation of biblical prophecies. On this subject we may compare a number of articles, often written or likely to have been written by John Tudor as editor of *The Morning Watch*. To give one example: "On the Arrow-Headed Characters of Niniveh and Babylon," *The Morning Watch*, vol. 5 (June 1833), pp. 365-384. Emily Cardale, to whose prophecies Irving attached special importance, demanded of him in March 1832, not to mention "the time which you [Baxter] have been made so often to put forth" so frequently, "declaring the word to be a true word but containing a mystery" and not to "repeat this in the flesh," cf. a letter written by Irving to Baxter on 3. March 1832, which forms part of the collection mentioned in note 52 and used by us as transcribed by Tim Grass. We thank Dr. Grass for permission to quote from that transcription.

⁵⁶ Irving, "What caused Mr. Baxter's Fall?" *The Morning Watch* vol. 7 (March 1833), pp. 131, 133.



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moved of the Spirit.⁵⁷ We do not find a word of criticism concerning Baxter's teaching on the Two Witnesses and their activity during the three years and a half in any of the comments on Baxter's allegations that originated with those connected with Irving.⁵⁸

On 26 April 1832, only a few hours before Irving was to be tried before the London presbytery and eventually excluded from the Regent Square church, Baxter had told Irving that he had come to the conclusion that the supernatural power, by which he had been moved, was real, but not of God. Irving and those around him upheld the belief that Baxter had prophesied by the Spirit of God. He had been mistaken in attempting to interpret his prophecies himself.59

Moving away from a charismatic movement towards an institutionalised church: The significance of the ordinations performed by Cardale for the further development of the Catholic Apostolic Church

From what we have seen so far, it becomes clear that members of Irving's church, impressed by the gifts of the Spirit, interpreted the apostle ministry as a charismatic gift. According to a view Irving published in June 1832 things had already taken a wrong turn at the time of the first apostles which led the church "to burden themselves with ordinances" which eventually restricted the activity of the Spirit. 60 Even as late as April 1833 Irving, in a letter to Drummond, considered "the voice of the Holy Ghost ... supreme above all ordinances Apostolical or Pastoral". 61 In a similar manner as the early Brethren (also called Plymouth Brethren or Darbyists by an early leader's name), a movement originating at about the same time, Timothy F. Stunt thinks that the early "Irvingites" cultivated a tendency to place such emphasis on the liberty of the Spirit that they rejected fixed liturgical forms and an ordained ministry.62

It accords with this view that Irving did not interpret the new ministry, the group making up the "Two Witnesses", with the gifts of the apostle, the prophet, the evangelist as well as the pastor and the teacher as establishing a new hierarchy of offices. Those who together made up the "Two Witnesses" will become active in great power "like the Twelve Apostles

⁵⁷ Anon., Review of Baxter's Narrative of Facts, *The Morning Watch* vol. 7 (March 1833), p. 205. Cf. a similar assessment of Baxter's character in [Henry Drummond], The Spirit in Mr. Baxter tried by Scripture, London 1833, p. 18.

⁵⁸ In addition to the publications already mentioned, cf. Anon., "Mr. Baxter's Narrative of Facts," *The* Morning Watch vol. 7 (June 1833), pp. 391-398; [William Tarbet], Remarks on Mr. Baxter's Narrative

of Facts, London and Liverpool ²1833. ⁵⁹ Cf. Shaw, *The Catholic Apostolic Church*, pp. 41 f., Copinger, "Annals," p. 25. Cardale objects to the view proposed by opponents of the CAC that the date fixed by Baxter was the one chosen for the separation of the apostles, cf. Cardale, A Letter on certain Statements, pp. 63-65.

for Irving, "An Interpretation of the Fourteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse," *The Morning Watch*, vol. 5, p. 311.

61 Letter by Irving to Henry Drummond, dated 27 March 1833, Drummond Papers C/9/15.

62 Letter by Irving to Henry Drummond, dated 27 March 1833, Drummond Papers C/9/15.

⁶² Timothy F. Stunt, "Irvingite Pentecostalism and the Early Brethren," The Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship, No. 10, December 1965, p. 41.



