

that he gave himself so wholly to it, for his absorption has meant his leaving unfinished his monumental *Theologia Orthodoxa*, of which he had published two volumes in fine Latin and which stands alone as a systemized Western survey of modern Eastern theology. That he was uncompromising on the Papal question goes without saying. None the less, he was altogether fair, and used his vast knowledge to state the facts as he saw them. Consequently there was not a shadow of propagandism in his writings. That none can be found was due to his belief that in regard to both the Orthodox and ourselves Papal proselytism is a criminal blunder. What he hoped and willed was that the Orthodox and we Anglicans should unite. That done, he believed that General Reunion must follow. Accordingly, he was in remonstrance to Bishop d'Herbigny, whose methods of proselytism he held to be mistaken and pregnant with self-defeat. I do not know what was his private opinion as to Anglican Ordinations, but assuredly, like Cardinal Mercier and M. de Portal, he was a great well-wisher of the Anglican Church.—R.I.P.

Throughout his long and checkered career, M. Pasitch was a politician, and withal a politician in the Balkans. None the less, he had great sincerities. Thus he was devotedly loyal to the Kara-georgievic dynasty, altogether a Serb patriot and heart and soul a devout son of the Orthodox Church. The occasion on which it was my fortune to make acquaintance with him was at a village *Slava* in the Banat soon after the War. Not a peasant of them all was dancing more vigorously than the veteran, long white-bearded statesman. He gave me a good hour's chatting and left no doubt but that he was impatient for the development of a solidarity between the Anglican Church and his own.—R.I.P.

J.A.D.

Although Lord Lloyd was able to overcome the Egyptian opposition which set itself to prevent the election of the Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria, his Beatitude has not so far received the Sultan's *bérat*, and accordingly is still unrecognized by the Egyptian Government as the head *de jure* of the Orthodox Community of Egypt. The ostensible reason advanced for the withholding of the *bérat* is the claim put forward on behalf of the Syrian members of the Orthodox Church in Egypt to greater power in the election of the Patriarch and the affairs of the Patriarchate. The question bears analogy to the stormy Arabophone-Orthodox question in the Jerusalem Patriarchate, the Syrians of Egypt being racially the same as the Arabs of Palestine. Both are of Syrian stock and speak Arabic. The difference is that while the Syrians of Egypt are about 10 per cent. of the Orthodox of the Patriarchate, the Palestinian Arabophone-Orthodox form practically the whole flock of the Patriarchate. The whole matter is

very lucidly set out in a brochure, *Le Patriarcat d'Alexandrie et les Syriens Orthodoxes*, published recently by the *Société de Publications égyptiennes* of Alexandria. That, as has been suggested in the continental press, the Mandatory Government of Palestine in supporting the Arabophone claims in Palestine and in publishing Sir A. Bertram's Jerusalem Report, was motivated by the wish to secure, through the Arabophones, control of the Jerusalem Patriarchate as an asset of local and international political importance, is patently preposterous. But the same cannot be said of the Egyptian Government's intervention in the affairs of the Alexandrian Patriarchate. It is to be hoped that the *bérat* will soon be issued.

Some sensation was caused last October by a blundering telegram in the *Times* that the Patriarch of Jerusalem had recognized the opponents of the Russian Locum-Tenens Peter. What had happened is this. The "Living Church" and other cognate bodies were not schismatic in the sense that they set out to form brand-new churches, but were rather parties within the Church, in that, being in rebellion against the Patriarch Tikhon, they aimed also at the subversion of Orthodox Faith, Order and Practice in the Russian Church. Since the Patriarch's death, except for individuals among them who have seceded altogether from the Orthodox Church, these parties have adhered to a Synod which was convened by their leaders, and which affirmed its loyalty to the Faith and Practice of the Orthodox Church, on which it disclaimed the will to make any innovation pending an Ecumenical Council. That Synod further protested its loyalty to the dead Patriarch. It repudiated, however, the authority of the Metropolitan Peter, who, under the Patriarch Tikhon's will, has assumed the office of Locum-Tenens of the Patriarchal Throne, as also, he being in Bolshevik durance, of his Acting Locum-Tenens Sergius. It is the custom of the Eastern Patriarchs to keep *apokrisarii* at each other's courts, and these *apokrisarii* forwarded their Patriarchs the Synod's request for recognition by them eighteen months ago. This had not been accorded. But in view both of the Synod's affirmation of fidelity to the Orthodox Faith, of its readiness to obey an Ecumenical Council and also of the large number of Tikhonist bishops who have acceded to it, the Ecumenical Patriarch has expressed his willingness to send a mission to mediate between it and the canonical Locum-Tenens and the Patriarch of Jerusalem has followed his example. Under existing circumstances in Russia, and seeing that the Soviet has set itself to break the Metropolitan Peter and his following, and favours the Synod, even that measure of recognition will be regretted by many of us who reverence the Patriarch Tikhon and sympathize with the Metropolitan Peter. The position, however, is very obscure and difficult, and unfortunate

happenings which have led to the severance of the Metropolitan Evlogie of Paris from the Synod over which the Metropolitan Anthony presides at Sremsky-Karlowicz, must increase the trouble in the Russian Church both at home and abroad.

Bishop Benjamin of Sevastopol has left the Russian Academy in Paris and has undertaken a charge among the Russian exiles in Serbia.

That the sympathy of the readers of *The Christian East* must be on the side of the Metropolitan Peter and against the Synod goes without saying. For, if it is not the part of an Anglican to express an opinion as to the canonicity of the testamentary disposition of the Patriarch Tikhon, by which the Metropolitan Peter assumed as Locum-Tenens supreme authority in the Russian Church, that disposition was made because the Russian Church had been thrown into chaos by the Bolshevik persecution. Moreover, though the Cheka may no longer be shooting Orthodox bishops and clergy in batches, the Soviet has done all in its power to strengthen the Synod Party, and has continued to apply a pressure, which is in fact persecution, upon those who have directly taken up the perilous legacy bequeathed by the Patriarch Tikhon. Thus the Metropolitan Peter has been in durance since the Confessor's death, and the Metropolitan Sergius, who was nominated by the Patriarch to act in that foreseen event as acting Locum-Tenens, has now been sent to join him, his crime being announced as his refusal to excommunicate the Russian bishops in exile. In that matter, it should be noted by the American Protestants who have acclaimed the Synod as being progressive, that (1) according to Orthodox Canon Law it is an offence involving degradation for an Orthodox bishop to use his office for a political purpose, and (2) for that reason the Exiles' Synod at Sremsky-Karlowicz has always refused to allow the churches under their control to demonstrate in any way against the Bolshevik political régime. Incidentally, they may also note that the foreign Protestant ministers in Russia are reported to have been ordered to get out of that country by the very Soviet of the persecutions of which they have enterprised the defence. The arrest of the Metropolitan Sergius was speedily followed by the meting out of a like fate to three of his prearranged successors, the Metropolitan Joseph and the Archbishops Cornelius and Thaddeus. At the present time the responsibility of guiding the destinies of the Russian Church lies upon Seraphim, Archbishop of Uglitch, who up to the moment at least that these words are written has not been arrested by the Bolsheviks. He has issued to the clergy and their flocks a letter, the text of which is as follows :—

TO THE PRELATES, PRIESTS AND LAITY OF THE ORTHODOX RUSSIAN CHURCH.

By the will of God and the instructions of the Metropolitan Joseph, Deputy Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne, dated the 25th November, 1926, which appointed as his successors in the event of his being unable to assume the administration of the Church, Cornelius, Archbishop of Sverdlovsk, Thaddeus, Archbishop of Astrakhan, and myself, I became temporarily the Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne, as it is impossible at the present time for the Archbishops Cornelius and Thaddeus to fulfil their duties. Submitting to the will of the Lord and taking upon my weak shoulders the heavy cross which is being laid upon me, I feel it my duty to appeal to all my brethren bishops, priests and laymen, and to implore them to be faithful and obedient to the Holy Orthodox Church by obeying only the lawful representatives of the Patriarchal Orthodox Russian Church, remembering that all those who separate themselves from Her and Her hierarchy are doomed to perish. This has happened to all the groups who have separated themselves from the Church since the year 1922 :—“ Renaissance,” Living Church, the Renewed Church, “ V.V.T.S.” * —all these have disappeared or are disappearing as rapidly as they appeared, after less than three years of existence, leaving sad traces of either doubt or complete loss of faith on the part of those whom they had entangled in their nets.

Imploring my brother bishops to help me to bear the heavy cross and great responsibility of administering the Russian Church, I beg of them to reduce as much as possible their correspondence and all other communications with me, and to leave all Church matters (except cases involving questions of principle and also cases concerning the whole Church, such as the ordaining of Bishops) to be settled definitely by local Church authorities.

In particular : cases concerning marriages and divorces, the appointment of priors and prioresses of monasteries, preferments (except mitres) are to be settled by the local Bishops, and in the case of a diocese having no Bishop, I ask that the name may be given me of the nearest Bishop to whom I may hand the case over, if I find it undesirable to handle it myself.

The Deputy Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne,

SERAPHIM, Archbishop of Uglitch.

I was privileged to be present in the now dismantled Chapel of the Russian Embassy in September, 1921, when Bishop Nikolai Velimirovic ordained Father Constantine Vesselovsky priest on a mandate

* V.V.T.S. means Vremenni Visshi Tserkovni Soviet, i.e., Temporary Supreme Church Soviet.

from the Metropolitan Evlogie, and will remember the tears of happiness in Mrs. Vesselovsky's eyes as she told me that he had served in reader's orders for fifty years. His promotion to the priesthood was indeed the crown of a long life of faithful patient service, and never did young ordinand feel greater or fresher awe and privilege than that dear simple old man then already past three score years at being called to minister the Holy Mysteries. The Axios, Axios, Axios with which he was greeted at his ordination was emphatically genuine, and the uttering it plainly gave the congregation great pleasure. For, though Father Vesselovsky has never played a prominent part in the Russian Community, he was loved and respected by a very wide circle. In a way, too, he was an institution and an heirloom. Born in 1850, educated at the Petrograd Ecclesiastical Academy, and ordained reader in 1871, he had been transferred to the Chapel of the London Russian Embassy as far back as 1875. Those were the days of the Bonn Conference, of Overbeck's and Hatherley's Orthodox Church of England, of the early vigour of the E.C.A., and so forth. If Vesselovsky, the reader, was built for devotion and simple service, and took no part in those happenings, he knew something of their history, and came in contact with all leading Russians who visited London, and with most Anglicans, such as Liddon and Birkbeck, who from 1875 onwards have been concerned with the Orthodox-Anglican movement, than to speak of the wonderful progress of which in these later years nothing gave him greater pleasure. That he received his golden Pectoral Cross in 1923 and his Kamilavky in 1925, and was raised to be an Archpriest in 1926 gave us all great satisfaction. By his death from pneumonia on February 6th, the Russian Community in London has lost a kindly, faithful pastor, the Anglican Church a sincere friend, and the world a gentle, faithful Christian.—R.I.P. J.A.D.

In a leader on the recent tabling of a bill to establish a fixed Easter in England by a private member in the House of Commons, *The Times* remarked that the Orthodox Church approved the proposed reform. That was an overstatement. In fact, since the present incidence of Easter is determined by the canons of the First Œcumenical Council, 325 A.D., a fixed Easter is impossible for the Orthodox, except by the decision of an Œcumenical Council of all autocephalous churches, or, at least, failing such a Council, by their general consent. Indeed, there are authoritative Orthodox theologians who hold that the decree of an Œcumenical Council can be abrogated safely only by the decree of an Œcumenical Council. At any rate, that the Orthodox Church as a whole is unlikely to accept a fixed Easter unless it were established by an Orthodox Œcumenical Council is evidenced by the fact that while the "Pan-Orthodox" Conference

held at Constantinople in 1923 recommended that any proposal to that effect should be examined sympathetically, it relegated its final decision to the forthcoming Orthodox Council in preparation of which it was itself convened.

The difficulty and delicacy of a revision of the Canons of the Œcumenical Councils in itself is illustrated by the controversies to which the recommendations of the Constantinople Pan-Orthodox Conference of 1923 have given rise. For example, the new Calendar—it should be remembered that it is *not* identical with the Gregorian—recommended by it, has actually been adopted by some of the Orthodox Churches, but others have refused to consider it until it is established by an Œcumenical Council. Thus it is in vogue in the Great Church of Constantinople, in Greece and in Rumania, but not in the Alexandrian, Antiochene and Jerusalem Patriarchates. In Russia the Synodals have accepted it, but the Patriarch Tikhon having first done so and then changed his decision, the Tikhonists have not. It has been imposed on the Orthodox of Poland, Finland and other succession states. In London, at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, which is under the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, it is observed, but at the Russian Church of St. Philip the Old Style is followed—and so on. That diversity denotes a divergence which might lead to considerable dispute, and, if no other pressing need existed, would render the convention of an Orthodox Œcumenical Council to settle the matter imperative. But the Turkish Government blocks the way by maintaining the prohibition by which, as soon as it found itself possessed of Constantinople in 1922, it forbade the Œcumenical Patriarchate to have anything to do with such a Council. Last year, indeed, it went so far as to threaten the Patriarchate with sharp punishment if it delegated representatives even to the Pro-Synod which it was proposed should assemble at Mt. Athos to act provisionally and in preparation for an Œcumenical Council. That the League of Nations has taken no action in regard to this intolerance which inflicts paralysis on the whole Orthodox Church, is surprising.

An Orthodox Œcumenical Council, and even a Pro-Synod, being thus precluded, the Patriarchate of Alexandria proposed last year that the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem should meet in a "regional conference" to discuss urgent matters which affect their Patriarchates and especially the new Calendar, and to that end the Metropolitan of Nubia visited the Holy City in January. The Patriarch of Jerusalem has replied, however, in a letter to the Patriarch of Alexandria, that, in view of the complications which would be entailed in the Holy Places were the Orthodox to observe Christmas and other fixed Feasts on the same day as the Latins, his Synod think it unwise at present to discuss the replacing of the Old Style by the New.

