

La Belle Epoque

*The Absolute was born at Bethlehem,
 The Perfect died on Calvary,
 The Omnipotent rose at Easter,
 The Infinite ascended from Bethany, and
 The Eternal came down at Pentecost.*

—DAVID HUMMEL GREER

When Henry C. Potter was elected Assistant Bishop of New York in 1883, there were more than 1,500,000 people living in what was the Diocese of New York, and nearly 40,000 of them were reported to be communicants of the Episcopal Church. In 1908, the year that Bishop Potter died, there were 87,248 communicants in an area with 3,521,000 persons. In 1883 there were 144 incorporated churches and chapels and 318 clergy in the Diocese of New York. To give further perspective to his episcopate, let it be noted that the Brooklyn Bridge was opened the year Henry C. Potter was consecrated, and in the year of his death the East River subway tunnel connecting Manhattan's Bowling Green with Brooklyn's Borough Hall was made available to a public demanding quicker transportation. Also in that year, the world's tallest building, the Singer Building at Broadway and Liberty Street, was completed. The Queensboro Bridge would soon be ready for use, and the Pennsylvania railroad's tunnels under the Hudson and East rivers united New Jersey and Long Island. People of poetic temperament might muse that, truly, Manhattan was no longer an island; the more prescient, however, saw the bridges and tunnels as opening vast new areas which must be considered part of a greater New York. Bishop Greer was among those who saw the responsibilities as well as the wonders. His successors, alas, would learn that bridges and tunnels also made it possible for Episcopalians to flee the city and its parish churches. For in 1908 motorized traffic was here to stay. Just before Bishop Potter died, the last horse stages were taken off Fifth avenue, and some cabs installed "taximeters." But the country clergy would yet depend upon the older

mode; in 1908 the rector of Millbrook, the Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, was presented with a horse and carriage.

THE CATHEDRAL AND ITS CLOSE

Perhaps the most opulent days of the Episcopal Church in New York came, paradoxically, immediately after Bishop Potter's death. Just ahead lay great construction on the cathedral grounds at Morningside. Amazingly, the bishop least interested in the cathedral idea, David H. Greer, was the very man under whose aegis all the ancillary buildings on the close were erected. When he became the diocesan, there was only the great cathedral apse and its beautiful Tiffany crypt chapel (now gone). Within twelve years, all the present structures were built, and since each has its own legends it is well to consider them here separately. Each suggests the popular (and wistful?) view of the Episcopal Church in the lingering twilight of the *belle époque*.

First of all, there was St. Faith's House, designed by the original cathedral architects. Heins and La Farge. It was designed to be a training school for deaconesses, and was built in 1911-12, the gift of Archdeacon Charles C. Tiffany. Its library was a memorial to William Reed Huntington; it was filled with the books bequeathed by him. Huntington was Potter's successor at Grace Church, and he championed the idea of deaconesses in the Episcopal Church. His influence was crucial in seeing the enabling canon through General Convention in 1889. St. Faith's House was a substantial facility in a prominent location. It was a focal center of the Episcopal Church's somewhat ambiguous attempts to incorporate the ministry of women into its total mission. Between 1890 and 1930, deaconesses were to be found in many of the larger parishes. At first, the idea of women workers, "set apart" in the Church, and garbed in a conventual habit yet not confined to the precincts of a convent, unsettled many Episcopalians as being distinctly Anglo-Catholic. But William Rainsford's early employment of deaconesses at St. George's, and William Huntington's arguing for them, made it clear this was not a party issue. For some, indeed, deaconesses were seen as an alternative, a counteraction, to the growth of sisterhoods in the Episcopal Church. Time has shown that the deaconess idea was a milestone along the way toward full historic ministry for women. But long before the ordination of women was permitted in the American Church, St. Faith's House ceased to be a training school. It is now the diocesan library and office building. But an aura of its original use remains, and there are those who say that, in the twilight of a midwinter afternoon, the apparition of a black-garbed, long-deceased instructor deaconess

may be seen scurrying down the narrow corridor toward a distant classroom.

While St. Faith's was abuilding, work was proceeding on Synod House and the Deanery, both designed by Cram and Ferguson. Again, stories abound—and they are repeated here only to illustrate how difficult it is for historians to wrest fact from oft-repeated fiction. The Deanery was given by Mrs. Clinton Ogilvie, a devoted member of Grace and, later, St. Thomas Church. Mrs. Ogilvie is one of the legendary rich ladies of the Potter and Greer years who made life a trifle easier and prettier in the Episcopal Church. According to the accepted tale, a portrait bust of Mr. Ogilvie was to adorn forever a niche over the portal of the Deanery's drawing room.

Entirely untrue is the story that Ralph Adams Cram planned Ogilvie House with two separate apartments on the second floor because Dean Grosvenor and his wife didn't speak to each other. Grosvenor was never married. His maiden sisters acted as hostesses in the public rooms downstairs, but understandably preferred an apartment for themselves on the second floor.

The Synod House was built for the General Convention held in New York City in October 1913. Here, the fable is that J. Pierpont Morgan wanted to provide the building for the conventions he enjoyed attending. He was infuriated when he heard another "eminent layman," R. Fulton Cutting, had already contracted to build Synod House—and he never again spoke to Cutting. Which may in fact be true, for Morgan died in 1913. He provided in his will a generous bequest to St. George's, Stuyvesant Square, and another bequest for diocesan missionary work. Once Synod House was empty of the bishops and deputies of General Convention, it was to serve as diocesan offices for the bishop and whatever assistance was thought required. Since 1910 there has usually been at least one suffragan bishop.

Most splendid of all is the Bishop's House, also designed by Cram and Ferguson. The tired old story, which seems to have no foundation whatever, is that this elaborate house was built by J. Pierpont Morgan "so that the Bishop of New could live like everybody else." Morgan was no buffoon, and in its elaborate entrances, if not its size, the Bishop's House exceeded any the elder Morgan himself owned. Moreover, Morgan didn't pay for the Bishop's House, nor was he even the most generous of the contributors who gave toward the \$135,375 cost of its erection. When Bishop Greer said he thought the house of the Bishop of New York should be near the cathedral, the cathedral trustees gave use of the land the house would occupy. Proceeds from the sale of the "Episcopal Residence" at 7 Gramercy Park added \$52,000. The Episcopal Fund (of which the now deceased Morgan had been a trustee) was

expected to pay for the house, which was said to be "a commodious and suitable residence" for the Bishop of New York. As late as 1920, \$32,000 was still owing on the place.¹ It cost \$253 to move Bishop Greer into his new house.

