

Apostles' Council 1851: No Agreement on Measures to Restore the Twelfold Unity of Apostles

In the previous article of this series we have looked at Apostle Carlyle's views of the work to be done by apostles in the future. On 4 April 1851¹ he lectured to the faithful at Buchwaeldchen (Silesia) on these hopes, but also utters his concern regarding the state the work of apostles has reached. He appeals to the believers "to pray incessantly that their number may be completed – for one of the Apostles has become unfaithful – that they may all become fully active, that they may become of one mind in all things, that they receive their full ability to fulfil God's plan towards the Church."² Following this, he travels to Albury to take part in a council of apostles summoned there for Pentecost because two apostles asked for it.³ We may suppose that Carlyle was one of the two who took this initiative, for he quite obviously hopes for some sort of agreement on how to fill up the number of apostles to twelve – which was at that time considered necessary to enable the apostles to act together as a college of apostles and eventually to be sent out in power as originally expected.

The loss of the twelfold unity of apostles

To give our readers some idea of the problem involved, we now take them to Albury in Surrey, England, about 30 miles south west of London near the town of Guildford. It is the year 1840. The Apostles' Chapel, made of the finest materials, has been erected at the cost of £ 20,000, a huge sum in those days. The money and the land have been given by the Apostle Drummond, a rich banker and lord of the manor. The tower is not quite complete on this fourth of September when the first service is held in the new chapel.⁴

This joyful event is, however, overshadowed by disagreements about the "the place and authority of the Apostleship".⁵ Three days before, the apostles suspended the monthly meetings of the Seven Churches in London, those gatherings during which the "Council of Zion" deliberated on church affairs. In addition, they separate from some of their closest assistants in the work and decide not to make use of any prophecies for the time being. Basically, there is disagreement on the question, if the apostles are to rule the Church, as they demand, or if they are to receive orders, either from the Council of Zion or from the prophets who called them into office.⁶

¹ Thomas Carlyle, *A Short History of the Apostolic Work, London 1851*, Preface by Thiersch as published on this website, cf. <http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/15082/>.

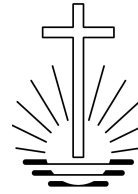
² *Ibid.*, p. 16 (our translation).

³ Cf. Cardale to Drummond, Drummond Papers (Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, microfilm at the Bodleian Library, Oxford), C/11/25, 2nd page: "I do not consider myself responsible for the possible consequences of our reassembling at this juncture. If good is produced the two brethren taking on themselves the responsibility of causing us to be convoked will deserve our gratitude. And my part is simply to pray God to avert all possible evils, which I will not anticipate."

⁴ Harold Bernard Copinger, "Annals of the Lord's Work", p. 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75

⁶ Cf. Copinger, "Annals", MS addition by Copinger, p. 74. "The absence of the Apostles abroad gave rise to speculations as to whether the Council of Zion was not the instrument by which the Church should be guided & Apostles merely the organs for carrying its rulings into practice." For details mentioned in the text cf. *ibid.*, p. 75. Cf. also [Francis Valentine Woodhouse], *A Narrative of Events affecting the Position and Prospects of the whole Christian Church*, London 1847, pp. 81f., Charles



The apostles draw up a document in which they insist on their right to rule the Church. Most of the various churches or congregations are willing to submit to the apostles' decision, but now there is disagreement among the apostles that leads to the loss of their twelvefold unity. Apostle MacKenzie cooperated with the others in addressing a letter to the Angels as leaders of the churches but shrinks back from signing it. What we read about his motives can be interpreted as indicating that he thought the apostles could not initiate such decisive measures before they were sent out and equipped with special power from on high.⁷

Events come to a climax on Christmas Day 1840. The apostles want to assemble in their newly-built council chamber. However, one of them does not turn up: Henry Dalton, Apostle for France and the Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland. Five weeks later, on 30 January 1841, the apostles reassemble. Now the apostles Cardale and MacKenzie are missing. On Sunday 31 January Apostle Cardale is present, but MacKenzie is missing, and on Tuesday 2 February it is officially announced that they must not expect Mr MacKenzie. The twelvefold unity being lost, the apostles disperse without concluding their deliberations.⁸

From letters written by Apostle Cardale to Apostle Drummond in the years that followed we learn that both thought that from then on there was no college of apostles in its full sense, since the apostles felt that they could not act in twelvefold unity.⁹ In 1842 a liturgy is introduced for use in the apostles' chapel at Albury. This is seen as a first step towards introducing a uniform way of worship first of all in the churches gathered under apostles and finally among all Christians.¹⁰ On 12 January 1846 there is another gathering of all remaining apos-

William Boase, *The Elijah Ministry to the Christian Church [Supplement]*, Edinburgh 1868, pp. 834f.; [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, pp. 28f.