The "Orthodox and Anglo-Catholic Student Conference," which was held at St. Albans from January 11th to the 15th of this year, can hardly fail to bear good fruit in developing the Anglo-Orthodox *rapprochement*. Its purpose was "to bring together in quite an informal and unofficial manner a group of young men and women of the two Communions," in the belief that "the main contribution of the Student Christian Federation to the cause of unity is the bringing about of such understanding and friendship among students." The membership of the Conference totalled some fifty or sixty, and the invited "Leaders" were Dr. Gore, Fr. Bulgakoff, and Professor Bezobrazoff. Each day began at 7.30 with the singing of either the Anglican or the Orthodox Liturgy, and closed at 8.30 p.m. with evening prayers in English and Russian on alternate days. Papers were read on "*The Russian Orthodox Church and its Modern Saints*" (Prof. Bezobrazoff), "*Orthodoxy and Un-Orthodoxy*" (Fr. Bulgakoff), "*The Orthodox Church and Russian Youth*" (a Russian Student address), "*Anglo-Catholics and the Sacraments*" (Dr. Gore), "*An Anglo-Catholic Conception of the Church*" (Rev. W. S. A. Robertson), "*The Church and Modern Society*" (Dr. Gore), "*The Development and Practice of the Spiritual Life*" (an English Student address), and on the last day a Russian Student spoke on "*Ways of working together with the Anglicans*."

In a closing address to the Conference, Mons. Zernoff made a fine appeal for closer understanding and co-operation between the Russian and Anglican Churches—for "it is not accidentally that we stand in need of one another. The British and Russian geniuses in union will give fullness and beauty to the Church which is being sought by all at the present time."

The experiment was a great success, and it is to be hoped that more such Conferences will be held in the future. We believe that another is already actually contemplated for next winter.

Two features which will distinguish the Fourth Anglo-Catholic Congress Pilgrimage from its predecessors are, first, that it will be held in the summer instead of the spring, in order that those who cannot get away during the months of April and May may have an opportunity to visit Palestine and the Near East in the month generally dedicated to rest and holidays, and secondly that a number of members of the American Church are expected to take part in the Pilgrimage. The Right Rev. Dr. Ivins, Coadjutor Bishop of Milwaukee, will lead the American contingent.

The Pilgrimage will leave London on Tuesday, August 2nd, and will be back in London again on August 29th. August suggests heat, so we append the following reassuring paragraphs from the official handbook of the Pilgrimage—

Those who take advantage of this opportunity need not fear excessive heat, at any rate as far as Jerusalem, the chief objective of this Pilgrimage, is concerned, for the Holy City is set on a hill some 2,500 feet high, and the Reverend Charles Steer, Chaplain of St. George's Cathedral, tells us that they had cool weather during last August. Except for our visit to Palestine, we shall sleep on board ship all the while, and the cool breezes of the Mediterranean will amply repay us for any heat endured during the day. So we hope that potential pilgrims will not be frightened away by rumours of torrid atmosphere or the burning heat of the sun.

The following paragraph appears in *Lines of Communication*—the "Diocesan Magazine of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem and throughout the Holy Land"—for September, 1926:—

"All who have been here agree in remarking on the cool and invigorating climate, and are disposed to think that the Anglican Pilgrimage proposed for August next year may very likely find that it has chosen a far better time of year than its previous essays at Eastertide."

The itinerary will be similar to that of 1925. The great objective is naturally Jerusalem and the Holy Land, but before Jaffa is reached the pilgrims will be given the opportunity of visiting Alexandria and Damascus, and the return journey will be broken by calls at Smyrna, Constantinople, and Athens.

The President of the Pilgrimage will be the Right Reverend Dr. Cook, the Lord Bishop of Lewes.

As we go to Press the unwelcome news reaches us that the Archimandrite Hilarion Basdekas will shortly be leaving this country to take up work elsewhere. His many friends in London, both Anglican and Orthodox, will learn of his decision with great regret for their own sakes, while heartily wishing him God-speed in his future work. As is well known to our readers, M. Basdekas has served devotedly for some years at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Bayswater, and since 1922 he has been a valued member of the General Committee of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association. In bidding farewell to his fellow members on the Committee M. Basdekas assures them that he will never cease to help in forwarding the work of Reunion, as long as he is spared to do so.

SOME DEBTS TO BYZANTINISM.

By PROF. F. H. MARSHALL.

This Article is in substance Prof. Marshall's inaugural lecture in the Koræa Chair of Modern Greek in the University of London.

DEMOSTHENES said that "it is natural for mankind to listen with pleasure to abuse and accusation," and this is, I fear, all too true. It cannot be denied that Byzantinism lies open to many charges. The absolutism of its rulers and the excess of ceremonial, so tediously described in the *Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the barren theological disputes, the absence of creative power, the absorption by monasticism of large numbers of the population which might have been more usefully and productively employed, the reluctance of the citizens to bear arms, and the ever-increasing enrolment of foreigners in the army, and the not infrequent exhibitions of perfidy and cruelty have all been pointed at with the finger of scorn. We may grant that many of these charges are true, but we may also observe that every great Empire is in the course of its history open to grave charges. The ancient Greek city-states and the Roman Republic have the great advantage of being institutions which we can study in their youthful growth and vigour, and as such they present in the course of their development the attractions with which youth is endowed. The Byzantine Empire was in its inception, like the Roman Empire, somewhat of an artificial product, and took over the heritage of a rather weary Greece and a rather weary Rome. Yet even dull middle-age has its uses, and it seems to me more profitable to dwell upon the merits which the Byzantine Empire undoubtedly possessed rather than to repeat the tale of its oft-told vices. I propose to indicate what appear to me to be some of the items which may be put to the credit side of the Byzantine account, and as a pendant to indicate some lines of study which I myself have found of interest in connection with mediæval and modern Greece, which can never be dissociated from both the Classical and Byzantine tradition.

(1) Western students have been too apt to view the Byzantine Empire from the Western standpoint. Gibbon's words, "I should have abandoned without regret the Greek slaves and their servile historians had I not reflected that the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world," are characteristic of the arrogance and ingratitude of the Western mind when dealing with Eastern history. Were Heraclius, Leo the Isaurian, Nicephorus Phocas, John Zimisces, and Basil Bulgaroctonus men to whom the epithets "servile" and "passive" can be rightly applied? Can an

Empire which showed so repeatedly its ability to drive off the assaults of powerful peoples be regarded as an Empire of slaves? This resisting power of the Byzantine Empire is the first of the credit items which the West should put down to the Byzantine account, for that Empire long stood out as a bulwark of civilization. It is worth while to remind ourselves of some of the formidable foes she kept so long at bay, while Europe, far behind her in civilization, was making painful efforts to outgrow barbarism. In the fourth century she successfully pressed back the tide of Gothic invasion which overwhelmed Italy. In the next she staved off, though at the price of tribute, the threats of the Huns under Attila. In the sixth century came Belisarius' brilliant triumphs over the Vandals of Africa and the temporary recovery of Italy—triumphs not indeed to the permanent advantage of the Eastern Empire, whose influence was to be exercised in the East rather than in the West, but indicative at least of vitality. In the same century there followed the series of struggles with Huns, Slavs and Antæ on the line of the Danube, and a bitter war with the Persians was brought to a successful conclusion. In this century, too, a new foe appeared in the Avars of the Danube region. The seventh century witnessed a continuance of the furious contests with Avars, Slavs and Persians, illuminated by the brilliant efforts and successes of Heraclius, and marked also by the irruption of Slavs into the Greek peninsula. But a new foe arose in Moslem Arabia, and Syria and Egypt fell to the Arabs, who were destined to be at constant war with the Empire. From the eighth to the tenth century there were desperate wars with the Bulgarians and Russians, and the Hungarians and Patzinaks were added as foes. Triumphs were gained over the weakened Arabs of the East, and the Macedonian dynasty shed lustre on the sorely tried Empire. Even after the fatal blow from the Seljûk Turks at Mantzikert in 1071 the Empire was hard in dying. A Greek dynasty re-emerged after the rule of the Latins, and the first attack of the Ottoman Turks was beaten off. Could an Empire of degenerates and slaves have shown such vitality?

Before the Turkish siege which ended in its capture in 1453, Constantinople again and again saw hostile fleets and armies appear before her walls only to retire. The "Akáthistos" hymn celebrates the deliverance from the Avars in the reign of Heraclius, or, as some think, from the Arabs in the reign of Constantine IV. In 717-18 the Moslems under Muslama were driven off by the obstinate defence of Leo the Isaurian and the terrors of Greek fire. In 941 Igor the Russian failed with his thousand ships and forty thousand men. The Crusaders with their combination of force and fraud, were successful in 1203-4, but it was a victory which did the West little credit. If we call to mind the dangers to Western Europe caused by the Turkish sieges of Vienna in 1529 and 1683, we Westerners can feel some gratitude to the people who built and maintained the celebrated

walls of Constantinople, sometimes unjustly criticized as an unromantic shield of defence.

(2) But the Byzantine Empire did much more than merely repel the assaults of barbarous or alien peoples. She imbued them with her own religion and culture. The christianizing and civilizing force of Constantinople worked upon the Slav peoples especially, and in no instance was this more marked than in her dealings with the Slavized Finno-Uralian Bulgarians. It was in the ninth century that the Bulgarian Tsar Boris adopted the Orthodox faith and assumed the Christian name of Michael; after a struggle with Rome, Bulgaria definitely fell to the Eastern Church. The famous brothers Methodius and Cyril were their missionaries, and Cyril's invention of the Glagolitic script was of far-reaching importance for the civilization of the Slav peoples. It was under the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon (892-927) that Greek influence became most marked in Bulgaria. Simeon prided himself on his Greek culture, and Byzantine court ceremony was introduced into his capital. It was in his age, too, that Greek literature, especially ecclesiastical literature, was eagerly translated for the Bulgarians. Simeon himself translated extracts from John Chrysostom under the title of the *Golden Book*, and works like the *Chronicle of Malalas*, *Athanasius against the Arians*, and the *Hexameron* of John of Damascus were translated into the Slav language, and these translations had great influence upon Russian ecclesiastical literature. The translation from Greek works continued in the Bulgaria which revived after the conquests of Basil Bulgaroctonus. Architecture and painting under Simeon were directed by Byzantine artists. The relations between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire were further cemented by the marriage of Simeon's son Peter to Maria, granddaughter of Romanus Lecapenus, and the name of the bride was changed to Irene. This is why Bulgarian envoys had precedence at the Court of Byzantium in the tenth century, as Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, found to his chagrin.

Greek ecclesiastical literature penetrated into Russia through Bulgaria, and Byzantine civilization was destined to exercise great influence upon Russia. Cyril's translations opened the way, and in the tenth century Christianity made great progress in the country. It is possible that the story of Queen Olga's baptism in 956-7 is legendary, but such doubt does not attach to the baptism of Prince Vladimir in 989, and his marriage to the Byzantine princess Anna marked the close union between the peoples. It is said that forty churches were built in Kiev in this century, and the architecture was Byzantine. The ecclesiastical organization was Greek, and the Metropolitan of the Russian Church was at first appointed by the Patriarch. The monastic system of the Byzantine Empire was also taken over, and the Pechersky monastery at Kiev was conducted

on the rule of Theodore of Studion. It has often been remarked that much of the ceremony of the Tsarist Court of Russia was Byzantine, and certain festivals, such as that of the "Blessing of the Waters," were conducted on lines closely resembling those of festivals described in the *Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Byzantine trade also had considerable effect in familiarizing the Russians with the manners and luxury of the Empire. We have interesting accounts of the annual Russian trade expeditions which set out from Kiev down the Dnieper, bound for Constantinople by way of the Black Sea. The Russians made the voyage, rendered difficult and dangerous by the rapids and the hostility of the Patzinaks and Khazars, through whose territory they had to pass, in boats hollowed out of a single tree trunk (monoxylons), and were accorded free quarters at St. Mamas at the bottom of the Golden Horn. From there they were allowed to pass into the city through one gate only, and not more than fifty at a time. They were exempted from tolls, and their wares were principally slaves, skins, honey and wax. For their voyage home they were furnished with the tackle necessary for the repair of their boats. In return for these favours they were bound by treaty to protect the Empire against the incursions of barbarian tribes, and carried away with them the silks and other articles of luxury which Constantinople could supply.

But numerous Russians served in the Imperial armies, and supplied crews for its fleets. The Scandinavian Ros, who had established himself in Russia, sometimes made expeditions against the Byzantines, and from the ninth to the eleventh century also served the Empire as mercenaries. Their weapons were principally the battle-axe and two-edged sword, and they came to form the Imperial body-guard known as "Varangians," though after the Norman Conquest they were largely superseded by Anglo-Saxons and Danes. Many a Norseman had in the eleventh century sought out "Tsarigrad" as a refuge from poverty and political disturbance, attracted to Constantinople by the high pay given to Imperial guardsmen. The exploits of Harald Hardrada, brother of King Olaf of Norway, and himself ultimately king of that country, are alluded to in the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos and the anonymous *Nouhetetikon*, and passed into the Sagas. Between 1033-43 he fought valiantly for the Empire, and his career should make a special appeal to Englishmen as that of one who ultimately fell fighting on English soil at the battle of Stamford Bridge. War also was thus an instrument for increasing amongst the Russians and their Scandinavian element a knowledge of the customs and riches of the Byzantine Empire.

The Serbs, too, drew much of their civilization from the Byzantines. The one chiefly responsible for Byzantine infiltration was Stephan Nemanya (1171-1195), who died as a monk at Athos in 1200. The faith and ritual of the Orthodox Church were introduced into his

country and, despite Western influence by way of the Adriatic, the Court ceremonies of the Byzantine Empire were adopted by the Serbian monarchs. Between 1280 and 1360 Serbian architecture was developed on Byzantine lines, through Salonika and Athos, and monasticism became a marked feature, and with monasticism was developed an ecclesiastical literature in the mystic and ascetic vein which appealed so greatly to the Slavonic temperament.

Modern Russia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Jugoslavia cannot therefore be understood without a realization of their debt to Byzantine ecclesiastical and civil life.

Though Byzantinism has left its most permanent mark upon Greece and the Slav countries, it also influenced, though less permanently, non-Slav peoples. The Hungarians, that intrusive Finno-Uralian people, received their culture through Slav and Christian influences, and herein Byzantium had a large share. The Hungarians were alternately the allies and the foes of the Empire. The Orthodox Church made strenuous efforts for their conversion, and a monk Hierotheus was consecrated "Bishop of the Turks." In the eleventh century Byzantine trade influences were strong, and the Empire's silks and metal-work were exchanged for Hungarian horses and salt. Latin influence ultimately predominated in religion, but even to-day the Orthodox Church has numerous followers in Hungary. Appropriately the crown of St. Stephen was formed of two parts, the one given by a Pope, the other by a Byzantine Emperor.