If you were to call on Bishop Greer in those first years he occupied the Bishop's House, you would pass through a great stone archway into a vaulted reception room. A porter would indicate "retiring rooms" for ladies and gentlemen. Then, having been announced, you would be escorted up a long flight of stone steps to the paneled upstairs passage which gave on to a pair of parlors, later made into one large drawing room. Or, if yours was a more intimate gathering, you might be taken to the bishop's study, a huge room—one of the finest in the city, surely—whose eight tall windows facing three directions invite the streaming sun. Dinner would be served down the hall in an ample wainscoted dining room. A safe in the adjoining butler's pantry held whatever episcopal silver was not then in use. At one end of the dining room is a dais which had its own small family table. Now the room is used for conferences. An imaginative guide might tell you that once the bishop dined there at a high table while his lesser guests feasted at the lower table—something like the arrangements at the General Seminary refectory downtown. You will also be shown an iron-grilled aperture high up in the northeast corner of the dining room, and be told it was the minstrels' gallery from which gentle music might soothe the bishop and entertain his guests after a tiring day. Such tales are expected of extraordinary houses and the people who once inhabited them. There is the tale that a ghost inhabits the third floor of the bishop's house. It is said to be the wraith of a curate who, deposed because he stole Bishop Greer's jeweled pectoral cross, hanged himself in shame and returns to search for the purloined pendant. We will do well to remain with the fact that none of the three bishops of New York who lived in the entire "palace" ever played the role envisioned by the architects. The Greers, with their daughter Daisy as hostess, may have enjoyed the new house in a time when domestic help was available and perhaps suitable. But the place put Bishop Burch in debt² and the maintenance of six servants "impaired" Mrs. Manning's fortune. Bishop Gilbert and Bishop Donegan chose to live in the more sensible Ogilvie House, and Bishop Moore elected to take the bedroom floor of the Bishop's House which Dean Pike had made into a large and convenient apartment.

The final building on the close was completed the year Bishop Greer died. It is the Cathedral School, designed by Cook and Welsh, and given by Mrs. J. Jarrett Blodgett. It was intended to be a choir school for the boy choristers of the cathedral, and it served as such for almost fifty years. By the time Bishop Greer became diocesan, the choir

of men and boys had become a fixed and popular feature at the cathedral. The bishop made no secret of his preference for a chorus of men and women, such as he had had at St. Bartholomew's. But the rule of male choristers prevailed at the cathedral until recent times, and the choir school was a significant part of diocesan life, enrolling boys "from all parts of the United States."³

BISHOP GREER

Bishop Greer was fifty-nine years old when elected to assist Bishop Potter, and almost sixty-five when he became the seventh Bishop of New York. He retained his administrative ability and prophetic vision, but diocesan work proved to be for him a prolongation, not a deepening, of his powers. In a sense, he transferred his ideals from St. Bartholomew's on Madison Avenue to the Diocese of New York: the diocese might be the parish writ large. Greer had awakened at St. Bartholomew's a concern for the poor and forgotten people who lived not far from the church. This concern was translated into "rescue" chapels and the well-equipped parish house and clinic on 42d Street. Nor did the rector merely direct his curates working in unfashionable places; it is said David Greer spent much time himself in that work, and went so far as to learn to speak Yiddish. Not many New York rectors cared to make that claim! Like Potter, Greer wasn't "churchy." But in his seeking to extend the Gospel in all areas of city life, he depended far more upon Episcopal institutions than his predecessor had done. In Potter, one finds a certain weariness, almost a sense of futility, about ecclesiastical organizations—the societies and guilds that Hobart, for instance, relied upon and aggressively directed. Bishop Greer would value Church organizations more highly than did Potter. Another difference between the two men is that they read different kinds of books. Greer read deeply in philosophy and theology; Potter preferred to keep up with political and economic thought. A correspondent wrote, in 1974, "I attended Columbia ('13) and had a slight acquaintance with Bishop Greer in the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, I admired him very much, and considered him the leader of the Broad Church School of the Frederick Robertson type. He seldom wore clericals, and generally had a bright red tie, whose effect he missed for he was totally color blind."

In yet another way the two bishops differed. Potter loved the country, while Greer preferred the city. This was an important difference in a diocese as varied as New York, and explains why Bishop Potter assigned his assistant charge of the city churches while he, the bishop of the diocese, remained responsible for the rural churches.

Bishop Greer acknowledged his preference for the city in his address to the diocesan convention in 1910. He said, "There is something in me that keeps making me want to do things I am not very good at, and of course the country is the ideal place for that."⁴ Perhaps rural New York reminded him of his unhappiness in his first parish in Kentucky, which he quit amid questioning of his own belief. It was at Grace Church in urban Providence that David H. Greer hit a stride and effectiveness that made people compare him with his friend and admirer Phillips Brooks. Again, it was in midtown New York City that he accomplished the greatest work of his life. His election to be assistant bishop at the age of fifty-nine cannot be said to be a mistake; it simply came too late for the Diocese of New York to gain the maximum benefit from this great man. His sermons were considered profound, yet "eminently practical," and fired by his own personality drew large numbers to his church. Although devoted to his calling, he was thoroughly human and without professional self-consciousness. He rarely wore clerical garb on the street, and was friendly to all sects and classes. He was broad in his churchmanship but nonpartisan, liberal in his views, and alive to the problems created by modern science. A colleague compared Greer with Potter by stating that Potter looked like an autocrat and was a democrat, while Greer looked like a democrat and was an autocrat. He was firmly in charge of the diocese until age and near-blindness diminished his energies.

Once he was Bishop of New York, Greer made it clear that he wanted to strengthen Church institutions and interpret the Christian faith in "modern" terms as he had done at St. Bartholomew's. This he would do not only by his remarkable and memorable extemporaneous sermons, but also in a series of convention addresses, usually titled, which are today notable mainly for their datedness. So evanescent is modernity! As for institutions, Bishop Greer eagerly pursued his dream for two: the Bronx Church House, and Hope Farm.

The Bronx Church House was part of Bishop Greer's overall enthusiasm for providing new churches in the Bronx, an area made accessible by new rapid transportation. The Greater New York Charter united Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island, Manhattan, and the Bronx in 1898, giving the city a population of more than three million. Though there was now a Tenement House Department in the city promising improved multiple housing, subways pushed farther and farther out of the city, making new lots available to those who had hitherto lived in the old-style airless tenements. Soon there was an uptown rush much greater than the accustomed middle-class migration that had crept northward, block by block, in Manhattan. This removal of families from downtown parishes was probably felt very early in the century; by 1908

it was so urgent a matter that the diocesan convention acted favorably upon a motion asking families to obtain a Letter of Transfer when they moved, with clergy expected to inform the prospective rector. We need not speculate how effective this resolution was. When, for instance, a family abandoned its East 26th Street flat for a new apartment in Webster Avenue, Calvary Chapel in 23d Street lost one more family. Bishop Greer wanted that family to find an Episcopal church ready for them in their new neighborhood. He aimed to strengthen existing parishes, and there were some that had been founded when the shady lanes there were thought to be far beyond the city's rough intrusion. Some were very old parishes; St. Peter's, Westchester Square; Grace Church, West Farms; St. Ann's, Morrisania; and St. James', Fordham, come to mind. But apartments and single-family houses were also built in new neighborhoods where there was no nearby Episcopal church. Bishop Greer begged his rich friends to give sites for new churches; the location for St. Simeon's on Carroll Place was given by John Jacob Astor, for instance.