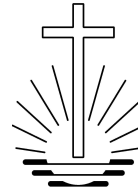
⁷ Cf. the references quoted in note 6. In previous publications on this phase of the Catholic Apostolic movement the manuscript sources quoted below have not been consulted or they have not been fully made use of. Cf. Plato Ernest Shaw, *The Catholic Apostolic Church, Sometimes Called Irvingite. A Historical Study*, New York 1946, pp. 96-98, Rowland Ashley Davenport, *Albury Apostles. The Story of the Body Known as the Catholic Apostolic Church (Sometimes called "The Irvingites")*, London, revised edition 1973, pp. 119-123. Columba Graham Flegg, *Gathered Under Apostles. A Study of the Catholic Apostolic Church*, Oxford 1992, pp. 77-84 uses some of the „Drummond Papers“ without showing the extent of the difficulties faced in the 1840s. Robert L. Lively, „The Catholic Apostolic Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: A Comparative Study of two Minority Millenarian Groups in Nineteenth-Century England“, unpublished doctoral thesis Oxford 1977, pp. 73-6, quotes some letters from this collection, but only from part C/9 (Irving's letters to Drummond and correspondence relating to Irving's decease).

⁸ Copinger, „Annals“, pp. 75f.

⁹ Drummond Papers C/11, Cardale to Drummond: C/11/1, London 29 Oct. 1846, p. 1: „I deplore the existence of circumstances which deprive individual Apostles & the Church of a 12fold Apostleship“, C11/7, Bath 17 Feb. 1847, p. 2: „Is it not the case that I have ever sought, but have been defeated in my endeavours, to uphold the 12fold unity of the apostles?“ When arguing about liturgical questions, *ibid.*, p. 3: „The general Body having declared its inability at the present time to consider the subject I decline submitting the matters to the consideration or judgment of a part of that Body consisting of one or more.“ C/11/15, [London], Bedford House Tav[istock] Square, 5 April 1847, p. 2: „The tenor of this and of several of your letters precludes me from doing more than giving my direct denial of the charges & declaring my readiness to meet you on them whenever the Apostles reassemble.“

¹⁰ Concerning the introduction of the liturgy cf. Copinger, „Annals“, p. 77. In a letter to Thiersch, Augsburg (Germany) 11 Dec. 1842, sheet 2, William Rennie Caird sums up the arguments in favour of a liturgy:

„I distinguish three sorts of worship 1st Personal or Private, 2^d Domestic : 3^d Public, the two first are best performed extempore, for the wants of individuals & families are ever varying, and no form could possibly embrace all that is required even for a single week. But the case is different



ties, but now Apostle Dalton stays away from it. He has resumed his work as an Anglican minister.¹¹ In the meantime, the churches gathered in England have no common leadership. Whoever wants to address Cardale can – with difficulty – contact Dr Thompson, the “Pillar of Pastors” associated with him.¹² Only in September 1846 Cardale once again addresses the Angels of the churches gathered under him in England, and in a letter to Drummond at the end of October 1846 he bemoans the loss of unity among the apostles.¹³

In May 1847, following Cardale’s initiative, the first of the faithful gathered in England receive the laying on of apostles’ hands for sealing.¹⁴ In Frankfurt on 17 October 1847 Apostle Carlyle conducts the first service for sealing in his “tribe” or sphere of activity. Heinrich W. J. Thiersch is ordained a priest on 2 January 1848 and is put in charge of the newly founded church in Marburg. Soon after, Carlyle takes up residence in Berlin and there seals sixty be-

with the Public Worship, the worship of God’s family as one, the worship of the one body of Christ, in all places and at all times; having certain specific wants, for which the Lord himself has provided the specific remedies. This worship can alone be carried on by Liturgies. For as Unity is the leading attribute of the Church of Christ, there must be unity of prayer and service & administration of the Sacraments. This was fully shewn in the Jewish worship which is the Pattern and type of all worship acceptable to God. [...] Alas! that the sectarian spirit of modern times should have so prevailed to freeze up the flowing streams of the garden of God, whereby all that lived was refreshed. – There is no more unity of worship now in the Roman sect than there is worship at all among the Protestant masses of individuals. The masse service is indeed a glorious relic of what the worship of the body once was but it is no more than a relic – for it has been patched and disordered, and robbed of its fairest portions.”