The barbarous Patzinaks, lying between the Empire and the Russians, were never civilized, but were sometimes used by the Empire as allies. The relations of the Byzantines with the Finnish Khazars, situated between the mouths of the Don and the Volga, were far closer. They were in intimate touch with both Byzantines and Arabs, and showed a theological bent, especially in the direction of Judaism. Constantine Copronymus married a Khazar princess, who adopted the name of Irene; Khazar customs had some effect upon the Byzantines, and Khazar mercenaries served in the Byzantine armies.

The Byzantine Emperors were in touch with all the different branches of the Arabs, with those of Baghdad, Egypt, Africa and Spain. Warfare with the Arabs of the East and the Fatimites of Africa was constant, but a certain mutual respect accompanied these conflicts. The combatants had common interests not merely in military organization, but also in science. This was especially the case with the Arabs of the East, and the Courts of Constantinople and Baghdad tried to outdo one another in splendour. The *Ceremonies* tell us that in 946 Arab envoys were received with a splendid display of gold and silver, silks and embroideries (largely borrowed from the churches), and were given a review of the different mercenary troops of the Empire and entertained by an equestrian show in the Hippo-

drome. A mosque was allowed to Arab merchants in Constantinople. Greek learning, particularly the writings of Aristotle, greatly affected the intellectual life of the Court of Baghdad.

(3) The influence of the Orthodox Church upon the Slav peoples has already been noted. But there are many other instances of the missionary zeal of the Byzantines, and the Orthodox Church has many claims upon the gratitude of those who profess and call themselves Christians. In the time of Theodosius the Younger it was the Byzantine Government which welcomed two Armenians, Mesrob and Sahak, who had translated the Scriptures into their native tongue, and had fled into the territory of the Empire to escape the persecution of the Persians. The translation-school founded by these two fugitives was furthered by the Government, and thus was started the translation literature of the Armenians, entirely dependent on the Greek. The period of the Nestorian controversy seems a barren one, but it was the Nestorian missionaries who carried the Gospel to India and China. Justinian's reign marked something more than ambitious military expeditions; in addition to its great legislative achievements, it was an epoch in missions, and the Emperor and Theodora used their diplomatic influence to gain protection for the missionaries. These penetrated to the Heruls round Singidunum, the modern Belgrade, to the Hunnish stocks north of the Black Sea, and to the peoples of the Caucasus. Their princes appeared for baptism in the capital. In Africa the oases of the Sahara were won over to Christianity. The bloody persecution of the Christians in the Yemen by the Jewish king Dhu Nuwas stirred the Christians of the Empire deeply, and the capture of the Yemen by the Christian king of the Ethiopians was greeted with extreme joy, and by Imperial command a cleric was sent out as bishop to southern Arabia. The Monophysites of Egypt, under the protection of Theodora, showed themselves particularly active in missionary work, and Julian, an Alexandrian cleric, began, according to John of Ephesus, the conversion of the Nubians, which Bishop Longinus subsequently completed. The king and people of the Nobatæ received baptism, and the king of the neighbouring Alodæ followed his example. From this time the Nubian Church continued in closest touch with the Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria. Nor should we English forget that it was a Greek of the Byzantine Empire, Theodore of Tarsus, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope in 668, who really laid the foundations of the English ecclesiastical system, and changed the Church from a collection of mission stations to a series of well-ordered dioceses grouped round the see of Canterbury. "He was the first Archbishop," says Bede, "whom all the English Church obeyed." Theodora, wife of the Emperor Theophilus, in the ninth century, really organized the great missions

which were later to carry the gospel amongst the Khazars, the Moravians and the Bulgarians.

The Orthodox Church therefore did something more than conduct barren controversies, and her influence is still a living force to-day amongst millions in the Nearer East. Greece, Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Jugoslavia all bear witness to the creeds and ceremonies which have appealed to the faith of masses of simple men.

(4) Another great debt is owed to the Byzantine Empire as the conservator of ancient Greek literature. It may be allowed that there is little creative force in Byzantine literature, but it is too often forgotten that the Empire was a storehouse of ancient learning and that the study of the Greek Classics never really ceased there. A work like the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena in the twelfth century, despite all its defects of an exaggerated style, shows how thoroughly the Greek Classics were studied. Encyclopædists like Photius and Psellus corresponded in a sense to the great Alexandrian encyclopædists, and Photius in particular has preserved much that would otherwise have been lost in his *Bibliotheca*, and by his *Lexicon* he laid the foundation of the Greek etymological lexicons, and this work was carried on by Suidas. Manuscripts of the Classics were multiplied in a monastery such as that of Studion at Constantinople.

Thus, without creating much herself, Constantinople prepared the way for the revival of Greek learning in Europe. The study of Greek had been pursued in Italy in the fourteenth century by men like Petrarch and Boccaccio, and the collecting of Greek manuscripts had been begun by Guarino and Poggio. The Sicilian Aurispa had in 1417 collected some Greek manuscripts from the East, and during a residence at Constantinople in 1422-3 gathered no fewer than 238 manuscripts of Greek Classics. In 1427 Francesco Filelfo, Secretary to the Venetian Legation at Constantinople, brought back a further valuable collection. Cyriacus of Ancona (1391-1450) learned Greek at Constantinople, and not only collected manuscripts, but travelled widely in Greek lands, and brought back many copies of inscriptions.

But the personal contact of Greeks contributed most powerfully to the diffusion of Greek in the West. Emmanuel Chrysoloras, a former ambassador of Constantinople to the Western Powers for the purpose of seeking help against the Turks, returned in 1395 to Florence and taught Greek with much enthusiasm, both there and in the other Universities of Italy. His *Erotemata* was the first grammar of the Greek language, and was long in use. The Council of Florence in 1439 established contact between the scholars of East and West, and the aged Georgios Gemistos in particular attracted the Florentines with his Neo-Platonic philosophy. Under the changed name of Plethon he promoted the appreciation of Plato at the expense of Aristotle, and the work of popularizing Greek was carried forward by his pupil Bessarion, afterwards Cardinal at Rome, and by a band of

emigrant Greeks who gathered round him after the fall of Constantinople, notably the Aristotelian Theodorus Gaza, who became Professor of Greek at Ferrara, and Georgios of Trebizond, also an Aristotelian and later a Papal Secretary. Another Aristotelian was Argyropoulos of Constantinople, who lectured on Greek at Florence under the patronage of the Medici. Demetrios Chalcocondyles of Athens taught Greek at Padua and Florence, and published the first printed editions of Homer, Isocrates and Suidas towards the end of the fifteenth century.

Thus did captured Greece again make an intellectual capture of the West. Do those who laud the ancient Greek Classics and pour scorn upon the Byzantines realize how much the Byzantine Empire did towards enabling them to read the Classics they enjoy?

(5) It would not be right to pass over Byzantine architecture and art in complete silence in any survey of the benefits conferred by the Byzantine Empire upon modern civilization. The influence of Byzantine architecture and church decoration upon the Slavonic peoples has already been touched upon, and a very brief estimate of Byzantine architecture and art as a whole may be added. Byzantine art was the outcome of many influences—Roman, Oriental and Christian—but it may be said that that of Christianity was the most powerful. We know comparatively little about palace and domestic architecture, though there are, of course, many allusions to the different parts of the Great Palace at Constantinople; but we know a great deal about the Empire's church architecture. The Roman architects had developed the arch, the vault and the apse; the Byzantines developed the dome, which had, of course, been introduced by the Romans in concrete, as in the case of the Pantheon. The dome was probably popularized in Constantinople as the result of contact with the East, and we know that Justinian rebuilt the Church of the Holy Apostles in this style. In the most splendid example of dome-structure, the cruciform church of St. Sophia, the peculiar Byzantine device of the pendentive for accommodating the circle of the dome to the square plan of the supporting pillars is best exemplified. It is significant that both the architects of St. Sophia were drawn from Asia Minor. The brilliant internal effects produced by coloured marbles and brightly-coloured mosaics are also a feature of these Byzantine churches, and in the designing of the mosaics the artist worked in close alliance with the architect. In the later Byzantine churches external colouring was introduced as well, by decorating the outer walls with coloured brick and marble. Byzantine church architecture has left its mark on Venice and farther West, and in our own London the beautiful Greek church in Moscow Road gives an idea of its more prominent features.

In the field of art, as applied to small objects such as manuscripts, metal and ivory work, and jewellery, the Byzantine artists showed a

very high degree of skill. Their illuminations are marked by most careful attention to minute detail, fine colour effects, and excellent portraiture. The manuscripts often give us interesting pictures of the appearance of the foreign peoples with whom the Empire was brought into contact. Byzantine jewellery, in its fondness for precious stones, carries on a tradition which had been in vogue in the Greek and Roman world since the Eastern conquests of Alexander the Great, and develops the later Roman tradition when jewellery of an Oriental type was very popular. But a very large proportion of the minor artistic products of the Byzantine Empire are inspired by Christianity, and this really gives its unity to Byzantine art as a whole. Those who study the products of Byzantine artists will not readily agree with some critics that they are lifeless and childish.

Six main items of debt to the Byzantine Empire have thus been suggested: its services to the West as a bulwark of civilization; its influence in moulding the culture of the peoples with which it came into close contact; its missionary activity and upholding of Christianity in Eastern Europe; its conservation of ancient Greek literature and of the Greek language; its contribution to the revival of learning in the West by means of its teachers, and finally its contribution to the world's art. A seventh item, a Byzantine contribution to Law, might well be added, were not the subject too technical for discussion here. It may seem that a little more study might be profitably devoted, especially in England, to the history, language, and art of this great Empire. Such study might lead to a wider and more intelligent comprehension of the problems of the Nearer East, and thus to an increase of friendship between East and West.

Mediæval and modern Greece cannot properly be understood without a comprehension of her historic connection with the Byzantine Empire. The "Great Idea" may have receded into impracticability, but historical facts remain. I may perhaps be allowed to mention some studies in the sphere of mediæval and modern Greek that I myself have found of decided interest.

The history of Greece itself in its various phases, under Roman sway, and as a province of the Byzantine Empire, with the successive Avar and Slav invasions, and the Slav, Vlach and Albanian settlements, is full of interest. The transformation into Frankish dukedoms and the introduction of feudal customs offer much that is picturesque. The Catalan and Florentine rule of Athens abounds in dramatic incidents. Under Turkish sway the transference of Greek culture to the Danubian principalities, and the foundation of Greek Schools at Bucharest and Jassy, and the Greek works produced by the printing presses of these cities under the rule of the Hospodars, are subjects about which there is a good deal of information, but about which little is known outside a small circle of specialists. The enthusiastic teaching of George Gennadius at Bucharest and his

influence in the formation of the "Sacred Band" shed a ray of brightness on the gloom attending Ypsilanti's campaign in 1821.

Another very interesting field for research is that connected with the Greek literature of Crete produced under the Venetian sway. I have elsewhere drawn attention to the remarkable poem of the Cretan Georgios Choumnos, on *Genesis and Exodus*, with its wealth of Biblical legends and its connection with Slavonic Christianity. But Crete in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced much else of great literary and linguistic interest. It is sufficient to mention the Cretan plays published by Sathas, such as the *Erophile* and the *Gyparis*, which, though they owe much to the Italian, have distinctive features of their own, and would be found of interest by students of the pre-Shakespearean drama, and to draw attention to romantic poems like Kornaros' *Erotokritos* and the Greek translation of Boccaccio's *Teseide*, which has analogies with the *Erotokritos*, and links with our own Chaucer.

If we turn to quite different scenes, the schemes of Curil Lucar as Patriarch of Constantinople for the union of the Eastern and Western Churches in the early seventeenth century seem to strike quite a modern note, and should be of interest to students of history and theology alike. We possess an exceedingly interesting account of the intrigues at Constantinople at this time in the correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe, our own ambassador at the Porte, which throws much light on the proceedings of the Jesuits, supported by the French ambassador, and the counteracting efforts of the English and Dutch ambassadors, and incidentally alludes to the efforts of the Earl of Arundel to obtain Greek antiquities and to Roe's own efforts to obtain Greek manuscripts. The Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum is the most celebrated monument of his efforts. But the career of Cyril's protégé, Metrophanes Critopoulos, both as a student at Oxford and a student in the Universities of Germany, is one that deserves a wider knowledge on many counts. His album, published by the late Mr. Markos Rheniérès, is full of interest as evidence of the numerous persons of distinction with whom he came into contact both in England and in Germany, and illustrates the conditions of the Universities of Germany during the Thirty Years' War. Critopoulos was really Cyril's emissary to promote his darling project of a union between the Churches, but that effort was unsuccessful, and the ultimate attitude of Critopoulos as Patriarch of Alexandria shows that, despite his long residence in England and Germany, he absolutely rejected Calvinism, and clung tenaciously to the tenets of the Orthodox Church. There is much in his story which should provide food for thought for those who are working for a union of the Eastern and Western Churches.

ORTHODOXY AND THE LIVING CHURCH.

By G. MAKLAKOFF.

IN 1917 the Revolution broke out, and swept away all the institutions of the Russian Empire. After the abdication of Nicholas II. the Throne itself was abolished. The rupture between the Church and the State brought forth the institution of civil marriages, and liberty of creed was followed by the suppression of salaries paid by the State. The priests began to lose their "clients," *i.e.*, those of their parishioners who performed the rites required by the Church either by habit, or simply wishing to do what others did, without being truly attached to their creed.

The faithful parishioners, relieved of dead weight, small in number, but strong in their faith, saw their Church destined to disappear, without even making an effort of resistance. They resolved to do all in their power to defend themselves. Towards the end of the summer of 1917 a Church Council was convoked in Moscow. At this meeting the main lines of Church organization were traced out, and the organization of the parish, the base on which the whole edifice was to be constructed, was carefully studied. At the same time the whole Assembly were unanimous in their desire of restoring the patriarchate. But this was not so easy to do. If we compare the names of the persons who took part in this Ecclesiastical Assembly with those of the members of the Constituent Assembly, which took place about the same time and in the same town, we shall see that the majority were identical. The political divergencies of opinion in the Constituent Assembly, which gave the victory to the brutal Bolshevik minority over the more moderate majority—were strongly felt at the Ecclesiastical Assembly. The conservatives considered the Orthodox Church as the main stay of monarchism, and being at the same time sincerely religious—they were not less faithful to their political convictions, and hoped to support them with the aid of ancient church-traditions. They recalled to mind the Metropolitans of the fourteenth century, working for the harmony of the Moscovite monarchy, the clergy persecuted for their devotion to Russian monarchs at that cruel epoch of 1598–1613, and they hoped, in spite of two hundred bureaucratic years, to see the Church acting in the same spirit once more. The radical party, less interested in the religious questions, wished above all to turn the clergy away from the monarchical propaganda, as its influence on the religious masses would be undesirable for their republican schemes. This party desired chiefly to fill the void produced by the disappearance of the monarch, and to strengthen the breach between the Church and the State. They thought that a perfectly non-political patriarch would

fulfil these conditions. As to the clergy, who realized better than anyone else the depth of the revolutionary movement, they preferred to act prudently and keep aside from all political strife.