BRONX CHURCH HOUSE AND GREER SCHOOL

In his autobiography, Bishop Thomas March Clark of Rhode Island declares that the "parish house movement" must be regarded as one of the significant developments of the American Church during the nineteenth century. The Church, in Europe and here, had always used buildings adjoining the church for educational or charitable purposes, but in the second half of the century "parish houses" were used for outright nonecclesiastical purposes. They were equipped with stages for plays, ranges for cooking classes, rooms for social meetings, even health clinics and, of course, classrooms for Sunday school. Offices for the clergy came very late. St. Bartholomew's had a very notable parish house, but Bishop Greer realized it would be impossible for every new church in the Bronx to build such a facility, and he therefore planned one great parish house for the borough churches to share. This was called the Bronx Church House. It was built in 1908 and at first had a resident priest and deaconess. In 1914 the Church House was turned over to the Board of Managers of the Missionary and Church Extension Society. Soon after, the neighborhood was deemed to be "non-Episcopal" and the building was sold; the proceeds remain marked the "David H. Greer Fund" for Episcopal churches in the Bronx.

Early in his episcopate, Bishop Greer decried the failure of New York Protestants to provide a "protector" for young people, as the Roman Catholic Church had done. Almost immediately, for such was

the bishop's power of command, Episcopal-sponsored Hope Farm came into existence. The bishop was able to use the Priory Farm of the Episcopal Brothers of Nazareth in Verbank, near Peekskill. That Order had been founded in 1886 by Gilbert Tomkins of the Church of the Holy Comforter, Poughkeepsie. Tomkins, like James Huntington, was professed at the Holy Cross Mission Church of the Community of St. John Baptist, but the purpose of the Brothers of Nazareth from the beginning was to provide for destitute men and boys—in part, something Bishop Greer had in mind when he called for a "protectory." The Verbank property was eventually abandoned in favor of a site near Millbrook, where Hope Farm is now located.

FATHER WATTSON AND GRAYMOOR

Less successful as far as the Episcopal Church is concerned, but far more notable in the annals of the Church at large, was the Society of the Atonement in Garrison. It was founded by Lewis T. Wattson in 1898. Wattson was a graduate of St. Stephen's College and the General Theological Seminary. For a time—a somewhat stormy time!—he was rector of St. John's Church in Kingston. Finding the parishioners of St. John's reluctant to accept the liturgical changes he required, he founded the Church of the Holy Cross in Kingston in 1891. "Father" Wattson was one of the first to be called so in the Diocese of New York. Even James O. S. Huntington is listed as "Mr." in diocesan journals until the turn of the century. The Church of the Holy Cross was established as an Anglo-Catholic alternative to St. John's. Wattson's purpose in founding the new church was that Kingston might "have an Episcopal Church as he thought an Episcopal Church should be," and while he remained rector of the older parish, he installed the Rev. Charles Mercer Walker in charge of Holy Cross. An Ulster County tourist guide of the time reports that services in the Church of the Holy Cross "are maintained daily, and other chief services every Lord's Day. They are performed with the full use of the beautiful and ornate ritual of the Episcopal Church. The work of the parish is chiefly amongst the poorer classes."

Father Wattson left Kingston for a brief time as part of an associate mission in Omaha, Nebraska. He was drawn back to the Hudson River Valley by the vision of founding a Franciscan Order. Land was available on a hillside south of Garrison, where a small mission of St. Philip's-in-the-Highlands, named St. John's in the Wilderness, remained and was then unused. The Society of the Atonement was begun there in 1898, a mixed Order for men and women. Neither Bishop Potter nor Bishop Greer appears to have taken the new Order very seriously. Just before

Potter died, Father Paul—as Wattson was now known—organized a meeting of about twenty-five Episcopalians who formed what they called the Anglican-Roman Union, looking to the “ultimate reversion of the Episcopal to the Roman Church.” Such announcements made headlines in those days, but did not endear the participants to the bishops of the diocese. The next year, 1909, the Vatican’s Apostolic Delegate arranged for the two friars, the five sisters, and the ten tertiaries to be received into the Roman Catholic Church. The diocesan *Journal* for 1917 simply states that the property of St. John’s, founded in 1878, had been “seized by the Roman Church and is now in litigation.” That statement is misleading. Only a small portion of the Society of the Atonement’s land belonged to the Episcopal Church. Most of the land had been purchased after the Society was established at Graymoor, and the courts confirmed the possession of the Society of the Atonement there.

SEAMEN’S CHURCH INSTITUTE

Another Church facility was very old, and safe in the fold: the Seamen’s Church Institute. It traced its beginnings back to Onderdonk’s concern for immigrants and sailors in the city. Church services were held by the Institute from its earliest days, and facilities for sleeping, eating, and banking were provided. The floating chapels were a picturesque part of the city’s maritime life. In 1913 the Seamen’s Church Institute moved into its new building at 25 South Street. Beds were available for 15¢ and an average of 411 men slept there each night the first year. At the same time, the Institute’s new boat, the *J. Hooker Hamersley*, was built to replace the old *Sentinel*. The New York waterfront now had new docks, due to a report of the City Improvement Commission advising the construction of uniformly designed piers along the rivers. But in any case, New Yorkers were generally conscious of the importance of the port and its maintenance.

BISHOP GREER AT WORK

The official headquarters of the Diocese of New York was now called See House in Lafayette Street. Bishop Potter had kept an office there only for formal interviews, but most of his desk work was carried on in the various houses he occupied in the city during his episcopate. Bishop Greer lived at 7 Gramercy Park; his office was in his house, though Archdeacon Nelson continued to use See House for diocesan business

and the bishop had office hours there on Wednesdays and Fridays from ten to noon. The suffragan bishop had office hours on Tuesdays and Thursdays.⁵ Bishop Greer's style is suggested in the following incident, related by a young man:

I went to see the Right Rev. David H. Greer, Bishop of New York. The butler at last showed me into Bishop Greer's study, and there the great man was, looking somewhat like a handsome, prosperous farmer, and wearing a frock coat and a red tie. He glared at me. I explained, as well as I could, that I was an Englishman who had married an American girl, and was expecting to live in this country.

"What do you want?"

I said I wanted to be ordained.

"Where were you educated?" he asked.

I told him I had been at Clifton and Trinity College, and that I held an Honorary Degree in Classics and Philosophy from Oxford University.

"Where is that?" he demanded.

"Where is what?" I whispered.

"The degree," he snapped, while his hand reached out for the bell. Now this was a poser. I do not think Oxford ever gives degrees in the sense of written or printed certificates. . . . I explained as well as I could. He glared at me.