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and the Seventy Disciples" as he had expected Baxter to lay on his hands "like" an apostle. 63 Those who already exercise the gifts of the Spirit are considered the precursors of the work just beginning.64 In a letter to "Mr. Macdonald" (probably James or George MacDonald of Port Glasgow – or both) Irving writes on 24 January 1832 that Baxter had been "anointed" by God in a manner that differed from that of the other gifted persons. His gift, he thought, was of "the apostolical" kind since Baxter spoke in an authoritative manner and always concluded with a benediction.⁶⁵ In writing this, he seems to be influenced by a prophecy uttered by Baxter, for on the same day he writes to Robert Story, that Baxter had revealed in a prophecy that the Two Witnesses consisted of prophets and priests of whom the letter were apostolical men. Prophet, he taught, received the word without receiving power at the same time. In apostles, however, "the Spirit of Jesus dwells as in Jesus Himself for utterance of every sort with demonstration of the Spirit, and with power." Baxter, he wrote, had continued among them for more than a week "speaking in the power and demonstration of the Spirit with great authority, always concluding in the Spirit with a benediction."66

John Bate Cardale joined this church in August 1832, at a time, we may conclude, when Baxter's defection might have led to a certain readjustment to reality. As opposed to that, one can also arrive at the conclusion that Cardale impressed Irving and his followers to such a degree that they transferred to him those expectations that had before been fixed to Baxter. Cardale's behaviour may have contributed to that. According to the report handed down by Norton he first spoke to the church in special power on 20 or 22 October 1832 as Drummond had done before him, and he concluded his words with a benediction.67

We take it for granted that Drummond did indeed encouraged Cardale to convey the Spirit when he called him an apostle, but we suppose that he, as far as he was aware of anything then, presupposed an apostleship in accordance with the charismatic expectations prevailing in Irving's church. After Cardale had from an inward conviction accepted his apostleship, without, however, founding it on the call itself as he said some years later. 68 he did not act as

⁶³ Irving, "An Interpretation of the Fourteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse," *The Morning Watch*, vol. 5 (June 1832), p. 324. Edward Irving, "Exposition and Sermon ... delivered at the Horse Bazaar, Gray Inn's Road, on Friday Evening, September 28, 1832" in: The Discipline of the Church ...; with two Addresses in the Open Air, by Missionaries, London, (Harding), p. 2.

⁶⁴ Irving, "An Interpretation of the Fourteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse," *The Morning Watch*, vol. 5, p. 323. Lost letter quoted in Margaret Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, ²1862, p. 234.

⁶⁶ Lost letter quoted in ibid., p. 235.

⁶⁷ R. Norton, Restoration of Apostles and Prophets, p. 65. Cf. The True Apostleship not Modern; or a Refutation of the Claims of the Churches commonly called 'Irvingite,' to an Apostleship and to Spiritual Gifts. By a Member under the care of the late Rev. Edward Irving, London (Nisbet) 1838: "But his [Cardale's] words as an apostle (for such he was considered from the time his voice was first heard in the church) was distinct, beautiful, and forcible. His own power depended on these words, and no one knew how to time them better, to utter them with more precision, or in loftier tones of authority. It has continued the same to the last hour, that the writer of these sheets knew their proceedings; as a teacher no one can be less edifying; as a false apostle, no one more explicit in his language, more overwhelming in the elocution with which it burst forth, or wiser in adapting his words to the requirements of peculiar circumstances."

⁶⁸ Cf. Cardale's explanations in a letter to Dowglasse of 14 November 1852, quoted in [Manfred Henke], "Apostles' Council 1851: No Agreement on Measures to Restore the Twelvefold Unity of



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many of those around him probably expected him to act. He never laid on hands to transmit any gifts of the Spirit. He first ordained two ministers, and only after he had defined the laying on of an apostle's hands as a sacramental act defined in a similar manner as the Anglican rite of confirmation, but without any reference to arousing the gifts of the Spirit by it. 69 he in 1847 took the initiative to introduce the laying on of hands for sealing.