The Ecclesiastical Assembly had to choose three candidates for the patriarchal see. If we could know all that is concealed by the secret note, we could say that Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, who received the majority, was supported especially by the conservative party; the Metropolitan Arsene, of Novgorod, by the clergy and the clerical party; and the Metropolitan Tikhon of Moscow, who received the smallest number of votes, answered mostly to the desires of the Radicals. It was one of these three Metropolitans that divine Providence had to choose. After a solemn Church-service at St. Saviour's Cathedral, three papers—each bearing the name of one of the candidates, were put into the chalice. A blind monk, respected for his old age and holy life, after a short prayer, drew out one paper. It bore the name of the Metropolitan Tikhon. It was handed over to Arch-deacon Rosof, who was renowned in Russia for his formidable voice, and he solemnly offered up the following prayer: "May the Saviour grant many years to his Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and of all the Russias." And the crowd of worshippers, deeply moved, kneeled down before the newly elected Head of the revived Orthodox Church. Everybody was pleased, and the conservative party even hoped that the new Patriarch would not hesitate in bringing the troubled minds of his flock back to the idea of a legitimate continuation of the Romanof dynasty.

The Communist *coup d'état* interrupted the work of the Ecclesiastical Assembly, and the relations between the Patriarch and his See were not worked out in detail. This blank gave a great liberty of action to the Head of the Church, who, according to circumstances, had to organize the intermediate hierarchy himself. Patriarch Tikhon did this very cautiously, and it may be that the Orthodox Church owes its very existence to his wise prudence. He took care not to engage himself in politics, and never went beyond his rights as Head of the Church.

The Russian Church, accustomed to depend on the Emperor, who was more of a powerful protector than a severe sovereign—felt suddenly weakened, bereft of support, and thrown out upon a stormy sea, stirred up by a raging tempest. It was inevitably obliged to determine a course of action and fix an aim. If the question of drawing nearer to Rome had been seriously raised, it would have met many opponents: the ecclesiastical dignitaries, at all times hostile to Catholicism, and afraid of losing their position in case of a Church-Union, would raise dogmatic objections; married priests, menaced by celibacy, would oppose themselves to such a union by the instinct of a race afraid of putting an end to its own existence—and the nationalists would have put forward the question of Byzantine

traditions and of the tragic fate of Orthodoxy in Poland. It would also not have been surprising to have heard the opinion of the "Eurasists," that it would be wiser for Russia to draw closer to Asia, where the Russians could form the aristocracy of an Eastern civilization. Having rejected the idea of an agreement with the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church had to remain faithful to its own traditions of loyalty towards the temporal power, which, according to St. Paul, comes from God. But this was easier to do during the monarchy than at this moment, when Russia lay under the yoke of the Bolsheviks—those fanatics of anti-deistical doctrines. And the Russian Church stood irresolute, awaiting further events, which soon unfolded themselves with cinematographical rapidity. And it is at that moment that the "Living Church" came to life.

This theme, which I have now the temerity to approach, is one of the most obscure, as all information on the subject is so contradictory and partial that one can hardly give it credit. In these pages I shall try to expose only what I really believe to be true, basing myself upon evident facts.

The Living Church sprang from the Russian Orthodox Church and, supported by the Bolshevik authorities, aimed at, if not completely ruining, at least decomposing and absorbing, the ancient Church, which, in the tumult of the Revolution, had retired from all political life, and confined itself within the walls of a purely spiritual institution.

In the history of the Living Church we must distinguish four distinct phases:—

- (1) Its appearance during the complete moral and social revolution of Russia.
- (2) Its rapid development to the detriment of the Orthodox Church, persecuted by the Soviet Government.
- (3) Its gradual return to Orthodox rites and rules, and
- (4) Its decadence and disappearance.

I shall try, as far as my information allows me, to explain here the part that this extraordinary movement played in the life of the Russian Orthodox Church.

I

The Russian Revolution produced great confusion in the organization of the Orthodox Church. We can well realize its moral state during the first months of communistic tyranny. And yet there exists a number of Orthodox believers who accuse the Russian clergy of having been too passive. Lenin was not a political man—he was not even the head of a party: he was an active apostle of Communism, and it is the epithet of "Prophet" that he frequently received from his devoted followers. Consequently it was not

Church and State which met face to face in the beginning of 1918—but two representatives of totally opposed religions—his Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of all the Russias, and Comrade Lenin, Apostle of Christian doctrines mutilated by materialism. The chief care of the former was to save the convalescent Church from utter destruction; the latter was absorbed in the structure of the Soviet Republic, and consequently neither had the desire of war, although each knew that a cruel struggle would be inevitable in the end.

The Revolution set all passions and vices free, and gave all sectarians the right of preaching their creed—for which they were prosecuted during the Empire. Under the name of "Liberty" all moral and social obligations that every civilized society imposes on its members were abolished. Such words, as rude, cynic, vulgar—profanation, violation, murder, theft, honour, duty, conscience—as anti-revolutionary and bourgeois terms, were prohibited by the mad and depraved crowd. It was a mania, almost a cult of the word "Red." It was considered well to use this adjective as an addition to all possible words. There existed red generals, red barristers, red soldiers, red peasants, red prisons, red courts of justice, etc. For the "Reds" there were no prohibitive laws. "Red" was the antithesis to "bourgeois." And at that period the world was turned upside down. The "Reds" were ready to do anything they could so as not to appear like a "bourgeois," and we must acknowledge that they went very far in this direction of sweeping away all that reminded of the former *régime*. This moral state of mind did not enchant all the Bolshevik leaders: they began to feel troubled by the endless claims of the masses. As to the Church, bound to maintain and preach morality—its trials were very hard, and it naturally suffered much more than the Soviet Government.

Thus the general depravity bent the scales to the advantage of the red rulers. This regrettable movement at last took hold of the Church. Certain priests began to "redden" from the first days of the Revolution. I personally had the opportunity of seeing a "red" burial, in the autumn of 1917. A "red" soldier, who died in a "red" hospital, was piously put by his comrades into a coffin painted red. On the lid of the coffin, which is carried in Russia at the head of the procession, were to be seen red flowers and ribbons, and the "red" priest, wearing red vestments, preceded the funeral procession. According to the Church rules he ought to have worn on that occasion silver vestments—the red ones being used only during the commemoration-services for Christian martyrs, but the priest turned "red." A year later the number of such priests was considerable, and they grew more and more self-confident in their acts and manners in comparison with that part of the clergy, who silently clothed themselves in their correct vestments. These ecclesiastical innovators did not content themselves with inoffensive liberalism, such as the red funeral

described above, and began to adapt orthodox dogmas and rules to the moral conditions of a new mode of life.

The causes of these innovations were very numerous. First of all, the priests who were less devoted to their religion, were afraid of remaining outside the general movement, which had prevailed and become dangerous to them—the former Tzarist functionaries. From a feeling of cautiousness, and also from the habit of being always on good terms with the mighty—these worst elements strove to make friends with the future opponents of their Church. Some of them, in the quality of functionaries thinking only of their own career, tried to remove those of their colleagues who were not capable of such dishonest and unworthy behaviour. It is also possible that some priests took this line, hoping in this way to exercise more effectively their influence over the masses. Anyway, we must agree that in 1918 a considerable part of the Russian clergy was caught by this infection. These dissenters, disorganized as they were, had to look for new forms of religion. The Church, headed by Patriarch Tikhon, being unfit to act against such a movement without the help of the former Home-office, remained more or less silent, and it is this attitude of the Church that we can perhaps reproach, for it encouraged the innovators, and allowed the street disorder to penetrate into the precincts of the Church. They began by making themselves comfortable, and anything they found inconvenient for themselves was rejected as “bourgeois.” All that was desirable was admitted as “red.” Monks were allowed to marry, and nevertheless perform their monastic functions; widowed priests married a second time; married priests were allowed to occupy a bishop's see, etc.

A high and impenetrable wall stood between the black clergy (namely, the monks, from among whom Archimandrites, Bishops, and Metropolitans were recruited) and the white clergy, by which we understand parish priests and deacons, allowed to marry but once, before their ordination. This custom allowed the priests to come into closer contact with their parishioners, whom they had to guide—but the Church was governed only by monks, who had abandoned the world to devote their whole life to God. Before becoming Bishops, *i.e.*, successors of the Apostles, they had to pronounce the great vows of abnegation and achieve distinction in the monasteries by their pious and virtuous life.

But behold, in Kiev, in the very cradle of Russian Orthodoxy, a married priest was dedicated to the sacred office of Metropolitan by a crowd of exalted peasant-women, who formed a chain from the shrine of St. Barbe to the “Metropolitan” kneeling before the altar. Similar cases took place in several other towns, to the detriment of the Orthodox cult. The “red” priests started improvising new prayers during church-service. Sometimes these improvisations were more or less successful, but could not compensate for the dis-

orders that followed as a fatal result of such individual fantasy. They disfigured the Church-service to such an extent that even those who knew thoroughly the rites and ceremonies of the Orthodox Church were quite perplexed.

II

The Patriarch, seeing that his decrees of excommunication brought no results, decided to convoke a Church Council; but the Soviet Government gave its consent only to the assembly of a Congress, the sole aim of which was to regulate the relations between the Government and the different religious creeds. The Orthodox Church desired to sweep away all undesirable elements and organize a majority that had remained faithful to its religious dogmas. The Communists, in their turn, desired to assemble a Congress, in which this majority of faithful Orthodox believers would be crushed by the red party, whose numbers would be increased by all the dissidents from Orthodoxy, who were now, after the Revolution, allowed the full liberty of following their creed. The results of this Congress were to the Communists an agreeable surprise. They found here new means to weaken the ancient Church by constituting the “New Living Church.” This Church, far from giving its dogmas a definite shape, formed a block of most variable and mobile cults, in all things obedient to the Soviet Government. The true Orthodox believers, disheartened by all the preceding facts, did not attend the Congress, and thus encouraged the Communist fanatics in their decision to make war against the Church.

The second phase in the existence of the Living Church was distinguished by the persecution and humiliation of the Orthodox Church. It lasted nearly three years. The priests were obliged to form syndicates and corporations, similar to the typographers, miners, railwaymen, etc. It is needless to explain the inconvenience of such an absurd measure. After that they directed their attention to the Church buildings. Beautiful cathedrals were transformed into halls for meetings, cinemas, clubs. The ikons were taken away, without any regard for the feelings of the pious church-goers. But this gave birth to general indignation, which united not only the representatives of different cults, but even those indifferent to religion. Here and there the voice of protest was raised—that of the parishioners louder than that of the clergy—the voice of women louder than that of men. In Batoum and Odessa, for instance, the simple market-women drove away with sticks and stones a detachment of the red militia who came to requisition a Church.

The terrible famine, which followed closely the Communistic agrarian reforms, induced the Soviet Government to take extraordinary measures. Russia, which under the Emperors existed chiefly by the export of her corn, saw herself compelled to import corn from

abroad. The Church possessed hidden riches, which it did not wish to give away to the Bolshevik Government, being sure that they would disappear in the commissaries' purses. Perhaps, at that moment, the Church failed in doing a fine action by not declaring that the Orthodox cloisters, faithful to their traditions of helping the poor, were ready to give up their treasures of their own free will. Unhappily several monasteries and churches went so far as to conceal their riches, and it was only by force, and after energetic perquisitions, that the "Tchekas" at last took possession of them. Naturally this was used as a weapon of propaganda against the Church and clergy in the regions stricken by famine.

It is sometimes better to face events in advance than to await their arrival. But we must also say that it is much easier for us, living under the protection of stable laws, to criticize than it was to act during the chaos of the Russian Revolution. After having excited the masses, stupefied by hunger and cold, by this propaganda, the Communists attacked the very dogmas of the Orthodox religion. The autopsy of the relics of the Saints took place everywhere. At the present moment you can see in the "red" museums the bones or dried-up bodies of Russian Saints, and even wax figures, which were found in the churches during these perquisitions. The soldiers of the red Army, full of consternation, assisted at these proceedings. Cases of madness and of sudden death, which happened on these occasions, are not denied even by Bolsheviks. It is said, for instance, that the physician who accomplished the autopsy of the mortal remains of St. Joasaph of Belgorod, was stricken by blindness the next day. All this brought on a series of great troubles in Russia.

Some said that wax figures were found in the sumptuous sarcophagi; others praised the cunning of the monks, who succeeded in hiding the real holy relics, and replacing them by false ones. Consequently, the results attained by these sacrileges were very diverse, and the rumours that arose prove that neither the Orthodox believers were shaken in their faith, nor the number of atheists increased. During this period the Living Church formed its ranks—the false Metropolitan Antonine and the "red" priest Krasnitsky placing themselves at its head. But in spite of this it did not become more definite in its structure. Its clergy consisted mostly of adventurers, who had neither faith, nor sense of honour, and whose sole desire was to follow the profession which they knew more or less—that of being a priest without having the soul of a priest. The Living Church, in order to attract those parishioners who had fled from the persecuted Orthodox Church, had to reduce its innovations to the minimum. In 1921 the Russian emigrants, who came directly from Russia, asserted that the difference between the two cults was not so great. At any rate, many functionaries, who feared to be seen in a patriarchal church, in need of religious guidance, attended the

Mass officiated by red priests. These last, having rejected the canonic and administrative power of the Patriarch, gained the support of the Soviet Government, and profited by this to get hold of the best town and village parishes, where they could settle firmly and be sure of not being annoyed by the Church authorities. The Living Church was, in fact, only an association of individuals, who had failed in life and who, having earned a bad reputation, could not expect to play any important part in the true Orthodox Church. Besides, the political events could only encourage them in forsaking the ancient Church, fated to be persecuted by the Soviets.

Famine, the inseparable companion of Communism, always served the Soviet Government as a good pretext for seizing everything that had any value. The Church-vessels, which were generally made of solid silver, and often of gold, attracted their avidity. Perquisitions were renewed with such zeal that many churches lost all possibility of performing divine service. It would be interesting to learn in what proportion the revenue of these perquisitions was divided between the famished population, the propaganda service, and the pockets of the commissaries. Patriarch Tikhon, brought to the end of endurance, decided at last to proclaim aloud all the humiliations endured by the Church. He excommunicated all the Soviet functionaries who took part in the above-mentioned acts of infamy and sacrilege. But the faithful Orthodox believers had but little time to rejoice at the firmness of their spiritual chief, for the epoch of martyrdom began: bishops were executed for having communicated the text of the Patriarch's decree to their dioceses; priests were killed for having refused to deliver to commissaries the holy vessels, which priests only can touch; parishioners were murdered for having hidden precious objects belonging to their churches. The Bolsheviks, wishing to avoid the impression of a persecution directed solely against the Orthodox Church, made efforts to apply the same policy in respect to Catholics, Jews and Mohammedans.