"Well, go get it," he commanded.⁶

NOTABLE LAITY

Bishop Greer was assisted by such able laymen as J. P. Morgan (who usually presented the diocesan financial report to the convention), Roswell P. Flower (governor of New York in the early 1880s), Nicholas Murray Butler (the promising new president of Columbia University), Seth Low, and R. Fulton Cutting. Less conspicuous were the women who provided great sums of money for the Diocese of New York: Georgia E. Morris, Helen Slade Ogilvie, Mrs. E. W. Coles, Mary A. Edson and Mrs. J. Jarrett Blodgett, to name a few.

THE *TITANIC* AND ITS PORTENTS

For New York Episcopalians, the *Titanic* disaster in 1912 had particular significance. The liner symbolized Anglo-Saxon predominance and excellence. Its passenger list included Episcopalians whose names appeared in one or another column of the daily papers. Aboard the *Titanic* (as the public soon discovered) were also hundreds of steerage

passengers. Captain Smith, a typical British seadog, delayed retirement to take the great ship across the water on its maiden voyage. It was all part of the glorious Edwardian scene in which many people in New York unashamedly insinuated themselves. News of the tragedy was on the streets early Saturday morning. At first there were rumors and wild tales of heroism, together with the fears that were soon proved justified. We now know the ship's insufficiencies and feckless management, but the churches that Sunday and for weeks thereafter savored the horror. It was a disaster that equaled the awful *General Slocum* calamity on the East River in 1904. Then hundreds of Sunday school children and their mothers were lost. The *General Slocum* had been chartered by a group of Lutheran churches, but the *Titanic* seemed peculiarly Episcopalian: the ship's chaplain was Church of England, the hymns reportedly played by the band as the ship foundered were known to Episcopal churchgoers, and the ship emanated from that country to which the Episcopal Church looked to its origins—England. What we see is a contradiction to the then prevailing belief in the inexorability of progress, or as an overture to what would soon be a wailing chorus of catastrophe in war-torn Europe.

ARCHITECTS AT WORK

The poignance of this failure of technology, human valor, and empire was at least partially offset in those halcyon days of Edwardian splendor by magnificent churches built in New York City and in nearby towns. We need look no further than the grounds of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine to see what grandeur, what spaciousness, men and women of the Episcopal Church thought appropriate. There were some Episcopals, a minority to be sure, though sometimes they don't appear to be a minority, who were building houses so that they could live like the Bishop of New York. By 1910 the taste for putting up pretentious houses on Fifth Avenue had just about run its course; easier transportation made it possible to spend long weekends in a country house on Long Island, or in Westchester or New Jersey. The homes of the Episcopals who lived in the Fifth Avenue châteaux were devised by George B. Post, Richard Morris Hunt, the Herter brothers, and the firms Lord, Hewlett and Hull, and McKim, Mead and White. They might be expected to rival but, like Solomon's Temple, not exceed those of the proprietors in opulence.

In 1906 Trinity Church absorbed the impecunious Church of the Intercession on the upper end of the island at the prompting of its rector, the Rev. Milo Hudson Gates. Gates knew that Trinity had long

planned a chapel in its uptown cemetery, at Broadway and 155th Street. The old church was sold, and Gates became vicar of what would be the Chapel of the Intercession. Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue was engaged to design the new building, which, when it was consecrated in 1915, was loudly acclaimed.

Earlier, St. Thomas Church on Fifth Avenue had selected Goodhue to replace its Richard M. Upjohn church, destroyed by fire in the summer of 1910. The flames had swept away works by LaFarge and St. Gaudens but—somewhat more to the point at the time—the vestry hoped the congregation wouldn't also be swept away by Leighton Parks, the new rector of St. Bartholomew's on Madison Avenue. Therefore, a neat wooden church was built amid the ruins of the burned church, and the congregation was able to note, week by week, the progress of the splendid new church rising about them.

St. Bartholomew's was practically forced to abandon its Renwick-designed Tuscan building when structural problems were discovered in 1914. Ten years earlier there had been discussions about changing neighborhoods, but the beautiful Vanderbilt entrance designed by McKim, Mead and White was too good to abandon. Now it was thought the portal could be moved and incorporated in a new building. The northeast corner of Park Avenue and 51st Street was purchased in 1914, and work went forward on another Goodhue Byzantine-style church which would soon become a New York landmark. While it is certainly true that the Episcopal Church ornamented many a New York State community with buildings of architectural distinction, it was the metropolis itself that was able to command the finest.

TYPICAL PARISH LIFE IN 1916

Let us look in again on our "St. Luke's," the rural parish eighty miles distant from New York City. We will find the same Upjohn building in use, but by 1916 there are significant changes in the church and its congregation. The former incumbent has died. His widow lives with an unmarried daughter in the city, where teachers are able to earn salaries considerably higher than those paid in the country. A parish house, shingled in the Queen Anne style, was built next to the church in 1890. It is a popular place for many townspeople and, despite some objections, there have even been dances held there. It has no plumbing, and water for the kitchen is carried in pails from the rectory well. (The rectory itself has water, but the present rector's wife has made it known she doesn't like "strangers filing through the kitchen." The lady attends church infrequently and, it is said, she "reads books.")

The parish had a very brief rectorate at the turn of the century. The man seemed all right when interviewed by the vestry. The only drawback was that he had attended a seminary none of them had heard of "somewhere out West," and Bishop Potter had seemed somewhat reserved about him. Also, the gentleman was unmarried, but that wasn't entirely negative inasmuch as he would accept the \$1,000 salary the vestry offered him (though they were prepared to pay a married man as much as \$1,200). This new man came, but things didn't turn out well. He was "a good caller," and his enthusiasm for renovating the church had at first been infectious. One of the wealthier parishioners paid for a New York architect's designs aiming at "making this church up-to-date." But it was all too elaborate and, frankly, strange. Nobody wanted a rood screen in that small church, and "all that business back of the altar" reminded people of St. Anthony's on Prince Street. The only "improvements" carried out were a brass-and-oak credence table (for the alms basins), an elaborate altar cross, and a pair of tall vases with a PX monogram in front. People didn't want candlesticks. (But they were later accepted when given as a memorial to a popular young man of the parish who died in the First World War.)

This short-lived rector was the one who sometimes wore Russian-looking white robes for the Communion service. He took them away with him when he left, which was all right with everybody. It was a sudden departure; he simply wrote a letter to the vestry regretting that there had "been disappointment on both sides," and by the first of the next month he was gone to be chaplain at the convent in Peekskill.