Irving's expectations regarding the apostle ministry were obviously disappointed. Even on 29 January 1833 Irving prayed to God that it might please him to enable His apostle that he might "speedily anoint this church with the Holy Ghost, that we may go forth into the city, and call men from perdition". 70 But even after this prayer Cardale did not do what Irving expected of him.

On 24 December 1832, which was a Monday, Apostle Cardale performed what we today consider the first apostolic act of office in modern times in ordaining William Rennie Caird as an evangelist. When that evening's family worship had come to a close, "the Spirit of the Lord came upon Mr. Cardale, and made him lay hands on and ordain Mr. Caird to the office of Evangelist, according to the word of prophecy which had previously passed upon him." That is how Henry Drummond reported the event two years later. 71

On the next morning the congregation gathered at Albury, consisting of about 45 persons, 72 joined by their guests from London, assembled in the converted coach house belonging to Drummond's mansion for their Christmas service. Henry Drummond, obeying a prophecy of 20 October, presided them as their pastor, but had been told to abstain from dispensing any sacraments until he had been ordained.⁷³ Nobody had known who might perform such an ordination. Now the members of the church assembled at Albury had understood that Cardale, in virtue of his apostleship, had authority to ordain, and they expected Drummond to be ordained by the apostle, who had joined them for their Christmas service.

They were disappointed in that. Cardale did not yet dare to perform any ministerial act without a direct supernatural spiritual impulse. There was no such impulse that morning, but it occurred on the next day in a prayer meeting which was held at Albury as in London on every Wednesday evening. Whereas on Christmas Eve, Cardale had felt impelled by an inward thrust to perform the ordination, it was Taplin who now instigated Drummond's ordination as Angel of the church at Albury. He encouraged the apostle to ordain Drummond,

Apostles" http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/15103/ p. 5, note 27. Cf. similar statements in Cardale, A Letter on certain Statements, pp. 46 f. and Woodhouse on Cardale's views in Woodhouse, Narrative of Events, p. 120.

⁶⁹ Cf. Walter Drave and Manfred Henke, "Der Umgang mit dem Grossen Testimonium in der Katholisch-apostolischen Kirche," Unsere Familie 22/2006 vom 20 November 2006, pp. 38 f. or the annotated English version published on http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/14578/ as "Changing Uses made of the Great Testimony in the Catholic Apostolic Church," p. 7. Cf. also Cardale, "Teachings Addressed to Candidates for the Laying on of Apostles' Hands," mimeographed edition by Norman Priddle based on a copy dated 1848, made of a slightly earlier manuscript, [London], no date, 35 pp. ⁷⁰ Irving, "Service at the Church in Newman Street, Oxford Street, on Wednesday Evening, January

^{29, 1833&}quot; in: Expositions and Sermons by the Rev. E. Irving, Jan. 29th, and Feb. 1st; and Rev. N. *Armstrong, January 27th*, 1833, London (Harding), p. 9. Drummond, *Narrative of the Circumstances*, p. 24.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 f.



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saying, "The Lord commandeth you, you who are called to be an apostle, to lay hands on the angel of this church, and ordain him to rule and feed this people; to feed them with the body and blood of the Lord: be faithful, be faithful, and Jesus will honour you."

Cardale then ordained Drummond, addressing him as follows: "Be thou filled with the Holy Ghost, and with the Spirit of wisdom, and of knowledge, and of a sound mind: be thou of a quick understanding in the fear of the Lord: feed and rule this people: be thou faithful unto death, and thou shalt receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath prepared for thee, and for all who love the Lord Jesus."⁷⁴