III

Now let us pass to the third phase of the Living Church. It is here, perhaps, that the part played by the Living Church in the history of the Orthodox Church appears at its best. Its administrative measures, except the numerous executions, were very simple. In 1922 the Patriarch was imprisoned. He named Metropolitan Agafangel as his substitute. But Agafangel notified all the bishops that, in view of the impossibility of giving necessary directions from Moscow, he ordered the organization of local synods, in order to settle those questions which were beyond the competency of the bishops. The number of such synods was to correspond to the geographical and administrative condition of the country. For instance, the

over by Metropolitan Anthony—the first candidate to the patriarchal See. But Metropolitan Agafangel, before arriving at Moscow, was thrown into prison, and consequently could not take the place of Patriarch Tikhon. The central administration of the Church being suppressed, the Soviet Government started an official inquiry which compelled every priest to declare very definitely whether he recognized the authority of the Patriarch, or that of the Living Church. Most of the priests, although faithful to the Orthodox Church, but burdened with numerous families, and accustomed to obey the Government, answered in such a way that the Patriarch was forced to believe that he had scarcely any faithful sons amongst the priests in Russia. Those who closely followed these tragic moments in the history of the Orthodox Church, from Western Europe, might suppose that the Orthodox Church had come to her end. But Russia is a land of miracles, and it was only after a baptism of blood and dishonour that the real resurrection of the Church began. This resurrection took two aspects: (1) there was a kernel of faithful believers who stood firm and unshaken in spite of all their trials, and (2) the predominance in the Living Church of new adherents who in the depth of their hearts remained faithful to the old Orthodox dogmas and rites. This time the parishioners showed great moral strength and gained the victory.

The Patriarch Tikhon and his substitute, the Metropolitan Agafangel, were imprisoned. There remained in Moscow only the rulers of the Living Church. These hastened to nominate a "false" Metropolitan for Petrograd. This latter, arriving at his See on the banks of the Neva in the late afternoon, drove immediately to the Cathedral of our Lady of Kazan, where he officiated before an immense congregation. During this service he did not recite the assigned prayers for the Patriarch, but introduced several new prayers, improvised by the Living Church. When he came out of the Cathedral and was passing under the beautiful colonnade, he was met by shouts and yells of indignation, and in spite of the efforts of the police he was hit by several stones and gravely injured. Cries of "Be off! we don't want you, we have our real Metropolitan!" rose from all sides. It is needless to say that this was quite sufficient for the real Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd to be arrested. He was brought before the "red" tribunal and accused of having organized a political revolt.

I pointed out above that the Russian bishops are compelled to be monks, and I shall add that a Russian monk loses all civil rights. When he takes his vows, his last will is executed as if he were dead; he abandons his family and surname, takes another name, and henceforth a new life begins for him. Flowing black garments, long hair, a beard, a name taken from olden times preceded by the word

"father"—those are the sacred attributes of a Russian monk. For a Metropolitan, which is the highest episcopal dignity, all these attributes are all the more indispensable. The trial of Metropolitan Benjamin took place in Moscow before a crowded auditory, and the accused appeared before his judges in civilian dress, torn and tattered, beardless, and his hair cut short. Such an exterior for a Russian dignitary was so startling, even after five long years of a Soviet régime, that nobody recognized the Metropolitan in the accused. "Are you citizen so-and-so?" was the first question put to him. "No," he answered gravely, "I am Benjamin, Metropolitan of Petrograd." Only then did the crowd, more curious than hostile, realize what terrible humiliations this venerable man had endured before confronting his judges, and a murmur of indignation ran through the hall. The Metropolitan turned towards the public, and with a familiar and solemn gesture blessed the crowd, making with his two hands the sign of the cross in three directions. Everybody stood up, the sentinels took off their caps, and even the judges did not dare to remain sitting. But immediately an order was given to clear the hall, and the next day Metropolitan Benjamin was executed. One martyr more or less in the tragic history of the Soviet Government could not trouble the conscience of the Communistic leaders. But the very foundation of the Living Church was shaken.

The Russian is accustomed to changes taking place in the highest spheres of his Church: Metropolitans and Patriarchs were succeeded by the Holy Synod, after which we see the return of the Patriarch. Prayers offered for the Synod of the Living Church during liturgy do not trouble him much. But the least modification in Church-rites exasperates him. We have seen that there existed two types of priests in the Living Church: the "red" priests of 1917, and those who joined the new cult after the enquiry which followed the Patriarch's imprisonment. The first made bold essays to change the dogmas, rites, and their own political attitude: they said that the Orthodox Church remains immobile in its Byzantine traditions; that the progress of humanity must have an influence over the forms of religion, and that the stability of dogmas and rites are killing the beauty of Christian doctrine. In these reforms the most daring turned back to Paganism, offering, for example, a prayer to the Sun. During the third period of the history of the Living Church the red priests do not reject the Orthodox *Credo*, but in rites and customs submit to the innovations, which can be characterized in a few words: under pretext of democracy the red priests and parishioners free themselves from all that inconveniences them. The Patriarch's authority is rejected for two reasons: (1) At the supreme moment of democratic triumph the absolute power of one man is proclaimed inadmissible. (2) The personality of Patriarch Tikhon, the Metropolitan of the Czar, cannot fit in with the ideas of a free people. In

order to underline the fact that henceforth the clergy and free citizens must draw nearer to each other, the Ikonostases which separated the Altar from the congregation were abolished, and there were several cases when the Eucharist was celebrated in the middle of the church. Finally the red clergy proclaimed in sermons that the Communists were the "executors of the divine will," that Communism was the "realization of Christ's Kingdom on earth," and that the duty of every Christian was to obey the Government.

As for those priests who joined the Living Church out of feeling of fear or prudence, they did not contradict these theories, but chose other themes for their sermons. At that time of supreme demoralization and innumerable sufferings a true servant of God could not complain of having too few themes for preaching. This class of priests observed all orthodox rites and ceremonies, but recognized the authority of the Synod of the Living Church. From the Government's point of view these priests were, of course, accepted, as well as the true "red" priests, but the parishioners showed them a preference. Even the Soviet functionaries who were afraid of going to a patriarchal church, considered that they had the right to attend service in an "ordinary" church. Henceforth, the struggle between the patriarchal and the Living Church is transferred into the very heart of this last in the form of a professional competition between two types of priests. Having proclaimed the democratization of the Church, the "red" clergy could not impose their precepts upon their parishioners. On the contrary, they had to satisfy their claims. Besides this, the income of the priests depended upon the size of their flocks. Consequently we need not wonder when emigrants coming from Russia tell us that in reality there is no difference between the patriarchal and the Living Church, except that the former offers prayers for the Patriarch Tikhon, while the latter—for the Synod.

The Bolsheviks fought against the external forms of the Church, but ignored its spirit, which gained a brilliant victory over them. The Bolsheviks, with their Living Church, instead of annulling Orthodoxy, have involuntarily weakened their own position, which is hostile to all religion. Communism was expected to keep the Soviet citizens firmly in hand—body and soul—and instead of that the Soviet Government was induced to recognize Christianity under the form of the Living Church, and be on good terms with it. It was hoped and practically expected that this Church, supported by the State, would absorb the former Church, and would in its turn be absorbed by the desert of Paganism and philosophical doctrines. But the spirit of the Orthodox Church proved to be much stronger than its forms, and transferred into the Living Church, exercised a dominative influence over this last.

IV

The fourth period of this transitory institution began with the reconciliation of the Patriarch Tikhon with the Soviet Government. It is needless to say that the Living Church could exist only as long as the enmity between the Patriarch and the Government lasted.

At the beginning of 1924 the Soviet newspapers published a decree, issued by the Patriarch, in which he, in very precise terms, recognized formally the Soviet Government. This event was a great blow to the Russian emigrants, who, not desiring to contradict the Patriarch, tried to prove that the document was a forgery, fabricated in the offices of the "red" Kremlin. Rumours arose that the aged Patriarch, who had endured many hard months of imprisonment, was not conscious of what he was doing when signing this document, and finally it was said that he was not free in his actions.

We should agree to these interpretations, if the following acts did not prove to all impartial observers that neither age, nor trials, had dimmed the lucidity of the Patriarch's mind. These acts are logical, prudent and wise, and show that the Orthodox Church has regained its self-confidence of the first centuries.

Let us examine the facts. Released from imprisonment by the Soviet authorities, Patriarch Tikhon addressed a long message to all Orthodox believers, in which he declared that all the clergy belonging to the Living Church, who had received consecration conforming to the rules of the true Orthodox Church, were forgiven and could return back into the heart of the Mother-Church, in the same rank, fulfilling the same functions as in the Living Church, but on one condition: that of proclaiming aloud in the presence of their parishioners their full repentance for having forsaken for a time the true faith. This ceremony was performed with great solemnity, not only by those priests who had gone over to the Living Church out of fear, but also by the majority of the "red" priests, who foresaw the approaching end of this artificially created "red" Church. Even Krasnitsky, one of the former dignitaries of the Living Church, belongs at the present moment to the true Orthodox Church.

In order to understand correctly such a retreat, we must become acquainted with the new attitude of the Soviet Government towards the Orthodox Church. Patriarch Tikhon, who died on the 7th April, 1925, was buried according to all the canons and traditions of the Church. The impressive ceremony, at which five Metropolitans, 63 bishops, and a choir of 100 priests assisted, lasted from early in the morning till 7 o'clock in the evening. The funeral procession, followed by a crowd of about 100,000 persons, proceeded through the whole town of Moscow. The Soviet newspapers, desirous of explaining such an unusual liberalism, wrote: "The Soviet Government had the

power and generosity to accord full liberty of travel, assemblies and ceremonies, to all anti-revolutionary Church dignitaries who wished to assist at the burial of their Chief, the late Patriarch." But, three years before, the same Government had persecuted these same priests for the sole crime of celebrating a Mass. They were accused of "performing inexplicable ceremonies, accompanied by incomprehensible vociferations with the sole aim of enriching themselves at the cost of the ignorant and obscure masses." (The above clause, which had been forgotten for 75 years, was originally written by the legislators of the Imperial Government against wizards, who still practised at the beginning of the nineteenth century their regrettable profession in the depths of Russia.) If we compare these two different attitudes, we see that the explanation of the Soviet papers is not sincere. It did not depend solely on the "generosity and power of the Soviet Government," but on the strength of religion, which the Soviets could not destroy.

The Living Church at the present moment is an organization not worth even a decree of suppression, so powerless and small in numbers, has it become. It is supported by the Soviet Government, either in order to keep in reserve a constitution which might be useful, or—which is more probable—in order to reward its partisans for their devotion. From a bureaucratic point of view we can now consider the Living Church as a survival of an administrative service, which continues to maintain several functionaries useful in the past, but of no use at the present moment.

To be entirely truthful, we must acknowledge that the clergy of the Living Church have involuntarily played the part of scouts or secret agents of the Orthodox Church. Without compromising the Patriarch, they came to an agreement with the Government, which was hostile to the Church; they cleansed and enlarged the ground of confessional security in the limits allowed to them by the Soviet Government. Disappearing, they gave up their place to the Orthodox Church, which has again resumed its loyal attitude towards the official authorities.

In the past history of Russia we can find two examples that may have been present in the mind of the Patriarch Tikhon at the time of his reconciliation with the Soviet Government.

In the thirteenth century Russia was invaded by Tartars. The Russian princes were obliged to present themselves at the headquarters of Genghis Khan, in order to pay the fixed ransom and to get permission to govern their provinces. Prince Michael of Tchernigof was the first to accomplish this mortifying pilgrimage. Stifling his feelings of self-esteem, he went through all that was prescribed by the Tartars. But, when ordered to kneel down before an idol, he firmly refused, saying that it was inadmissible for a Christian to perform Pagan rites. The Tartars had no intention of converting,

the Prince to their religion, but demanded proofs of his respect for their religion. Still he refused. Then they tried to make him comply by force; but the Prince resisted to the last, and died in tortures. Soon after this all his domains were devastated.

A few years later Prince Alexander of Novgorod, called Nevsky, after a brilliant victory on the banks of the Neva, was also obliged to pay homage before Genghis Khan. His position was pitiful: he was convinced that in falling down before an idol he was betraying Christianity and committing a sin, which God would never forgive, and he asked himself if it were not better to follow Prince Michael's example. But in that case he would not be the only one to suffer: all his subjects would have to share his fate—be ruined and tormented to death. Prince Alexander decided to sacrifice his soul to save the life of his subjects. He did all that the Tartars exacted. But his moral sufferings were such that at the age of 45 he turned suddenly white, and was so oppressed and crushed that he died on his journey back to Moscow.

These two Princes are canonized by the Orthodox Church. I do not intend saying that one becomes saint by the sole desire of a crowd of Christians, and I entirely recognise that a canonization is only an official confirmation of God's will, but I find that the deep veneration that Russians bestow upon these two Saints is very characteristic of the mentality of the nation. Both are martyrs. The one received the baptism of blood, while the other sacrificed his soul for his brethren, as it is said in the New Testament: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (St. John xv, 13).

Patriarch Tikhon could, without betraying his religion, either recognize or not recognize the political power of the Soviet Government. The consequences of his attitude, it must be owned, had more importance for the Church than for the State. His resistance would hardly have shaken the Government, but it would certainly have brought new trials upon the Church.

Chateaubriand has said, that no people have ever the right to complain of having a bad Government, for: "One has what one deserves." We must hope that Russia is after all worth something better. But the formula of the Epistle: "There is no power but of God," obliges us to see in our present state of misery a trial that we must endure to the bitter end, in order to be worthy of playing the great part that history reserves us.

The Patriarch was a monk, and his great age was a reminder to him that he might at any moment appear before his Supreme Judge. Consequently he could not be afraid of martyrdom. But he did not wish to bring trouble upon the Church and chose a part less brilliant, more modest and infinitely more useful to Orthodoxy. This part was that of a quiet and silent Chief who leads his flocks along the

path of resignation, sparing them useless struggles. We have enough martyrs. The faithful believers who remain at their post must guard the sacred fire in order to transmit it to the coming generations, which we must hope will see better days.