The interior walls of the church were painted a buff color in 1912, covering what remained of the original Upjohn stencils. As if to make up for the loss of that maroon and gold scroll motif, several windows from Louis Tiffany's studio are now in place. Several years ago the choir was moved from the floor of the nave to the chancel: the two front pews were placed on the higher level and served as the stalls. There is always an Offertory anthem during "the collection," and at its end the organist shifts into Old Hundredth, which the congregation sings, rising in waves as the ushers-vestrymen carrying the brass basins past successive pews. This is a liturgy, firmly fixed. The choir, about sixteen men and women, boys and girls, uses the Hymnal approved by General Convention in 1892; ordinarily, six hymns are sung during the customary thirty service of Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion. The choir does not now sing at Evening Prayer.

The rector in 1915 wears colored stoles for the Communion as well as at Morning and Evening Prayer. His black cassock buttons down the front, and his surplice reaches almost to his ankles. He brings his sermons down from the rectory in one or another of the "sermon cases"

presented to him from time to time by needleworking women of the church; since the manuscript has been rolled tightly in the cylindrical case it is necessary for him to flatten it out on the pulpit desk before the service begins. The new electric lights in the church are turned off during the sermon, and the only light to be seen is that which streams down on the sermon manuscript from a brass pulpit lamp specially adapted: it was a kerosene lamp in former days.

The afternoon or evening service has been maintained despite clear evidence that whole families who once attended them are now touring back roads in their new Ford motorcars. Some people say the later service is a thing of the past, and a waste of the rector's effort, but he feels that as long as the cathedral keeps an afternoon service, the churches should do so, too.

After service, the rector now stands at the door to shake hands with the departing congregation. His parishioners at first thought this was undignified, though several New York City rectors are known to stand at or near the church door after service to be available to the flock. St. Luke's rector took up the custom after the new suffragan, Bishop Burch, insisted upon thus greeting the congregation.

St. Luke's has recorded thirty-three infant baptisms and fifteen adult baptisms in the years 1910-1915. In that time, fifty-one persons have been confirmed and twenty-one couples married; two infants and fourteen adults have been buried.

ELECTING A SUFFRAGAN

Bishop Greer was more prominent in the House of Bishops than Potter had been. When the canon permitting suffragan bishops was finally enacted in 1910 by General Convention, Greer called for a suffragan in New York. "I am permitted to ask for two suffragan bishops. I ask for one. That, for the present at least, is in my judgment enough," he said.⁷ The next day, November 10, 1911, the Diocese of New York elected its first suffragan bishop, Charles Sumner Burch. He was nominated by the rector of Trinity Church, William T. Manning. This was a memorable occasion if only because, for the first time since 1784, the convention elected as a bishop in New York a man not associated with a "cardinal" parish.

Bishop Burch was a genial man, and he was warmly welcomed in a diocese whose bishops had seemed to be elderly, an irony since Burch was fifty years old when ordained to the priesthood. He was born in 1855, attended the University of Michigan, and was for years a newspaperman. At the time when most successful men thought of retiring,

Burch entered Western Theological Seminary in Chicago. After ordination he became rector of St. Andrew's Church, Staten Island, with eventual oversight of Stapleton and other nearby parishes. He was appointed an archdeacon and widened his work and his reputation as a man of acumen and good nature. He was a particular favorite of Bishop Greer,⁸ and the two men were together in Oxford when word came that Potter had died in Cooperstown. It is certain that they then discussed what Greer should do, now that he was eighth Bishop of New York and, as it happened, so far away from his see. The business experience and popularity of Burch would be a great help. When it came to electing a suffragan in two years' time, he was overwhelmingly elected after his name was placed in nomination by Manning.

We detected scant alteration since the 1880s in a small country parish immediately prior to the First World War. But we will find changes much deeper in the diocesan conventions. The Potter legacy demanded close scrutiny of the contemporary scene, and to this Greer lent a forceful intellectual approach as well as administrative abilities Potter never possessed. In the years immediately before World War I there was a very great concentration of spiritual, commercial, and political ability at diocesan conventions. A synopsis of convention discussions indicates the breadth of diocesan concerns. Dr. Manning of Trinity offers a cogent resolution respecting arbitration between the United States and Great Britain as a major step toward settling international disputes (imagine such a resolution in a Hobart convention!); the Floating Church is gone after sixty-seven years; there had been three such boats, but the Seamen's Church Institute will henceforth have much more opportunity to serve the Port of New York through the new building rapidly rising on Spring Street; there are sixty-four students at St. Stephen's College, most of them studying for the ministry (and the college now has electric lights); a special diocesan commission proposed salaries of \$1,200 for bachelor rectors, and \$1,500 for married ones; another special commission recommends that there be three archdeaconries, "New York" (Manhattan and Staten Island), "East Hudson" (Westchester, Putnam, and Dutchess), and "West Hudson" (Rockland, Orange, Ulster, and Sullivan counties).

In a resolution he might one day regret, Manning asked that the diocesan canons be altered "to give due and suitable recognition to the Bishop Suffragan of this diocese." There was now a diocesan Social Service Commission, and it sent questionnaires to parochial clergymen asking if they belonged to any organization for social betterment (presumably meaning other than the Episcopal Church!)? what work was done in the parish for such betterment? was the parish house a "socializing" agency in the community? did the parish or community have a

district nurse, or a neighborhood clinic, or trained workers among foreign-speaking people? was there a parish committee on legislation? affiliation with labor organizations? (three respondents replied Yes).

These questions are valuable to us who look at the Episcopal Church seventy years later. The clergy were moderately favorable to the ideals of the Social Service Commission. Half the respondents thought the parish house could be "a strong social factor in the community," and "a few of the clergy are alive to matters of local health," but "Sunday Schools are doing very little regarding social things." One reply read, "Never are such subjects spoken of" (but another man said he "used every sermon" to speak for social concerns). Yet another said "No politics" were wanted in this parish. "Apparently, few seem to know how far their parishioners are interested in national or state organizations for social uplift and betterment. We wonder if this is due to the lack of sympathy on the part of the clergy with such movements," mused the Commission chairman.⁹ In summary, it was declared the Church should be alert to "vicious legislation," should supply clergy and laity plenty of information about social matters, should formulate a "suggested social program," and urge the clergy to become involved "in outside organizations." Alexander Griswold Cummins of Poughkeepsie gave this summary: "The Church should inspire every individual member to take an active, intelligent interest in all movements of social betterment,"¹⁰ and offered as a bibliography books by Jacob Riis, Jane Addams, Walter Rauschenbusch, and Shailer Matthews.

The diocesan Social Service Commission found a warm friend in Robert Fulton Cutting. He was a vestryman and warden at St. George's Church and, like many of the delegates to the annual conventions, possessed great inherited wealth and a lineage considered impeccable (if not absolutely necessary!) for a layman of top-level diocesan importance in those days. But he was one of the few men of inherited wealth who studiously considered poverty in the city. He was president of the old Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the New York Trade School; in addition, he served on the boards of a dozen other organizations that sought to understand the causes of poverty as well as to alleviate it. New York Episcopalians remember him as the man who vied with Pierpont Morgan in building the Synod House. Both men had attended General Conventions for the past twenty-five years.