In the weeks following there were some more changes in the making, all tending towards building up a church led by apostles. Now Irving did not expect the Second Advent within the next three years and a half, but rather within one generation.⁷⁵ Before Christ's return, it was now understood, God would bring about more apostles apart from Cardale and a new church organisation with ordained office bearers. An important step in that direction was taken when, on 5 April 1833, Cardale ordained Irving as the Angel of the church he had been in charge of before. This had been preceded, on 13 March 1833, by Irving's deposition as a minister of the Church of Scotland.⁷⁶

In the words of John Lancaster, who wrote the only biographical study of Cardale, this ordination was "a watershed". It meant that "the Movement loses its disparate congregational aspect and becomes, at least in embryo, the Catholic Apostolic Church."⁷⁷ To this, we would like to add that Cardale, even before ordaining Irving, also ordained Taplin, who had held a prominent role in the church because of his prophesying, into the office of prophet and thus included him in a church hierarchy.⁷⁸

If we now ask how Cardale interpreted his ministry as an apostle at that time, we can, unfortunately, only refer to what he did at the time and to what he wrote several years later.

According to his own words – admittedly written 23 years after the event – Cardale at that time felt that in Irving's church there was a painful silence concerning "the restoration of

⁷⁵ Irving, "Exposition and Sermon delivered at the Church in Newman Street, on Friday Evening, Feb. 1, 1833" in: *Expositions and Sermons by the Rev. E. Irving, Jan. 29th, and Feb. 1st; and Rev. N. Armstrong, January 27th, 1833*, London (Harding) p. 29. Cf. in addition, Irving, "Service at the Church in Newman Street, Oxford Street, on Wednesday Evening, January 29, 1833" in: *Expositions and Sermons by the Rev. E. Irving, Jan. 29th, and Feb. 1st; and Rev. N. Armstrong, January 27th*, 1833, London (Harding), p. 6 (The word will be preached for 30 years).

⁷⁶ Copinger, "Annals," pp. 31 f.

John Lancaster, "John Bate Cardale, Pillar of Apostles: A Quest for Catholicity", B. Phil. thesis University of St. Andrews 1979, p. 55. (Shelf mark in the university library of St. Andrews: BX 1979.C2 L2) Thanks are due to Moira Mackenzie of the university library of St. Andrews for quickly and efficiently providing the thesis and to the author for his permission to have it reproduced.

78 In two letters to David Dow of April 1833, Irving gives a detailed report of this and several other ordi-

In two letters to David Dow of April 1833, Irving gives a detailed report of this and several other ordinations, reprinted in Drummond, *Narrative of the Circumstances*, pp. 34-64. *Ibid.*, pp. 35 f. it becomes clear that Taplin did not receive the office of Angel prophet, as later tradition would have it (as in Copinger, "Annals," p. 32), but was simply ordained a prophet. Since that date it is necessary to distinguish between persons who prophesy (and of this group women may partake) and bearers of the prophetic office (which was reserved to males). For a discussion of the relations between the apostles and the prophets, cf. Tim Grass, "The Taming of the Prophets': Bringing prophecy under control in the Catholic Apostolic Church," *Journal of the Pentecostal Theological Association*, vol. 16 (1996), pp. 58-70.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27



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apostles" whereas that had been "the subject of constant thought" to him. 79 He was also aware "that for a considerable time afterwards the only idea of the office of apostle was, that he was to be a minister80 ministering in the Spirit, in point of fact another variation of the prophet or person speaking in prophecy."81 In this, we conclude from our findings, Cardale had correctly understood the ideas prevailing in Irving's church at that time.

From Cardale's actions we may conclude that even at that early stage he had a rather traditional idea of a church hierarchy. The Church of England, to which he had belonged, had seen bishops as leaders of the church. In the days of the Oxford Movement Anglican bishops again appealed to the doctrine of apostolic succession, claiming that the apostles of the primitive church had transferred their powers to the bishops, who had been their subordinates before apostles ceased to be active within the Christian church. Their authority as leaders of the church was vested in their power to ordain and their authority to define doctrine. In addition, it was the bishops' privilege to dispense the so-called confirmation to the baptized by the laying on of their hands. This was done in imitation of the conveying of the Spirit through the laying on of apostles' hands as described in Acts 8. When Cardale still worshipped in the Anglican St. John's Chapel in Bedford Row, which was then led by Baptist Noel, his pastor published a pamphlet in which he referred to Ephesians 4, 11-13 and where he wrote:

For if the prophetic office, and by inference all other supernatural gifts, are here promised to the church till it reach its entire perfection; then the apostolic office also, not in some of its functions, but (on precisely the same reasoning) in all of them, promised to continue too.82

Noel thus wanted to demonstrate the absurdity of claiming that the gifts of the spirit could be exercised as in the beginning of the church. Since Cardale was convinced of the divine origin of those gifts, he could arrive at conclusions that differed much from his pastor's views and, even based on Noel's teachings concerning the apostleship in the primitive church, 83 conclude that apostles ought to be the highest authority in matters of doctrine within the church.

Instead of laying hands on all believers, Cardale started by laying hands on those called into an ecclesiastical office by prophecy in order to ordain them. As Catholic Apostolics saw it, this, too, was an act of conveying the spirit, for by it the minister received that measure of the Spirit that enabled him to fulfil the duties of his office.⁸⁴ Above all, we may assume that many, if not most members of Irving's church did not become aware of a difference that appears so obvious if we look at things from today's practice in the New Apostolic Church, the difference between conveying the Spirit to lay members for sealing and of conveying the Spirit to ministers in ordination. As we have been able to demonstrate, they expected a great number of

⁷⁹ Cardale, *A Letter on certain Statements*, p. 69.

⁸⁰ In this context, we take *minister* to mean "servant" rather than the holder of an institutional ecclesiastical position.

Cardale, A Letter on certain Statements, p. 69.

⁸² Baptist W. Noel, Remarks on the Revival of Miraculous Powers in the Church, London 1831, p. 7.

⁸³ Ibid. We would like to emphasize that Noel explicitly wanted to restrict all the views of the apostle ministry, which he had enlarged on, to the primitive church. As a protagonist of the evangelical party within the Anglican Church he was not a proponent of ecclesiastical institutions and the hierarchy, but rather emphasized what all Christians had in common if they seriously tried to make the Bible their rule of faith. Cf. John Lancaster, "Cardale," op. cit., pp. 52, 94.

84 Vgl. Drummond, Substance of Lectures Delivered to the Churches, London und Edinburgh 1847,

[&]quot;Imposition of Hands", pp. 350-373.



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believers, equipped with charismatic gifts, to form the new spiritual ministry which was to perform the great act of evangelizing the entire world within a short period of time. Those ordained may have been considered the forerunners of that spiritual ministry.

A gradual process of defining the relationship between the Apostle and the other ministries of the church

The ordinations performed led to a rather traditional institutionalized church. The first person to be ordained was an evangelist, Caird. This was closest to the original ideas because the ministry of evangelist was numbered among the charismatic gifts needed for world mission. Two days later there was an ordination into the ministry of **Angel**. **Engelamt** This **was not a ministry of the charismatic kind, but one for leadership in the church.**

In the Great Testimony of 1837 the apostles' right to lead the church is derived from their power to ordain. 85 Irving did not at first see face to face with this. Since the time when his conflict with the Scots church had escalated, he had defined his position within his congregation as being that of an Angel. He now defined "church" without referring to a national organization or a state church and claimed that within the one invisible church, consisting of "true members of Jesus Christ", there were some local churches that gave visible expression of what a "church" ought to be, whereas everywhere else the true doctrine was denied and fought against. Referring to the first three chapters of the book of Revelation he now teaches that the leader of the church, called "Angel", is only responsible to God Himself, although supported by Elders and deacons. From this Irving had derived his claim to watch over the prophesyings of the gifted persons, and in that way he also attempted to watch over the apostle in the beginning. In a letter of 30 April 1833 he declared: "So receive I, through an apostle, my instructions; and having received them, the apostle himself is the first man that must bow to them, and I will take good care that he doth so, lest he should exalt himself to the seat of our common Master" ... "87

He still considered the apostle an office bearer within his church and considered himself, as Angel of the church, his superior. And he still claimed to supervise the prophets of the church, to whose words he at first attached greater authority than to those of the apostle. But Irving did not fail to develop. In a letter of 26 September 1833 he congratulated Drummond on being called to the apostle ministry, too. He now calls this ministry "the

⁸⁵ Great Testimony, § 41, cf. http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/14439/.