A VISIT TO THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.

BY ROBERT BYRON.

THE Phanar, as the Vatican of Eastern Christendom is called, the residence of His All-Holiness the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, "which is New Rome," lies at the water's edge some mile and a half up the Golden Horn, crowded about by the small wooden houses and precipitous narrow streets of Stamboul, and overhung by the huge red-brick Greek school, the guiding pole-star of all who explore on foot the labyrinths of the old Byzantine city. At the foot of a flight of steps stands a porter in his box. And if the day happens to be a festival of the New Republic, a Turkish flag, crescent and star on a bloody ground, waves derisively above his head. The visitor mounts to a kind of lych gate. Entrance, however, is effected by a wicket at the side. And it will be noticed from within that the larger gate is hung with a black canopy, and planted with a row of aspidistras. It was here, during the War of Independence, that the Patriarch Gregory was seized from the altar on Easter Day and hanged, to expiate the success of his compatriots in the Morea. But the sun shines in 1926. And a pebbled path leads to the door, amid beds of sun-flowers and cannas, roses, heliotrope, and above all of basil, the sweet herb of Byzantium. To the left, beyond a flagged yard and two tall planes, stands the facade of a little church; while in the foreground rises the high face of an undistinguished whitewashed building, relieved by long rows of windows and wooden balconies. All round are mulberries, oleanders and other plane trees.

The Patriarch Basileios is an old man. His is a more literally Christian ideal than is ordinarily retained by the high dignitaries of a Church. A certain ineffectuality, people say, characterizes the administration of the Patriarchate at the present time. The charge may be true; but in the case of men who for a whole decade have lived in daily danger of assault, robbery and murder, exposed to every indignity to which a government-controlled mob can submit them, it is not one for which they are to be condemned unheard. A short review of the history of the last few years will, perhaps, reveal the difficulties encountered by those responsible for the main fountain of the life of the Orthodox Church, and the problems, un-

paralleled since the schism of Avignon, which have arisen in Constantinople and are in need of immediate solution.

Owing to the difficulties of election during the War, the Patriarchal function was discharged, until 1920, by a *locum-tenens*. In that year, Meletios Metaxarches, formerly Metropolitan of Athens and one of the foremost adherents of British influence in the Levant, was chosen—partly through the influence of the Amyrna, a clique of exiled Veniselist officers—to assume the headship of Eastern Christendom. Whatever the irregularities of his election—if indeed they existed outside the vituperative imagination of the propagandist Roman Catholic press—the new Patriarch possessed a personality to which all shades of European opinion have paid tribute. I, myself, was honoured by him with an audience last summer in his villa at Kephissia near Athens. In the company of Dr. Wigram, the English Chaplain, I found myself before a huge black figure, whence issued words of greeting in a voice scarcely human in its range of octaves. Beneath the high cylindrical hat, coarse, silver hair, lately allowed to grow, on the announcement of his election to the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria—for at Constantinople Meletios had been a "modernist"—and cut it—seemed to merge into a pair of enormous moustachios, from beneath which, like some immense sporran, a silver beard descended full to the limits of his jewelled pectoral cross. During our conversation, coffee and *glyko*, a morella cherry syrup, were handed round, accompanied by an orange liqueur, which brought tears to my eyes. I imagined this man in the years before Lausanne, when he had found himself spiritual, and to a large degree temporal, head of the Ottoman Greeks of Turkey during their hour of victory; and I pictured his demeanour, as I had heard it described, after their defeat.

Upon his election he had assumed, as was his right, the pendant double-headed eagle of diamonds—the *stavropegion*—significant of the temporal power of the Cæsars, vested by Mahommet the Conqueror in the Patriarch Scholarios after the fall of the City, and held by his successors ever since. 1919! the moment of greatest hope in the Hellenic world since the War of Independence. Would St. Sophia, would Constantinople, "the City" of all the Greeks, shake free of the Turk? Or should it be Smyrna? Meanwhile the unity of Christendom should be furthered by the recognition of the validity of the English Orders, and the *rapprochement* of the two Churches. Meanwhile also it was Smyrna. Hope deferred waned. The ghastly retreat from Afion Kara Hissar began. And on the 9th September, 1922, Giaour Ismir, infidel Smyrna, and her enormous and wealthy Christian population were given over to the Turkish incendiaries for extermination. The Archbishop Chrysostom, his safety pledged the

day before by the British Admiral Brock, was disembowelled in the presence of the barber that had torn his beard from his face. A brave man! for he could have escaped. Such also was Meletios. And the fury of the regenerated Turk surged now day by day round the gate of the Phanar, in its narrow tree-shaded street, and often in its courtyard itself.

About this time a Turkish journalist who had declared himself pro-British, was decoyed into a car, shipped to Asia Minor and hacked to pieces with axes by the populace. What better fate, it was thought, could be devised for the Œcumenical Patriarch? Everything was arranged. A mob of *Lasés*, renegade Maltese, the scum of the city, accompanied by a limousine, appeared at the famous gate. The Patriarch was on the third floor. His room was burst open, he was seized, and dragged down the stairs. He pictured, probably, the sharpening of steel on the Asia Minor shore. The stairs were many! They were twisty. Meletios, a giant, a Sampson venerable only in appearance, clung to each banister, fought, kicked and struggled to a degree which so exhausted his kidnappers that on the second landing they must needs rest for breath. The delay saved the Patriarch's life. Constantinidis, the chief dragaman, was telephoning for the allied police. They arrived as the struggling mass was half-way down the last flight of stairs.

After this it was impossible for Meletios to stay. At the same time he refused to go. The danger to his flock if he refused at last made him consent. To get him safe past the Turkish mob out of the city required an armed force. There was a bit of a battle in London before the order for that was given. After days of dangerous delay it came. He passed; and as the towering head of Eastern Christendom strode down the cobbled street to the wharf by the water's edge, the crowd fell on its knees to receive his blessing. He retired to Mount Athos, resigning the Patriarchate some months later. Then followed the Treaty of Lausanne, the culmination of Turkish bluff.

Lord Curzon was unable to do more than insist that the Patriarchate should remain in the city of its origin. The temporal power of the Cæsars was resigned; and the Holy Synod issued an encyclical to that effect. Meanwhile the Phanar was exposed to constant outrages. A movement had been set on foot to start a Turkish National Christian Church. To lead it a renegade priest, Papa Ephtim, was found. Not content with seizing churches and holy wells, he, with his band of *Lasés* made a second assault upon the Patriarchate, interrupting a meeting of the Synod, and was, by his display of violence, largely responsible for the voluntary resignation of the Temporal Power. This was followed, in 1924, by the forcible expulsion of Meletios' successor, on the ground that he was an exchangeable Greek. He was transported by train early one morn-

ing to the frontier and there left stranded without food or money. Thus, all things considered, it is not perhaps surprising that the dignitaries of the Phanar should momentarily have found it advisable to elect an "ineffectual" Patriarch—to cast, in fact, a temporary veil of "ineffectuality" over the Phanar and all its doings.

There is, however, one problem which remains acute. With the practical extinction of Russian ecclesiastical prestige, the Œcumenical Patriarchate has reassumed in the eyes of the world, and especially of the Balkan peoples, the position of the highest authority in the Orthodox Church. More than that, the opportunity is come for the formation of a closer and more binding unity among the Orthodox Churches. But with the paralysation of Christian activity in Constantinople nothing can be done. There is no one to take the lead. The question uppermost in every man's mind is: Should the Patriarch and his *entourage* betake themselves elsewhere?

As defined on paper, the Œcumenical Patriarchate possesses a primary honour among the equally independent Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Russia. Such is the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury with regard to the Australian, Canadian, and other Anglican Churches. The status is not one of authority, but of initiative. The initiative emanates from Canterbury, the seat of the foundation of the Anglican Church. So is it with the Patriarch. Remove him from his diocese and he becomes merely an intruder into the independent jurisdiction of another Bishop or Patriarch.* Yet, as things stand at present, the position is intolerable. During the last two years negotiations were in progress toward the summons of an Œcumenical Council, attended by representatives of all the Orthodox Churches and also accredited agents of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Such a Council, the first of its kind since the last Œcumenical Council in 787, would have meant a long step forward towards the Unity of Christendom which is now becoming the hope and ideal of every enlightened churchman. But no—the Turks, incited, as I personally believe, by agents of the Vatican, announced that if the Patriarch left Constantinople he would not be allowed to return. A Council without him was unthinkable, and the project was therefore dropped.

There are also more material reasons for departure. The Patriarch and his officials live in perpetual danger. They are kept too poor to maintain the dignity of the meanest bishops of the Church. And they are exposed all the while to the officially prompted insults of Papa Ephtim. He was "selling up" a church

*Greek Metropolitans or Bishops also enjoy almost complete independence.

in Galata during my visit, and thinking that not only would I like to see this sinister figure, but also, if the fittings of the church really were being sold, to buy some of them myself, I persuaded an Armenian Jew to lead me to him. We reached the church; and a short man in a chestnut beard, his face wreathed in smiles, greeted us. The smiles remained. Yes, everything was to go, eikonostasis, pulpit, ambo, throne, lanterns, and he had stuffs and manuscripts in the bank. He walked with a bounce—the smiles multiplied—a charming personality in every respect, except that his prices were too high! On the way back, the dealer said to me: "When we've finished with that church, we are planning to make a descent on the Patriarchate and carry off *their* treasures!"

In view of all these difficulties and dangers, the one real solution would seem to lie in the removal of the Patriarchate to Mount Athos. The Holy Mountain is within the Patriarchal diocese. It is impregnable in so far as its independent being is guaranteed by international treaty. And it is the only remaining fortress of the old Byzantine life, the Joyous Life that once flourished along the wooded banks of the Bosphorus, the most delectable existence that the world has ever known. Yet disadvantages are apparent. Athos is inaccessible. There are no roads on the peninsula nor to it. To make it an active centre of the Orthodox Christianity would be straining an almost impossible point. Further, the monks themselves would be the last to welcome the invasion of a higher authority other than their own, and the Ecumenical Patriarch is their theoretical head. Also there is no doubt that the Athonite peninsula is so identified with Hellenic nationalism that an Ecumenical Patriarch resident in it would lose his prestige in other Orthodox countries. All said and done, Constantinople is a capital—a City—and will remain so. It has the atmosphere of a capital—which no other Balkan town possesses. It has schools and colleges for the Greeks. It is one of the great trading centres of the world. If Kemal is drinking as they say he drinks, the present régime in Turkey is only temporary. So also, let us hope, is the momentary depression of Constantinople as "the City" of all the Greeks.

MY VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX ACADEMY AT PARIS.

The following account of a visit to the Russian Academy in Paris was written by Professor Korenchevsky as a Report to the Committee of the Russian Clergy Appeal at their request.

I SPENT four days, from December 31st to January 3rd, in Paris in order to become acquainted with the organization, work and life of the Academy. Except Sunday, these days were ordinary business days. I spoke with several of the professors and students; I attended the daily lectures, meals, recreations and Church services of the Academy, and I have seen all the buildings and rooms. The following paragraphs summarize my impressions:—

1. *Lectures and Courses.* All the lectures began and ended punctually at the clock signal. The students give the greatest attention to the lectures, for, besides their interest in the subject, they need to make accurate notes in order to study for their examinations, since, in most cases, owing to the lack of textbooks (which are very expensive and usually impossible to obtain outside Russia) they have no other source of information.

The great concentration of the students at the lectures on the Divine subjects creates a spiritual atmosphere, which I felt profoundly, and which converts some of the lectures into prayers without words.

All the courses which have to be taught according to the original plan communicated to the Appeal were carried out without exception.

2. *Staff of Lecturers.*—The lecturers are quite satisfactory and qualified. The professors living in the Academy live in the simplest conditions, practically in monastic cells. As happens in all the Universities, there are lecturers who are very dear and near to the students, and others who are less gifted as lecturers and educationalists. As the result of my talks with students, without mentioning any names, the most popular lecturers number nine, while six are less popular. Certainly this does not mean that they are unsatisfactory teachers.

The Academy is organized in exile by *émigrés*, and while some lecturers could be replaced, in Russia, by others more experienced and possessing higher scientific degrees, nearly all the available lecturers among the Russian *émigrés* were incorporated into the Academic Staff. Of the desirable candidates invited to form the Academy Staff, only those were omitted who demanded too large a salary for the financial resources of the Academy or were unable to join the Academy for other personal reasons. These large salaries were asked in order to support large families. When the finances

of the Academy improve, three or four lecturers, Professor Gloubokovsky, Professor Troitzky, and others, who are both important and necessary for the work, will be invited to join the staff.

The most popular and beloved professor amongst the students of the Academy is Father Sergius Bulgakoff. When attending his lectures the students forget both time and fatigue, the latter sometimes being very great, since the work is very strenuous.

3. *Students.*—Before coming to the Academy most of the students experienced a very hard life of poverty, hunger and danger of execution by the Bolsheviks. Many of them lost their parents in the most tragic circumstances during the Revolution and time of exile. Therefore, a great number of the students entered the Academy in a state of physical exhaustion. Roughly, about seventy five per cent. of the students were attracted to the Academy by an ardent desire to ascend as far as lay in their power all the steps of Orthodoxy. I saw myself some ascetics among them, and I do not doubt that the life of several of them will give new examples to the Russian people of the Orthodox achievement in their priestly or monastic service. I remember one student of ascetic appearance reading the life of the Saints during the meals; several of us were unable to resist the charm of his voice, full of deep devotion, and therefore paid less attention to the food. Several of them were very poorly dressed, since the Academy is unable to provide them with clothes.

How high is the moral and ascetic standard of some of them will be seen from the following incident. I called on one of the married students living with his wife and child in a very small room outside the Academy. Except for a bed, a table and one chair, the furniture was made out of old boxes. Many ikons with lighted sanctuary lamp were in the east corner of the room, and everything was very clean. They lived in great poverty, and therefore I specially wished to visit them. After a long talk with the student, who belonged to the best type of the Academy, I wanted to offer him a couple of hundred francs. With warm thanks and a gentle smile he emphatically refused to accept them, with the words, "I cannot accept money which I have not earned." I was told that friendly help to several students of that type in the Academy is practically impossible.

Many of them spend their recreation time in the Church of the Academy assisting at the services. Father Sergius told me that only once did he succeed in coming first into the Church for morning service (7 a.m.), on which occasion he did so intentionally. I should say that this good type of theological student prevailing in the Academy gives to the Academy a special spiritual atmosphere.