DAILY BUSINESS OF THE DIOCESE

As we have seen, in Potter's time the diocese maintained an office in a fine old house at 416 Lafayette Street. This writer once worked in that

house and remembers it as much above the average New York City town house; its double parlors seemed grander, and its massive elliptical stairs more graceful than most such houses of mid-nineteenth-century New York. It had been the gift of Catherine Lorillard Wolfe and was to be used for any offices required by the Diocese of New York. It was used by the diocese and by Church-related agencies for more than fifty years. Even after the cathedral close began to fill up with buildings, Archdeacon George F. Nelson kept his office in Lafayette Street, though Bishop Greer, after he moved from Gramercy Park and temporary quarters in lower Fifth Avenue, used Synod House, and particularly Bishop's House, as his offices.

It should be remembered that comparatively few clergy expected to have offices in those days. The rector of St. James', Madison Avenue, for instance, never required an office until after World War I. Even the Bishop of New York quite casually received any callers in his study two or three afternoons a week "between the hours of two and four." Nevertheless, Bishop Greer was aware that contemporary demands upon the Church required new methods of doing business. His 1911 address to diocesan convention, titled "The Church Getting Ready for Work," has an almost ominous sound about it, for it practically puts into discard all the management customs of the past. The bishop claimed—in that heyday of metropolitan life, 1913—that spiritual realities are now required more than ever because materialistic values have proved wrong and inadequate. He saw the cathedral as a monumental witness to Christ in the city and, moreover, a center of Christian energy in the whole diocese. In his time the older ideal of the convention being the missionary society of the diocese was supplanted by the more efficient system of three archdeacons. There were men who, like Charles Sumner Burch, were rectors of substantial parishes now given additional responsibilities of supervision (unpaid) over an assigned area.

The archdeacons were expected to seek out promising places for new Episcopal congregations, and find clergymen to organize services there. It was a significant and, on the whole, generally successful undertaking. At the eve of World War I the Diocese of New York had eighty-seven missions and preaching stations and seventeen assisted parishes representing 5,653 communicants. Simple arithmetic made many of these outposts of the diocese impractical; a mission of sixteen communicants could not long exist unless it grew rapidly, or was richly endowed. The motorcar very soon closed many preaching stations, for it was now easier to consolidate four congregations in a central place.

It was not only the small rural missions that troubled the Diocese of New York, however. "Each year thousands of families are pushed out of the heart of the city," and the strength of the Episcopal Church was,

by 1914, said to be in the circumference of the city. This meant far uptown, the Bronx and Westchester County. The considerable emigration to Long Island and the dioceses in New Jersey enriched the Church there. City churches now heard the call to establish chapels far removed from the mother church. Unfortunately, they were unable to respond. Churches such as Calvary, Grace, Incarnation, and St. George's were already committed to large and expensive programs and buildings in their East Side chapels. The handwriting was sadly discerned when Calvary Chapel on 23d Street, thronged in 1895, was declared derelict in 1904. So fast were neighborhoods changing. Even Calvary Church on Fourth Avenue had by 1914 declined far from the crowded congregations of Washburn and Satterlee. Only Trinity Church was able to respond to the call to do great things in a chapel beyond the heart of the city when it adopted the failing Church of the Intercession and built, as we have already noted, the glorious building in the corner of Trinity Cemetery at the corner of Broadway and 155th Street. This, however, was not a chapel for the poor, but rather for the well-to-do whose grandparents had lived downtown.

RAPID CHANGE

Many people said World War I put an end to the old era; others saw the demise clearly marked by the *Titanic* disaster. Perhaps Bishop Greer and other astute Episcopalians saw it in what must soon be a decline of Manhattan churches *if* they remained in their accustomed neighborhoods. It is one thing to buy and sell church buildings of indifferent architectural character, but quite another when your church is an acknowledged part of the city's beauty; even St. Bartholomew's on 42d Street delayed its move uptown because its people did not want to abandon the great portal. Manhattan's churches had, of course, followed the churchpeople in the steady uptown migration. Much money was spent in the process, and many feelings hurt as vestries surreptitiously took options on sites only a block away from other Episcopal churches. The difficulties of what we now call "inner city" churches, perhaps more than any other single factor, plainly spelled the end of the old era when the European war broke out so suddenly in the summer of 1914.

Bishop Greer was thought to be something of a pacifist; certainly (unlike Manning then and later) he was remote from the war: "A new, or rather an old, unexpected force . . . a throwback to a savage and barbarous age [that] does not express or typify the sober thoughts of the people," is how the bishop described what would soon become the

worst carnage in the history of mankind. The bishop believed world crises gave Christianity a better hearing, that Christian *service* would in wartime commend the Christian faith, and doubted that the war would spread. The long late afternoon of Victorian "progress" was slow to fade into darkness. But as American casualties, and the Bolshevik successes, bore down upon the national consciousness, Greer took a more measured view: the war must be won because it is "a destructive force which has broken in upon our modern world and threatened the destruction of our modern civilization." Bishop Greer was a man of his own age who now, in his last years, was obliged to deal with public issues heretofore esoteric or easily dismissed.

Prohibition, for instance. For years there had been a vocal group in diocesan convention, headed by Bishop Frederick Courtney, rector of St. James', pressing for total abstinence. In the precocktail age, "social" drinking was just that: good dinner wines such as certain New Yorkers had always liked to think they could put on their tables; beer at corner saloons for German and English families; whiskey (for the Irish, it was said), available at five cents a glass. Since New York Episcopalians had long included "foreigners" (especially people of German, English, and Irish background) as well as old-name families, there probably wasn't much enthusiasm for Prohibition among the people of the diocese. But war does things: it had suddenly made Bishop Greer seem old and outdated, and with equal rapidity it made Prohibition respectable, even patriotic. The diocesan convention of 1917 asked Congress to prohibit the "manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages during the war."

There were other sobering signs of the times. The convention opposed the so-called liberal Sunday, and remarked that "the moving-picture houses, at least in the city, lawlessly continue their Sunday exhibitions." President Wilson sent a telegram to the convention when it assured him of support in the war effort. Parish clergy in considerable numbers volunteered for chaplaincy duty in the reserve (Manning was conspicuous among them), and many went overseas; war had indeed come to the diocese when it was learned of the death of the first Episcopal priest to be killed in the war, the Rev. Henry P. Seymour of Christ Church, Piermont.

DEATH OF BISHOP GREER

When the diocesan convention met in May 1919, Bishop Greer was not present. He was a patient in St. Luke's Hospital, and sent a letter to the delegates saying that he would soon be "on my feet again, as good as or better than new": an optimistic statement for an overworked man of

seventy-five who had been almost completely blind for several years. (It was necessary to paint on the cathedral floor white lines for the bishop to follow during services.) The bishop asked for a second suffragan, but would not want a coadjutor. The convention voted to proceed to election the next day but, on motion of Dr. Cummins of Poughkeepsie's Christ Church, instead of a suffragan, Bishop Greer was provided with a generous fund with which he could procure episcopal services (Bishop Lloyd, for instance, had just left his Domestic and Foreign Mission Society position, and would be available). It is entirely probably that Cummins and his friends, satisfied with the ascendant Low Church aspect of the diocese, feared the election of someone like Manning, who would disturb the status quo. He was right but, as events unfolded, probably regretted his successful motion to his dying day.