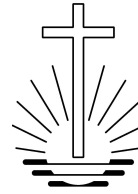
This letter is in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Abteilung H. Thierschiana II. 149 (“Briefe an Heinr. Thiersch”). Cf. also [Henry Drummond, *Rationale of the offices and liturgy of the Church*, no place, 1843, *passim*, particularly pp. i-ii [The copy in the archives of NAC International in Zurich, Switzerland, seems to have been part of an early Scottish Liturgy. The early Scottish Liturgy in the library of NAC North Germany in Hamburg – according to a pencil note by Norman Priddle probably the second edition 1849 – does not have this preface. We find a completely different approach to liturgies in writings by Thomas Evill, Elder and Scribe of the Central Church in London, who was disciplined in 1850. In future he expects a Church filled with the Spirit of God to such a degree that all her members offer prayer, praise and thanksgiving in a unified but diverse manner without a need of written forms. [Thomas Evill], *The Retrospect. Being An Enquiry into the Fulfilment of Prophecy during the last Twenty Years; and also How far the Church is thereby furnished with any Good Grounds for expecting The Instant Coming of the Lord*, vol. 1, London 1846, p. 97. In places there seem to have been strong objections to the introduction of a liturgy, cf. [David George Foster], *The Protest of an Elder of the Church in Islington, in October 1842, against the Introduction of a Liturgy and Vestments*, London 1843, *passim*. Caird writes to Thiersch (Bayer. Staatsbibl., Thierschiana II. 149) on 11 January 1843, that he has to return to Edinburgh “where there is such a ‘Gährung’ [ferment] that no one knows what the issue may be”. [In his letters written to Thiersch in English Caird uses some German words].

¹¹ Copinger, “Annals”, pp. 76, 81. Apparently, Copinger could refer to a diary kept by Apostle Armstrong between 1840 and 1843. The source “AD” is referred to on pp 75-78 of Copinger’s “Annals” on various occasions. Seeing that it contains information on events related to the apostles’ council and to Armstrong’s travels it is likely that the abbreviation “AD” can be read as “Armstrong’s Diary”.

¹² Although we ought to be careful in using the reports of dissatisfied ministers, we get an impression of the difficulties involved from Foster, *The Protest of an Elder*, London 1843, *passim*.

¹³ Cf. Cardales letter to Drummond, Drummond Papers C/11/1, London 29. Okt. 1846, as quoted above, note 8. According to Copinger, “Annals”, p. 81, MS. addition, this lack of unity was evidenced by the votes given. Copinger refers to information received from “Dr. Capadose” (Apostles’ Coadjutor Dr. Isaac Capadose, 1834-1920). We read: “Dr Capadose relates that there were ‘great divergences of opinion & want of mutual confidence. Some resolutions were affirmed a first time by a majority, but none were proposed a second time (unanimity being required at the second voting)’”.

¹⁴ Copinger, “Annals”, p. 83.



lievers on 19 March 1848. He constitutes them as a congregation or church.¹⁵ In December 1852 there are 1004 souls organized in seventeen churches in his “tribe”.¹⁶ Carlyle’s “tribe” grows faster than others, but the decisive event he is waiting for, when the apostles are sent out in power, has not yet occurred. He still expects the apostles to be accepted as leaders of all Christians. But do his fellow apostles still share this expectation? And are they willing to have their “sacred number” (Carlyle¹⁷) completed so that, their twelfold unity being restored, they can be sent out soon?

Filling up the college of apostles discussed and rejected

Ministers in Northern Germany expected Pentecost 1851 to be an “important juncture in the history of the work”.¹⁸ A gathering of the apostles is scheduled and Apostle Cardale just hopes and prays that “all possible evils” may be averted, as he writes to Henry Drummond on 27 February 1851.¹⁹ Carlyle, on the other hand, asks believers in his “tribe” to pray that the apostles “may become of one mind in all things”, “that their number may be completed” and “that they receive their full ability to fulfil God’s plan towards the Church”.²⁰