Of the remaining twenty-five per cent. of the students it is necessary to say that many of them are more or less satisfactory, but more of the University type than of the semi-monastic Theological

Academy. Their spiritual development has only just started. Comparatively few are of doubtful use to the Academy, but the Orthodox spirit of our Orthodox schools prohibits their expulsion from the Academy before being absolutely convinced of their uselessness.

In any case the severe and semi-monastic character of the life of the Academy seems to be troublesome only to some of the students of the latter group.

4. *The Government and Some Points in the Organization of the Academy.*—Weekly conferences of the professors of the Academy are held, at which the whole plan of education and teaching is organized, discussed and criticized in the light of each week of experience. Bishop Benjamin carries this out, being elected as the Inspector of the Academy, supported by Professor Besobrasoff and Mr. Kisselevsky. In addition, each individual case concerning any incidents in the life or scientific progress of students is discussed at these conferences.

Taking into consideration the semi-monastic Orthodox character of the life and education in the Academy, the government and organization of the Academy seems to be satisfactory. It is very essential that the budget of the Academy be increased, that it may be possible for such important and desirable lecturers as Professors Globukovsky and Troitzky and some others to join the staff.

Undoubtedly the hygienic conditions could be improved, but at the present time this is impossible owing to lack of finances. The following points should be taken into consideration for the desirable improvement in the hygienic conditions of the Academy :—

- (a) Each student should be provided with the usual black priest under-vestment (podriasnik). The students themselves, of both groups, are very willing to wear this vestment in the Academy.
- (b) Regular gymnastics in the open air under the inspection of a trained physician should be introduced for those students who are not too advanced in their ascetic training.
- (c) The students seem to be too crowded; more room for bedrooms is necessary.
- (d) In the large bedrooms a space surrounding the bed of each student should be converted into a cell by means of sheets of linen, thus giving more opportunity to the student for rest, quiet work, concentration and prayer.
- (e) The lavatories should be improved and heated.

5. *Summary.*—Summarizing my impressions of the scientific organization, life, staff and students of the Academy, I feel justified in saying that considering the poor financial resources and the conditions of exile the Theological Academy is organized and conducted in a quite satisfactory manner. It will give to the Russian people and

the Russian Church several priests, deacons and monks of high standard and true Orthodox tradition. Some divergence in the opinion of both groups of students about the spiritual guidance of the Academy as to a more monastic or civil character of its organization is natural, and is controlled by the professional staff under the Metropolitan Eulogius, in accordance with the best traditions of our Orthodox Academies. With improvement of the finances some improvement in organization and life will be executed.

The Academy is really a sanctuary lamp which your help as well has lighted. God bless you for that brotherly Christian deed!

(Signed) V. KORENCHEVSKY

The Lister Institute, London,
7th January, 1927.

THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE PROPOPE AVVAKUM—NON- CONFORMIST AND MARTYR.

By SONIA E. HOWE.

III

Three years were spent on the return journey. He arrived in the Capital in the spring of 1664 and received a hearty welcome. Even Alexei Mikhailovitch was pleased to see him again, for the "gentle and most pious Tsar" not only respected Avvakum for the strength of his convictions, but was genuinely attached to him—a state of mind difficult to reconcile with the fact that it was by his orders that his friend had been banished. Avvakum, for his part, seems to have been naturally drawn to Alexei, for, *intransigent* as he was with others, he always gave the Tsar the benefit of the doubt, hoping to the end that he would finally succeed in bringing him to his way of thinking.

Strangely enough, although Nikon had been deprived of all authority, his revisions and reforms were accepted by the Council and incorporated finally into the Church. Thus, although this bitter antagonist had been rendered innocuous, Avvakum was still in danger on account of the general attitude of the Church. For the moment, however, all seemed to promise well for the returned exile. Received with every honour, he was lodged in the Hostel of the Novo Dievitchie Monastery within the walls of the Kremlin. The Tsar frequently showed him signs of favour, always asking for his blessing when State affairs called him outside the Kremlin.

Avvakum took advantage of the opportunity afforded him of presenting a petition to the Tsar, in which he urged him to cleanse the Church of all false doctrines.

For six months Avvakum lived in peace and quiet. Hopefully looking forward to the longed-for return to the "Old Way," this faithful shepherd carried on his pastoral work. Besides giving personal comfort and encouragement to the members of his flock in Moscow, he wrote numerous letters, sermons and polemical treatises.

After some time he again petitioned the Tsar to return to the Old Belief, but without success. Now the Ecclesiastical Authorities, especially the New Patriarch, began to complain of the zealous priest's activities, whereby, they affirmed, he was leading the masses astray. The Tsar, however, still trusting that in time he would come to terms with the Nikonians, merely sent a reprimand to Avvakum who, for his part, clung tenaciously to the hope that he would eventually win the Tsar to his way of thinking—a strange similarity of optimism in two such opposite natures. His repeated petitions to the Tsar and attacks on opponents naturally led to renewed persecution, and in the year 1669, half a year only after his return to Moscow, he was once more sent into banishment—this time to the prison of Pustosersk, situated not far from the shores of the Kara Sea. When he heard that this was to be his destination, the heart of the brave man failed—for his beloved family's sake he dreaded a repetition of the hardships suffered during the first exile. It was the husband and father in him which prompted him to write and ask the Tsar for a mitigation of his hard sentence, at least to the extent of allowing him to remain in Kholmogori, or some other less distant town. "I fear my children will die of cold on the journey . . . during my first exile two of my sons succumbed to the hardships they had to endure." He describes all the horrors of frost and blizzard, and begs for mercy—the only time he ever did such a thing.

The reply to this appeal was far from satisfactory. All he gained was that he was sent to Mezen instead of Pustosersk. His courage, which faltered but for a moment, quickly revived—once again he became the strong and resolute leader, accusing his opponents and encouraging his followers with winged words which flew to the utmost bounds of the Empire.

Some two years later he was carried back to Moscow, to be brought before the Church Council which had been called to settle the disputes before Nikon and the Tsar, and between the Reformers and the Old Believers. The members of the Council, realizing his power over the hearts and minds of the people, did their utmost to win Avvakum over to their side, but the strength of his convictions and his temperament made compromise impossible. Although

fully aware of what it would cost him, he never swerved for an instant from the position he had taken up. Therefore, because he "did not submit, but in all things withstood" the Council which he even stigmatized as "unorthodox," he was unfrocked and excommunicated.

Fearing the opposition of the people, the Authorities ordered the accused to be taken in the dead of night under a strong guard to a monastery, where he was kept a prisoner during the sitting of the Council. Prison walls failed to form a barrier between the people and their beloved leader, for they came in crowds to the monastery as pilgrims to pray at its sacred shrine. The Tsar himself visited his place of confinement, but, lacking the moral courage to enter his old friend's cell, merely paced up and down in front of his window, another illustration of the inconsistent waverings of the Tsar. By his order Nikon is banished, yet he weeps and bemoans his absence; his command puts Avvakum under lock and key, yet he asks for a blessing from the prisoner. He protects many Old Believers from the violence of the Ecclesiastical Authorities, and yet he allows a woman like the Boyarinya Morozov to be condemned and tortured and then finally himself sends her into exile.

Avvakum still proving a menace, for even his guards the Streltsi favoured him and his teaching, it was judged imperative to put him out of reach of his friends and sympathizers. Consequently he was sent to the Borovsk Monastery, the abbot of which was commanded to "put him into prison and keep him there securely so that he should not escape from the Monastery nor cause any further mischief; neither was he to be given either ink or paper, nor was anyone to be admitted to him." Once more the efforts of the Authorities were frustrated, for there were here, as elsewhere, sympathizers within the building who admitted those from without who came to seek instruction and advice.

More than one attempt was made to win him over by means of promises and threats. To the latter the brave protopope always replied: "Think not that the fear of death will move me, for it is not physical but spiritual death I dread." When the last hope of gaining his adherence was gone, the Council demanded that, as his chastisement by the Church had proved so inadequate, the secular power should now be permitted to inflict punishment upon the recalcitrant cleric. The Tsar was reluctant to give his consent to this and therefore, although they cut out the tongues of two of his fellow believers, Avvakum himself remained untouched. He and his poor tortured friends, however, were sent off at once to the far-distant Pustosersk.

With characteristic inconsistency Alexei Mikhailovitch sent the following message to the man whom he had deprived of liberty:

"Wherever thou mayest find thyself, cease not to remember us in thy prayers." This Avvakum did, even in his dungeon, or "living tomb," as he called it, remembering his former friend.

He wrote repeatedly to the Tsar. For many years he had clung to the belief that the Tsar's actions were due to the "innocency of his soul" which had made him a tool in stronger hands; therefore he had always hitherto pleaded with him tenderly, for Alexei's weakness and sin were a sore grief to him. At this point, however, he began to upbraid him more severely, accusing him of bringing his temporal power to bear upon spiritual matters—for it was now that the conviction grew upon Avvakum that the cause of the evil—of the ever-increasing persecution—was the interference of secular powers with matters spiritual. He demanded the separation of Church and State and boldly queried: "Who gave the Tsar the right to govern the Church, and by what authority does he presume to alter her dogmas?" Having thus reproved Alexei Mikhailovitch for his undue assumption of power, he warns him of the judgment to come, saying, among other things, "Thou hast been ruling many years and I have been suffering many years, but the same eternal Home awaits us both, if God so will."

In spite of all he had been through, Avvakum never really lost his old feeling of friendship for the Tsar; he still loved him and forgave him all personal injury. "Although thou hast commanded me to be flung to the dogs," he affirmed, "yet with my latest breath will I call down blessings upon thy head." His last letter to the Tsar, however, concludes with these words of bitter disappointment: "I perceive that thou art past healing." This letter, smuggled out of Pustosersk despite the fact that Avvakum was permitted neither to see anyone nor to write, in some mysterious way reached Moscow and the Tsar. It seemed as though bars and locks did not exist for Avvakum. The very guards themselves assisted in the transmission of his epistles. In Pustosersk it was the same as elsewhere; even his guards loved him, looking after him with tender care. Avvakum's time was not merely taken up with prayer; although kept in close confinement, he managed to carry on his literary labours and thus strengthen his scattered disciples, many of whom were in prison or exile. As he could procure no paper, this Apostle in chains wrote his epistles on little pieces of rag; these letters were carefully copied by his friends and then carried at great personal risk from prison to prison.

Avvakum wrote prolifically during his years in Pustosersk, but the following are the only works which have been preserved to our own days: His Autobiography (1673), Expositions of many Psalms, Nine Treatises of a dogmatic and polemic character and forty-three Epistles to different individuals. For this period his writing was unique; it was simple and direct, coming straight from his loving

heart and keen brain, so that even the humblest could understand the message.

Avvakum was well-informed in Muscovite theology and, thanks to his excellent memory, he knew the whole Psalter by heart as well as many other passages from the Old and New Testaments. He made good use of this store of knowledge and quoted freely from the Scriptures both in support of his own convictions and in confutation of the theories of his opponent. On this account his expository and polemical treatise bore the stamp of truth to the believing but ignorant masses, and thus his written word was the means of carrying the schism through the length and breadth of the Empire. Although intimately acquainted with all the ecclesiastical literature of his day, he was woefully ignorant of history and geography, but his readers knew even less than he did. His writings, which were full of bold analogies, owed their power chiefly to the clear, picturesque manner in which he expressed himself. His style was not stilted like that of contemporary writers, but simple and vivid as though he were speaking. The little cell in the extreme north-east became the centre of a great national movement.

The Authorities in Moscow were furious at this and by their orders three of Avvakum's fellow prisoners had their hands cut off, and he himself was flung into a small dungeon and fed only upon bread and water. Here he was desperately unhappy, not on account of the wretchedness of his own condition, but because several of his friends and fellow-prisoners, who had also been banished for their faith, had been mutilated, while he had not been touched. He earnestly pleaded to be subjected to like treatment, and when that was refused, he decided as a protest to abstain from all food. His friends dissuaded him from this action and, although he acceded to their wishes in the matter of food, he inflicted other hardships upon himself, such as refusing to wear warm clothes in winter.

Even this living tomb failed to silence the voice of the brave old warrior for the faith.

Years passed and the Empire underwent many changes, but political events left the lonely prisoner untouched. At last news reached Avvakum of the death of the Tsar, Alexei Mikhailovitch, in 1676.

The old man, weakened by long years of suffering, made one more effort and wrote a petition to the new Tsar; but the only reply elicited by this somewhat incoherent epistle (which began in all humility but went on to speak of the late Tsar as being in torment) was a stern command from the Tsar to burn Avvakum and his comrades at the stake for the terrible blasphemy against the Imperial House.

A generation had arisen that knew not Joseph, and no personal

link existed between the new Tsar and the man who had been his father's friend. To Feodor Alexeivitch, who was a pupil of the Kievite monks, and who had been brought up in the new school of thought, the attitude of the Old Believers was absolutely incomprehensible, and the slight cast upon his father's memory by the old excommunicated priest only aggravated his offence in the eyes of his sovereign. So on April 1st, 1681, the sentence was carried out, and the noble life which had been spent in combat and suffering came to an end amidst the flames of the burning faggots. A tradition, kept sacred among the Old Believers, thus describes the last act of the martyrdom of Avvakum: "The people gathered around and all the men uncovered their heads . . . the faggots were lighted . . . all grew silent. Avvakum crossing himself with two fingers exhorted the crowd to do likewise, saying: 'As long as you make this sign of the cross when you pray you will never perish, but if you leave it off, your town will be destroyed . . .'. The fire laid hold of the victims and one of them cried out in his agony. Avvakum bent towards his fellow martyr and bade him be of good courage . . . so they perished."

The fire kindled by Avvakum's teaching burnt all the brighter after his death and the number of Old Believers increased rapidly, for it was in this instance as it has ever been, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." However mistaken Avvakum may have been in his views, however fanatically he may have upheld the old against the new, his undaunted courage and the strength of conviction which he displayed under such adverse circumstances, make him a worthy prototype of the multitudes of Russians who since his time, for the sake of an idea, have counted not their lives dear unto themselves.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

IN January the General Secretary and the Rev. C. B. Moss spent a fortnight in Ireland, where Mr. Moss had arranged a full programme of meetings in support of the work of the Association. The Archbishop of Dublin (Patron of the Association) presided at an excellently well-attended public meeting in Dublin, the Dean of Christ Church, the Regius Professor of Divinity in Dublin University, the Archdeacon of Dublin, and others, supporting him on the platform.