For, six days after the convention of 1919 adjourned, Bishop Greer died. He was buried immediately in the cathedral crypt. The Standing Committee of the diocese (all Manhattan men likely to depart soon from the city for the summer) arranged for a special convention early in September which would elect a new bishop for New York. In the meantime, Mrs. Greer died, less than a month after the bishop, and thus the great Bishop's House so recently completed and occupied was empty.

ELECTION OF BISHOP BURCH

The Standing Committee fixed September 17, 1919, as the day for the election. Needless to say, there had been discussions among Episcopalians all summer. Once gathered in the cathedral nave, not in Synod House, the amenities were first observed. Stephen F. Holmes, senior presbyter of the diocese and recently retired rector of St. John's, Pleasantville, was invited to take the chair until the permanent chairman, the Rev. Harry Peirce Nichols of Holy Trinity, Lenox Avenue, was appointed. It was resolved that nominations would be by name only; as in 1883 and 1903, there would be no speeches promoting candidates. The nominees were soon apparent: Manning of Trinity (popular with the clergy); Stires of St. Thomas, Fifth Avenue; Slattery of Grace Church; Nathaniel S. Thomas, Bishop of the Missionary District of Wyoming; and, of course, New York's suffragan, Charles S. Burch. Later, it was remembered that

Bishop Burch had been devoted in his work as Suffragan Bishop, and had greatly endeared himself to the up-state clergy to whom he had ministered: they came down to the Harlem River like a tidal wave, met there with support from the "High Church" group on Manhattan Island, and the result was a foregone conclusion.¹¹

Burch had a lay majority all along, and easily took the clerical vote to win on the third ballot. The special convention adjourned at four thirty, unmindful that the new diocesan was not provided an adequate salary, housing expenses, and episcopal assistance. Nevertheless, Bishop Burch entered eagerly into his new responsibilities. And he was surrounded by active laity of very high caliber. Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue and Mrs. William Halsey Wood (whose late husband had been notable runner-up in the competition for designing the cathedral) served on a commission for new church buildings. Franklin D. Roosevelt was a cathedral trustee on the "Estate and Property" committee, and a provisional deputy to General Convention. Nicholas Murray Butler was also a cathedral trustee, as were Ogden Reid and August Belmont. J. P. Morgan the younger continued his father's participation in the Episcopal Fund, and Alton B. Parker (unsuccessful presidential candidate against TR in 1904) was chairman of the committee on diocesan boundaries. Celebrated attorney George Zabriskie, banker Stephen Baker, and insurance magnate Haley Fiske were prominent in various committees, year after year.

The new bishop sounded a certain trumpet. Forsaking Bishop Greer's profundities, Burch was decidedly "churchy" in his address to the 1920 convention. He said the diocese needed more postulants for the ministry. There was need for more preaching stations, and automobiles to facilitate diocesan mission work (there were already eleven such cars in use). Clergy salaries should be set no lower than \$1,500. The cathedral construction would soon resume. At the bishop's urging, the old Fund for Aged and Infirm Clergymen was consolidated with the Church Pension Fund recently formed by the national Church. Bishop Burch announced that he would not ask for episcopal assistance in 1920 except for what might be given by Bishop Lloyd and visiting missionary bishops.

"281"

Every missionary bishop in the Episcopal Church came to New York because the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society had its headquarters at 281 Fourth Avenue. The Society was established by General Convention in 1820 in order to strengthen and unify the missionary work of the Episcopal Church. The Presiding Bishop was to be its president; bishops, members of the House of Deputies, and anyone else contributing \$3 or more each year could be a "member." Auxiliary organizations, aiming at assisting the main body, were formed in various dioceses and churches. The leadership of women in these was

conspicuous, none more so than that of the Emery sisters, who were salaried officers of the auxiliary they had helped establish in 1872. Thereafter, an impressive proportion of missionary support came from the women's auxiliary of the Board of Missions (as it was often called).¹²

The address 281 Fourth Avenue was familiar in the Episcopal Church long before General Convention formed the National Council in 1919, for it was at the Church Missions House that missionary policies determined at the triennial were carried out. The new canon providing a central organization with various departments meant that now the Episcopal Church in the United States had a headquarters, and the Presiding Bishop had an office (though it would be nearly another twenty years before he was required by canon to relinquish his diocesan duties). The Rt. Rev. Arthur Seldon Lloyd, formerly Bishop Coadjutor of Virginia, was general secretary and president of the older organization, the Board of Missions, and as consolidation drew near he graciously resigned. Much to everyone's surprise, this bishop known to all Episcopalians inquired of a mission church, St. Bartholomew's in White Plains, if he could be their minister. Needless to say, he was engaged immediately. Meanwhile, the name National Council was adopted in 1922. Thereafter, the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church found himself on Fourth Avenue in New York City more and more as expanding Church affairs demanded the attentions of a presiding officer. And, as we shall see, Bishop Lloyd was not allowed to remain long in White Plains.

The years immediately following World War I saw also the Nation-Wide Campaign. This was an attempt, on the whole successful, to "bring the spiritual and material resources of the Church to bear most effectively and adequately upon the whole task of witness to the Master." The campaign, and the formation of the National Council, had a unifying effect upon the entire Episcopal Church. Diocesan lines and loyalties were, perhaps for the first time, seen as secondary to the interests of the whole national Church. The Nation-Wide Campaign also utilized laity as leaders, and within a year many dioceses had heard of the Episcopal Church's work from expert speakers from distant places. A direct outgrowth of this was the Every-Member Canvass and the ideal of diocesan quotas. This latter may have been unfortunate, because many people came to associate the campaign with money raising, forgetting that its original purpose had been a broad reawakening and education of churchpeople after a terrible war had shaken the foundations of what had been considered "Christian" civilization.¹³ Nonetheless, the underlying reasons and ideas of the Nation-Wide Campaign were not irrelevant when it came to raising funds for the Cathedral of

St. John the Divine in the 1920s. And there was an undeniable increase of Episcopal awareness of perceived mission, and money to support that mission. Perhaps never before had so many Episcopalians recognized their responsibility in the welfare and witness of the Church.