Unfortunately, we do not know what Carlyle may have reported about the assembly of the apostles. We do have Cardale’s report to the Angels of his “tribe” about the conclusions reached by the apostles. This tells us that delegates from among the apostles tried in vain to motivate the apostles MacKenzie and Dalton to reassume their apostolic activity. Apostle MacKenzie was officially divested of all apostolic and ministerial functions – with the possibility of reinvesting him if he should change his mind. Apostle Dalton was considered capable of overcoming his doubts as to his commission as an apostle.²¹ There was no decision about filling up the number of apostles. Cardale did, however, say that he was “aware that there are some among us who entertain the idea that there is a possibility of some summary process by which recusant Apostles may be deprived of their Office, and their places filled up.” He discouraged the Angels of his “tribe” from discussing this question. God might “be pleased by some immediate act of His own thus to execute deserved judgment”, but only the apostles were able to reach such a decision. For “any such judicial act” they could not rely on “the supposed light of words of prophecy”, but had to arrive at “a clear and distinct persuasion of their own powers to do such act”.²² The apostles who had assembled at Albury quite obvi-

¹⁵ Karl Born, *Das Werk des Herrn unter Aposteln*, Bremen 1974, pp. 39-41.

¹⁶ *Apostles’ Reports, July 1853*, no place [“for private circulation”], p. 18. Apart from typewritten versions made (according to information received from Seraphim Newman-Norton) by Norman Priddle (1905-1978), there is a copy of the printed version in the collection of Catholic Apostolic literature that forms part of the Library of the British Orthodox Church, 10 Heathwood Gardens, London SE7 8EP. (Cf. <http://www.abtapl.org.uk/database/LibraryPage207.html> .)

¹⁷ Thomas Carlyle, *Apostles Given, Lost, and Restored*, London 1853, p. 34. (Cf. the text published at <http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/15082/> .)

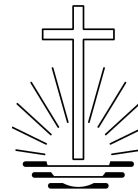
¹⁸ Carlyle, *Die Geschichte des apostolischen Werkes in kurzer Uebersicht*, Berlin 1851 (Short History) Thiersch’s preface, our translation. (Cf. <http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/15082/>.)

¹⁹ Drummond Papers, Cardale to Drummond, C/11/25, 2nd page; *vide supra*, note 3 , for a fuller quotation.

²⁰ Carlyle, *Short History*, p. 16, our translation.

²¹ Minutes of Conference 20 August 1851, pp. 3-5 as attached to this article.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 5f.: “I am aware that there are some among us who entertain the idea that there is a possibility of some summary process by which recusant Apostles may be deprived of their Office, and their places filled up. That God may be pleased by some immediate act of His own thus to execute deserved judgment I am neither careful nor willing to deny. Nor is it necessary for me, nor would it be expedient or proper, to enter upon the consideration of so important a question in this place. And if not expedient for me here, I am sure that it would be neither more expedient nor more proper for any others in any place within my jurisdiction. – One thing only let me observe, that this question is one of which the determination peculiarly belongs to the Apostles, and to them alone. Nor could



ously had not concurred in such “a clear and distinct persuasion”.²³ So the filling up of their number, which Carlyle had hoped for, was not achieved.

It is worth mentioning that Carlyle and Cardale differed in the importance they attached to a prophetic call to the apostleship. Carlyle taught: “While the Lord was an earth, he called apostles by his own lips. ... After the day of Pentecost, by the word of prophecy.”²⁴ And he warned: “And how shall the testimony of Jesus come, to indicate whom he will use as apostles, when he who should speak by the Spirit of prophecy would be silenced as a brawler?”²⁵ Here we observe a notable difference to Cardale’s position who in the situation he experienced in 1851, took pains to deny the legitimacy of any “supposed light of words of prophecy” if this should contain a call to the apostleship.²⁶ And in a letter he wrote to the Five Pillar Evangelist Dowglasse in 1852 he consequently differed from Carlyle’s position in declaring the prophetic call of apostles “in these last days, previously to the 14. July 1835” an exception and not the rule. Instead of referring to a call to the apostleship he speaks of God’s “designating” or “authenticating” that a man is an apostle. “But the way in which God shall be pleased to authenticate His servant is not, as I believe, necessarily through the word of the Holy Ghost thro[ugh] a prophet.”²⁷

Apostle Carlyle had failed to bring about a filling up of the number of apostles. On the one hand, his lecture at Buchwældchen was considered important enough to merit publication in Apostle Cardale’s “tribe” in an English translation, but at the same time the preface and the final remarks were (without acknowledgment) changed in such a way that Carlyle’s original intention was hidden from the English reader.²⁸ And in 1853, when Carlyle’s book on the apostolic office appeared in an English edition, the remarks on the third anointing of David as a

they proceed to any such judicial act on any other ground (whether the supposed light of words of prophecy or any motives of expediency) except upon a clear and distinct persuasion of their own powers to do such act.” From the context it is not absolutely clear if the words “some among us” refer to the Angels assembled or the apostles assembled in conference. Even if we leave this question open, it seems to us that the general tenor of the sources quoted allows us to conclude that the apostles did not find a unanimous answer to the question of filling up the college of apostles.