⁸⁶ Irving, "A Judgment – as to what Course the Ministers and the People of the Church of Scotland Should take in Consequence of the Decisions of the last General Assembly," *Morning Watch*, vol. 5 (March 1832), pp. 89-91. In a letter to his father-in-law, Dr. John Martin, of 7 March 1832 Irving denies having defined the Angel's position because of the conflict he is engaged in. Rather, he claims, this results from his study of the Apocalypse. Lost letter, quoted in Oliphant, *Life of Edward Irving*, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 f.

⁸⁷ Irving to Drummond, 4 May 1833, Drummond Papers C/9/18.

⁸⁸ Cf. some thoughts on the apostolic office laid down by Irving in a letter to Drummond on 14 September 1832, even before Cardale had been called, Drummond Papers C/9/8. Cf. further the development of Irving's thought as expressed in a letter by Irving to Drummond of 3 February 1833, *ibid*. C/9/12. It is rather significant that even in February 1833 Irving asks "Mrs John Cardale", the apostle's wife Emma Cardale, whom he had long acknowledged as a prophetess, to evaluate his actions, Irving to Drummond of 23-02-1833, Drummond Papers C/9/14.



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first of the Ministries of His Church". ⁸⁹ In a letter to Alan Ker of Greenock near Port Glasgow he finally declares that an apostle must not be measured by his ability to perform signs and miracles, although he still expects to see such signs revealed through true Christians. ⁹⁰ The supra-congregational character of the apostle ministry has by now been confirmed because Cardale had ordained ministers for several churches to make them parts of a more all embracing church organization. On 1 May 1833, Irving writes to Drummond, telling him how much he would like "to deliver Mr Miller and his flock" among whom the gifts of the Spirit had been revealed, "out of the state of separateness in which they have stood from the Apostle of the Lord & the Church where in the Lord had raised up such a gift," but was told through a prophecy to wait until they themselves should ask him for help. ⁹¹ A few days later, in Irving's church on 13 May, Miller was ordained as Angel of the church in Bishopsgate through Cardale. ⁹²

For introducing the laying on of apostles' hands to seal the faithful, which, in 1847, was introduced because he had taken the initiative, Apostle Cardale referred to the old commission to lay hands upon believers and thus convey to them the Holy Spirit.⁹³ In looking back, eyewitnesses of what had happened interpreted the words spoken at Cardale's call to the apostleship in the light of those sealings they later witnessed. Contrary to the expectations held in 1832, later explanations maintain that gifts of the Spirit were not necessarily brought about by being sealed with the Holy Ghost, although they might follow as a consequence.⁹⁴ Rather those who received the sealing should expect "to have the full measure of prayer, praise, and intercession to ascend" from them,⁹⁵ to fill their place in the body of Christ and thus feel an earnest of eternal glory.⁹⁶

The old expectation of a time when there would be an abundant "outpouring" of the Spirit and when God would give special demonstrations of his power to his messengers, continued to influence people's actions where the hope of the apostles being sent forth in power was kept alive – as it was done by Apostle Carlyle.⁹⁷

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Manfred Henke

⁸⁹ Drummond Papers C/9/23.

⁹⁰ Lost letter quoted in Oliphant, Life of Edward Irving, p. 334.

⁹¹ Irving to Drummond, 1 May 1833, Drummond Papers C/9/17; cf. some remarks in Irving to Drummond, 4 May 1833, *ibid.* C/9/18.

⁹² Copinger, "Annals," p. 34.

⁹³ Cardale, "Teachings Addressed to Candidates for the Laying on of Apostles' Hands," p. 12.