Both the formation of the National Council (with its displacement of Bishop Lloyd) and the Nation-Wide Campaign helped determine the future of the Diocese of New York. Bishop Burch, in his only address to the convention as Bishop of New York, said that the Campaign had, so far, been salutary for the diocese. He also was pleased with the apparent effectiveness of the "archdiaconal system," which, he said, was responsible now for 127 assisted parishes and missions and preaching stations; in 1911 there had been less than half that number. The diocesan missionaries now had eleven motorcars, a figure beginning to spell doom for those little railroads Henry C. Potter had known so well—and, as a matter of fact, doom also for many of those missions and preaching stations the cars were expected to serve. The bishop was glad that the salaries of diocesan missionaries had much improved, though whether or not they had kept pace with prevailing inflation was questionable. The bishop looked forward to a reinvigoration of diocesan morale by a program he called Bishop's Weeks, during which he would reside in various parts of the diocese and be accessible to local clergy and laity. He was optimistic about urban ethnic groups, mentioning specific diocesan work with people from Italy, Poland, Japan, China, and Sweden. He was especially enthusiastic (as well he might be) about the growth of Negro churches. The cathedral services were "thronged"; completion of the building "soon" was now urgent, and entirely feasible. The trustees were about to proceed.

On the negative side, Bishop Burch said he and the Standing Committee would continue to resist disposing of old churches, nor would mergers of existing Manhattan parishes be encouraged: the Church should minister in the neighborhood where it found itself. The bishop also decried individual liturgical practices, High or Low. Sensing for some reason that the diocese was reluctant to elect a suffragan at that time, he said he could handily depend upon visiting bishops for assistance, as well as have the help of Bishop Lloyd. It was a robust address, optimistic, looking forward to advances the Great War had merely postponed. Perhaps the delegates present wanted to hear such a sanguine word from their genial bishop, but certainly there were some men present who saw the late war not as an interruption, but the end of much that had been accepted as the deserved portion for New York Episcopalians. Perhaps the diocesan convention of 1920 was a watershed, running fast toward the future, yet coursing back to the days of "Wise Potter" and all the promise of the turn of the century when the Episco-

pal Church was, at least in the East, prestige and power at prayer.

In that 1920 convention there were motions to allow women to serve on vestries and as delegates to diocesan conventions. The former was soon determined to be a matter of local preference, but it would be many years before women were accepted as convention delegates. There was also solemn concern with irresponsible churchpeople and church papers which "directly or indirectly countenance any propaganda, party, or individual advocating disorder or violence in effecting economic or governmental changes."¹⁴ This was the Big Red Scare as expressed by some New York Episcopalians. There was also a motion approving the Eighteenth Amendment "as a great moral advance, a help to clean thinking and clean living and a strong bulwark against many of the ills which society has been heir to in the past."¹⁵ (How many of the gentlemen delegates voting for such national high-mindedness had already made private arrangements to slake their own thirst?) The regrettable Amendment was, at the least, an inconvenience for rectors who now had to obtain Communion wine by individual bottle, through local purveyors. Here evolved another lay task: the city businessman or the faithful communicant stenographer, regularly carrying a carefully wrapped parcel to church. And that led the mind to an ancillary problem: intinction, dipping the Communion bread in the wine, practically unheard of prior to the great flu epidemic of 1918-19. Some churches began communicating entirely by intinction, using specially designed vessels. Others said that in time the common cup would be made illegal, and one senior warden spent his whole term in the Legislature at Albany lobbying for such a measure.¹⁶

The convention of 1920 heard a resolution that Congress be urged to extend food relief in Europe "even at the expenditure of the large sums of money required," and yet another asking that convention assist people in the knowledge of basic "economic processes" so that Christian principles and social justice might prevail. There was mention of the need to "calm agitation," and the "rehabilitation of wounded servicemen," a complaint (heard since) that the Post Office was declining in efficiency, a warning that trouble between England and Ireland might lead to prolonged bloodshed, and a plea for "education in social hygiene" as the best way to combat venereal disease.¹⁷ Toward the end of the convention it was noted that all five dioceses in the state would have to agree before women could be included in diocesan conventions.

Postwar years are always intoxicating, as proved literally true in the 1920s. Restrictions are thrown off. One thing becomes certain: old verities are scrutinized. In 1920, when the people of the Diocese of New York questioned their politics, their moral outlook, their neighbor-

hood, they may well have paused to give an estimate of their former bishops in light of the prevailing attitudes. "Up-to-date" was the new watchword, as Sinclair Lewis so aptly noted in *Main Street*. If Greer's infirmities cast a shadow on his undeniable ability, nothing seemed to dull the luster of Potter's reputation. And now there was Bishop Burch. He had not been the first choice of the Manhattan rectors, who had for so long taken it upon themselves to determine who would be the next Bishop of New York (generally, one of their own number). But Burch won the respect as well as the affection of churchpeople. He remembered their names, had been a working newspaperman "out in the world," and was—to put it plainly—as different from Potter and Greer as their times were from his time. Though sixty-five years old in 1920 (Potter was seventy-three when he died, and Greer seventy-five), Bishop Burch seemed much younger, and with his vigorous six-foot-two stature and open, genial nature, he promised much.

Unfortunately, he died nineteen months after his election as diocesan. The sad event was seen as a parallel to the early death of Bishop Wainwright in 1855. Both men had assumed great burdens, Wainwright a diocese that had had no active bishop for eight years, Burch a diocese long presided over by elderly predecessors. Both Wainwright and Burch made superhuman efforts to "catch up," Wainwright by arduous visitations throughout his huge diocese, and Burch by particular attention to administration and cathedral fund-raising. Now that the war was over, he was certain the diocese could find \$500,000 each year until the nave was complete.

On Sunday, December 19, 1920, Bishop Burch went to the Women's Bedford Reformatory and there confirmed eleven "penitents." The authorities allowed them to wear white dresses instead of the usual prison denim. The bishop presented each confirmand with a cross and spoke to them about the Summary of the Law. The occasion was considered noteworthy enough for the *New York Times* to provide it full coverage.

The next day dawned sunny in Manhattan and toward noon the bishop (who had been suffering a sore throat for more than a week) took the opportunity of a fine day to stroll along Riverside Drive. There, near Grant's Tomb, he was stricken with a heart attack. Minutes later, he died in the home of a friend who had summoned help from St. Luke's Hospital. The Standing Committee was immediately notified.¹⁸ The sudden death of the new bishop came as a keen disappointment to all who had heard of him; one newspaper stated that the bishop's early death was caused "by the strenuous labors on plans to rush the work of the cathedral . . . he had no Suffragan or Coadjutor to share the burdens with him." A *Times* editorial said, "He reminded many of Bishop Potter."

New Yorkers who read of the bishop's sudden death were further stunned to read, next day, that a man and woman were found murdered in the bishop's car. The automobile had been stolen from the bishop's chauffeur, and the crime committed some place distant from the cathedral. The Standing Committee, whose president was Ernest M. Stires, rector of St. Thomas Church, and whose leading layman was then George A. Zabriskie of Calvary, asked Bishop Lloyd to take visitation appointments already made and, soon after Bishop Burch's burial in the cathedral crypt, arrangements were made for the election of his successor.