²³ Cf. above, note 13 on the system of casting votes in the assemblies of the apostles.

²⁴ Carlyle, *Apostles Given, Lost, and Restored*, p. 26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁶ Cf. Cardale’s lecture as quoted above, note 22.

²⁷ Cardale to Dowglasse, 14 Nov. 1852, Archives of NAC North Germany, Hamburg, pp. 2f.:

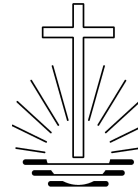
“I am quite unable to say – or to agree to the statement – that an Apostle must be called to office by the express word of the Holy Ghost – All other Ministers ordained by Apostles must be called – Why? – Because Apostles need light as to those to be ordained & the word thro[ugh] the prophet is the ordinance in God’s Ch[urch] to give that light – But God who ordains Apostles needs no such light - & therefore I am clear that there is no necessity for any call by the word of the Holy Ghost.

I quite admit that it is not enough that a Man say “God has revealed to me that I am an Apostle” in order to give him a claim to acknowledgement & reception by the Church. But the way in which God shall be pleased to authenticate His servant is not, as I believe, necessarily through the word of the Holy Ghost thro[ugh] a prophet, - I see no evidence that it was so in the early Church. It certainly was not so in the case of the Apostles to the Circumcision – And what God has done in these last days, previously to the 14. July {deletion} 1835 is no evidence that {deletion} such is the normal method.

I believe it to be a total mistake that the prophetic or spoken word has any necessary part whatever in the constituting of an Apostle. And such spoken or prophetic word when employed as in 1832-5 in designating Apostles has a totally different object & effect to the prophetic word in calling a priest or an angel.”

(Seraphim Newman-Norton is planning to edit this letter for the *Albury Society*, London.)

²⁸ Cf. <http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/15082/>.



type of the future sending out of the apostles were left out.²⁹ In England the view prevailed that the apostles could not any longer be expected to become heads of Christendom, but that the work done by them was only a model of a future Christian church.³⁰ In Germany more than anywhere else, the hopes raised by Apostle Carlyle continued to flourish. The prophet Heinrich Geyer repeatedly voiced them.³¹

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²⁹ Cf. <http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/15082/>.

³⁰ This idea was already propagated by Thomas Evill in 1846/47, cf. [Thomas Evill], *The Retrospect*, vol. 1 London 1846, pp. xxx f., 282-4, vol. 2, London 1847, pp. 105, 124-139. According to “Notes of Conference” of 3. April 1850 Evill was deposed as an Elder of the Central Church together with the priest evangelist Joseph Amesbury. (For Amesbury cf. Manfred Henke, “Perfecting the Ordinances’ – Historical Observations on the Ministry of Evangelist in the Catholic Apostolic Church”, notes 26 and 29, <http://www.nak.org/en/news/publications/article/15083/>.) A volume of the periodical *Morning Watch* that is kept in the library of the NAC North Germany in Hamburg contains copious handwritten annotations to an article originally written by Irving (“An Interpretation of the Fourteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse” [part 1], June 1832, *Morning Watch*, vol. 5, pp. 306—325.) They are dated 1852 and 1853 and seem to have been written by Evill himself or by somebody sympathising with him. Those remarks refer to Evill’s *Retrospect* and imply that the biblical references concerning the true church expected by Irving referred to the “model”, whereas it would be fully revealed on earth after the 144,000 had been translated. The visible part of that true church would be on earth, and the invisible part would be among the translated in heaven. From 1858 a similar teaching became the official Catholic Apostolic doctrine as expressed in a teaching on how to interpret the prophetic utterances of the conference assembled at Albury at Pentecost 1858. (Cf. the German “Record”, sent to the Angels by Thiersch dated 30 October 1858). This change in doctrine was then embodied in [John Bate Cardale], *Notes of Lectures Delivered in the Seven Churches in London in the Months of October, November, and December, 1860*, London [1861], *passim*.

³¹ We leave this to a future publication.