⁹⁴ [Woodhouse] A Narrative of Events, (1885), pp. 121, 130-32.

⁹⁵ Cardale, "Teachings Addressed to Candidates for the Laying on of Apostles' Hands," p. 15. Cf. also Drummond, *Substance of Lectures*, pp. 350-373 (Lecture VII "Imposition of Hands").

⁹⁶ Ibid., cf. [Woodhouse] A Narrative of Events, (1885), p. 129.

⁹⁷ Cf. Manfred Henke, "Die Geschichte der Katholisch-apostolischen Kirche in kurzer Übersicht", *Unsere Familie* 18/2007 of 20 September 2007, pp. 38 f. Cf. earlier explanations of that expectation given in Drummond, *No. I The Church of Christ. A.D. 1834*, Greenock 1834, pp. 5 f.



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Appendix

Different accounts of Cardale's call to the apostleship in two different editions of Rossteuscher, The Restoration of the Church of Christ (as translated by M. Henke)

Rosteuscher 1871, pp. 360 f.

Rossteuscher 1886, pp. 346 f.

It was on **7 November** in a prayer meeting at a private house. Drummond of Albury was present and many others, strangers included. There were prayers, readings, prophecy in the accustomed order. Those who prophesied spoke unto edification, exhortation, and comfort.

It was on **31 October** in a prayer meeting at a private house. Apart from Cardale Drummond of Albury was present and many others, strangers included. There were prayers, readings, prophecy in the accustomed order. Those who prophesied spoke unto edification, exhortation, and comfort.

Then one of those sinister incidents occurred through which the purity of inspiration was threatened, but finally confirmed. A young medical man from London prophesied, in an apparently harmless manner, not really from God, until Drummond, who had received the gift of discernment of spirits(S. 361→) in a particularly high measure, discerned the secret workings of the evil one and bade the speaker be quiet in the power of the Spirit. But then Drummond's words took a new flight relating to the eternal grace that not only saves from evil, but also adorns with heavenly jewels, in the Holy Ghost, with which God wanted to seal His children. All that time Cardale had been kneeling, wrapt in prayer in the Spirit for the church, that it might be endowed with power from on high. Now Drummond faced him, powerfully calling out: "Art thou not an Apostle? Why do you not convey the Holy Ghost?" He then added much about the power of that grace which the Lord had placed into the apostle ministry and the obedient discipleship

and faithfulness He required. Hymns of praise

sung in the Spirit closed this memorable

[part placed in a different order, cf. account of events on 7 November.]

Cardale, too, had been wrapt in prayer for the church, that it might be endowed with power from on high. While he was still kneeling, wrapt in spirit, Drummond arose and addressed him in indescribable power and nobility: "Art thou not an Apostle? Why do you not convey the Holy Ghost?" To this he added much about the fulness of that grace which the Lord had placed into the apostle ministry and the obedient discipleship and faithfulness He required for them. Hymns of praise sung in the Spirit closed this memorable meeting.

A week later, on **7 November**, that call was repeated in a touching application. It was in

meeting.



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an even larger prayer meeting at Irving's house. In the midst of the waves of spiritual utterances one of those sinister incidents occurred through which the purity of inspiration was threatened, but finally confirmed. A young medical man from London prophesied, in an apparently harmless manner, not really from God, until Drummond, who had received the gift of discernment of spirits in a particularly high measure, discerned the secret workings of the evil one and bade the speaker be quiet in the power of the Spirit. And then, when Cardale had joined in with pleadings in the Spirit for the unbinding of him who was bound, Taplin stepped before him with a mighty call: "Chide thou Satan, seeing you are an apostle of Christ! Exorcise the evil spirits and deliver God's children!" And in taking their flight the prophetic words referred to the eternal and unchangeable grace that through the apostolic office drives away the evil one from within the boundaries of the church and delivers all His chosen ones from evil, and even wants to adorn them with {S. 347→} heavenly jewels, in the Holy Ghost, with which God wanted to seal His children from now on.