In the morning of Sunday, Jan. 16th, the General Secretary preached at St. Patrick's Cathedral, and subsequently both he and Mr. Moss found their time very fully occupied in Dublin, Belfast, Rostrevor, and elsewhere, preaching at St. Bartholomew's and St. John's, Dublin, addressing branches of the Guild of St. Patrick,

gatherings of the Junior Clergy Missionary Association, and speaking at drawing-room meetings. The two Anglican Convents in Dublin, and Trinity College, were also visited.

Everywhere great interest in the work of the A. and E.C.A. was displayed, and a number of new members and subscribers to the *Christian East* were secured.

* * * *

The Bishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Cachel have become Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association, thus increasing to four the number of Irish Bishops who belong to A. and E.C.A. The Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Ossory joined last year.

* * * *

Some subscribers to the *Christian East* treasure all their back numbers; others, having read them, very kindly send them on to friends; others again, we gather, would gladly forward back issues if they knew where they were most needed. The General Secretary (34, Richmond Road, S.W.5) is always glad to receive unwanted back numbers, and especially Vol. I, No. 1; Vol. IV, No. 1; Vol. V, No. 3; and Vol. VII, No. 2., which are out of print, and copies of which are frequently being asked for by those who wish to complete their sets.

* * * *

The date of the Anniversary this year is fixed for Wednesday, October 12th. It is hoped that last year's successful experiment may be repeated, and a stall provided for the sale of Ikons and other articles of interest from Orthodox lands. Last year the Ikons were eagerly bought up by the first few purchasers, so an endeavour will be made to provide a larger supply this time. Will travellers to the Holy Land and other Orthodox countries this summer please remember how gladly simple contributions for the sale will be welcomed?

* * * *

In response to a suggestion frequently put forward by some of its members, the Association has adopted a Badge. It is to consist of a reproduction in metal and enamel of the central portion of the Ikon of A. and E.C.A. The die is at present being made, and in due course a full description of the Badge, and information about how it may be purchased, will be sent to all members of the Association.



THE IKON OF THE ANGLICAN AND EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOCIATION.

(See page 93).

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

NEARLY two years ago the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev was interviewed in Berlin on his return from England, where he had been to join in the Commemoration of Nicæa. In the course of that interview he made an important statement about Anglican Orders:—"From my personal point of view it appears to me absolutely legal in accordance with the first Canonical rule of Basil the Great and the ninety-fifth Canon of the Sixth Œcumenical Council, to admit 'in the third rank'—that is to say, without fresh outward ritual of consecration—Anglican clerics and bishops wishing to join the Orthodox Church."

In view of the Metropolitan's reputation for conservatism as well as for learning, this pronouncement of his opinion upon the line of action to be taken in the imaginary case of an Anglican cleric desiring to join the Orthodox Church was at once recognized as of great significance. And we are glad to be able to print in this issue an extended statement, which the Metropolitan Anthony has kindly sent to *The Christian East*, of the doctrinal grounds upon which his opinion is based. It will be noted that in his argument the unbroken Apostolic Succession in the Anglican Church is assumed as a fact, without discussion.

We welcome to London the new Great Archimandrite, Michael Constantinides, who was installed in St. Sophia's Cathedral, Moscow Road, a few weeks ago. He is a native of Western Thrace, and was a student at Halki Theological College, where he was a pupil of his present Archbishop in London, the Metropolitan Germanos. After taking his Doctorate at Halki he continued his studies at Petrograd, subsequently to which he was appointed to the charge of a church and parish in Constantinople. The Great Archimandrite has filled positions of trust in the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Archbishopric of Athens with conspicuous ability and devotion. It was at the end of four years' work in Athens that he received the invitation to succeed the Great Archimandrite Pagonis, who, as readers of *The Christian East* will remember, retired to Alexandria seven or eight months ago, and to take up his present position in London.

The Soviet persecution of the Church in Russia should not be allowed to divert attention from the sinister activities of Bolshevism against the Russian Orthodox Church in other parts of the world. They have achieved a notable triumph in America, whereby the Orthodox have sustained grievous loss. After a protracted fight in the law courts, one Kedrovsky, the representative of the "Red hierarchy," has succeeded in securing a decision in his favour. Under an order of the Supreme Court the Orthodox Metropolitan Platon is dispossessed of the property of the Russian Church in the United States, and properties, buildings, furniture, vestments, in some dozen cities, and to the value of two million dollars, handed over to the ecclesiastical representatives of the Soviet. The Anglican authorities in New York have given what help they can in these distressing circumstances, and placed St. Augustine's Church at the disposal of the Metropolitan Platon. St. Augustine's has been adapted to the Orthodox worship after the manner of St. Philip's in London.

The imprisoned Metropolitan Peter Krutitsky, first *locum-tenens* of the Patriarchal Throne of Moscow, has been removed from the monastery at Sousdal, to some place in Northern Siberia.

It was stated a while ago that St. Isaac's Cathedral in Petrograd has been converted into a museum. The Cathedral of St. Isaac (a Dalmatian Saint) is the largest church in Petrograd, with a great gilded dome which dominates the city, and can be seen glittering across the water from the opposite shores of the Gulf of Kronstadt. The moral effect of its desecration, if this be a fact, could not fail to be great. And reports come to hand of plunder and malicious destruction of art treasures in the churches of the beautiful old town of Novgorod the Great, on the Volkhoff. On the other hand it seems clear that, although the activities of the Orthodox Church in Russia as an administrative organization have almost ceased to exist, yet, in spite of all, the bulk of the people hold fast to their ancient faith and worship, and in many cases defend their clergy and carry on their parochial life. We print below translations of three interesting letters which throw light upon very different sides of the present life of the Russian Church.

The first is from *Borba za Rossiyu* (The Fight for Russia) of April 30th, where it appears under the heading, "Letters from Moscow," and runs as follows (the translator is not responsible for any mixed metaphors which the purist may detect!):—

"Only now, when several months have elapsed since the arrest of the Metropolitan Sergius, the temporary Guardian of the

Patriarchal Throne, and when we are firmly convinced that the publication of the following facts cannot in any degree influence the venerable prelate's fate, which is already decided—only now is it possible to send information about the chief and fundamental cause of that arrest.

"Never for a moment was the Metropolitan Sergius under the slightest illusion about the grim reality; he was prepared for arrest any day and at any hour; the trembling friends around him awaited it hourly. Living at Nizhni, with no right to leave the place, carefully and persistently spied upon in his dealings, the Metropolitan Sergius realized perfectly clearly that the energetic attack of the Renovators, supported by Soviet authority, must (given the impossibility of a fight on equal terms) be opposed by insistence upon one special fact, which would for a long while sharply check the moves of the Renovators in their notoriously dishonourable game.

"For the Renovators and 'Gregoryites' have indeed adopted, and are adopting, all sorts of contrivances in order to overcome the hostile attitude of the masses towards them—the change over in many places to the holding of Church services according to the Old Style Kalendar, the commemoration by the 'Gregoryites' of the venerated Patriarch, and so on. The oily tongue of these wolves in sheep's clothing—those who belong to the Living Church—had already begun to make breaches here and there in the suspicious attitude adopted towards them by those masses of Church folk who have little discernment, and for whom the institution of a patriarchal *locum-tenens* was an act but little understood and on that account of little authority.

"After consultation with two or three neighbouring bishops, the Metropolitan Sergius came to a decision. This was again to place a Patriarch at the head of the government of the authentic Orthodox Russian Church.

"The duty of taking upon his aged shoulders the heavy burden of governing the Church as Patriarch fell to the invincibly steadfast Metropolitan Cyril. Those who came to this decision knew perfectly well that it might be impossible for the Metropolitan Cyril to remain head of the Church even for twenty-four hours, since he would be exposed to arrest and imprisonment. But, since the masses of the faithful would be thrown into agitation by the mere knowledge of the fact that the Patriarch, the head of the Church, was in prison, the immediate effect would be at least to erect an insuperable dividing-wall between the adherents of the old Church, and all those Renovators, 'Gregoryites' and the like.

"Their last card, formally to proclaim the ancient Church as the Old Church Schism (on a par with the schism of the old

believers) would agitate no one, and would doubtless lead to suppression and destruction.

"The decision was arrived at in a small assembly, but it would acquire legal force if personally signed by about sixty bishops. Certain of the bishops took upon themselves the difficult task of going round the dioceses to collect signatures. The idea was that, when the necessary number of signatures had been given under 'episcopal oath,' two bishops should go to the place where the Metropolitan Cyril was living, and there express the will of the bishops in due and proper form. Already some two-thirds of the required number of signatures had been secured, when suddenly the Metropolitan Sergius was arrested. So was his nearest assistant, Bishop Gregory (Vetluzhski), and a bishop who had been collecting signatures, and, after a very short time, all the bishops who had signed, some fifty in number, were arrested also. . . .

"We cannot but lament that the already decimated ranks of the best bishops of the Church have been thinned again, and grievously. But we should consider it a crime to fall into despair. For, in truth, the situation presents us with other facts also, of such a kind that at times we can scarcely believe it possible that in the unilluminated night of the Soviet such bright beams could burst forth and herald the undoubted approach of the life-creating dawn. In the thickest manufacturing districts of the central region, as the Soviet newspapers themselves confess, new churches have been erected by the decision of the workmen, side by side with the old ones, which by the decision of the General Council were closed some years ago and turned into clubs. 'The new workman has come to the factory from the country in immense numbers, a new generation of young people has grown up in the last ten years, with a new psychology and with new questionings,' lamented the *Krasnaya Gazeta*, not long ago. 'We notice these "crude strata" only when under the very noses of innumerable factory organizations in the tenth year of the Revolution a church suddenly shoots up. Some one, it appears, was more adroit than we. Some one pierces the young spring stems, and the sweet sap flows out into the kingdom of darkness.'

"Let those who fear that Kingdom call it the kingdom of darkness. To our eyes it is obviously the light of dawn."

The second letter we quote from *Irenikon* of April, which translates it from *Voskresnoe Chlenie*, the organ of the Russian Orthodox Church in Poland:—

"Our people are deeply aware of the importance of the times in which we live and, in regard to their faith, they display a wonderful instinct of preservation. The part they play in the life of

our Church is of the very first importance. Their impulses are generous, vigorous and decisive. They are totally unaffected by foreign ecclesiastical influences which have sought to leave their mark upon their life. While taking part to an increasing extent in modern public and political life, they are jealously reserved in all that concerns their intimate religious life, which has in these days become even more intense. This quickening of spiritual life in the people demands the same also of us, their priests. To make up for the slander and disrespect with which the clergy are overwhelmed, the faithful layman regards his parish priest with a new and special affection. He liberally shelters him from all material want; though himself not rich, he takes care to provide him with everything necessary from linen and galoshes to the more indispensable articles. You can rest assured, then, the fate of our Church is in sure hands. Do not let yourself be depressed by the stories of our divisions and quarrels, they are only on the surface, and do not reach down into the depth of our national life: they do but compel us to guard more zealously the concord of spirit. It appears to outsiders that at the present time the life of our Church is nothing but chaos—that every priest is his own bishop. But in reality with what dignity and fervour our parochial life flows on! Who controls it?—No one! But just attempt to meddle with that life in the smallest detail! Take one example: one day a certain parish priest desired to celebrate a nuptial mass on a Tuesday¹ (special circumstances obliged him to do so). Every parish and quarter in the town was greatly scandalized at the affair! . . .

"Not only the parish, but the whole Orthodox population, are conscious of ties which unite them firmly to one another. They are well informed about everything and everybody. The reputation of every priest and every parishioner is established by the populace with simplicity, clearness and decision. In many places 'startsi' are to be found in popular favour, whole districts going on pilgrimage to visit them."

Finally, there has reached us from private sources the following pathetic letter from a Russian bishop in exile in Northern Siberia, to a friend in Russia. Naturally, all proper names are excised:—

Christmas Day, 1926.

Peace to you, my dear Friend,

I was greatly moved by your remembrance of me a sinner. May Christ our God bless you for your love. Yet my greatest need of all is for prayer. I gather that none of the bishops have

¹ In Russian canon law marriages may not be solemnized on a Tuesday.

met such terrible conditions of exile as we here. The first five months of complete isolation from the world were intensely grievous for me materially, but not spiritually. With the arrival, before Christmas, of the first post, all depression was lifted, and the love and care of our spiritual children brought us great joy for the Festival. I had to labour very much, together with the kindly hierodeacon, X, who came here with me, to make a tolerable dwelling out of a disused and ruined hut. And as I myself am carpenter and shoemaker, and blacksmith and stovefitter, we have everything fixed up as well as can possibly be. They are now sending me various tools from Moscow, and we shall be able to do everything for ourselves. My two brethren, X, X (priests), have accommodated themselves otherwise—in the families of two local fishermen. And indeed the whole community . . . is made up of two families. . . . At the beginning I left it to my brethren to establish themselves, and myself took simply what was left, but now, thanks to immense effort, I live quite independently, and as a matter of fact, more comfortably than they. With the Spring I propose to take up the fishing industry! It is a great consolation that now, in conjunction with X, I celebrate the Divine Liturgy at home in the hut. Not in the presence of the people, but for the people, for all of you, for the whole world. . . . And when I bless with the Cross on the four sides I have before me my whole flock, all my dear ones, all of you, and . . . and . . . the whole world. Our Lord bestows great spiritual joys and I do not cease to praise Him and to bless Him for all affliction, for everything. And your love, that is indeed a joy in the Lord, and you always remain in my heart, and of course in the list of names for commemoration. I beg you to give my heartfelt greetings and prayers to . . .

If you want to be exceedingly useful to me, try to find and send a priests' book of prayers. The festal menaion would be welcome, and a few wax candles and incense, and a cross, and ikons—an ikon of the Holy Trinity. My prayer corner is arranged to face South-West, so that whenever I am in prayer through Our Lord I fix my thoughts on you.

I have some books with me, I read, I work. I have now got the means of providing myself with warm clothing. The frost simply grips one's soul—we never had such frosts in our parts. And we have to gather firewood in the forest in snow waist-deep. When we get clothes we shall admire the Aurora Borealis—as yet we have not got as far as that! But thanks be to God, Who gives us a spirit to endure everything. I have developed severe anæmia and giddiness, but now I have the means of overcoming that also. I believe I shall soon be better than I was before.

Christ save you, my Friend, the slave of Christ our God! Do not

shut yourself up in peace within an impenetrable shell. Do not fall asleep. We will be the bearers of the world's affliction. The times are great, they are tragic, but they lead to glory. Peace be with you!

He who prays for you to God,
A Sinner, Bishop ———.

We congratulate *Irenikon* on the beginning of its second year of publication, and upon the issue in Vol. II, No. 1, of a number which reaches the high level of interest and value which its readers have learned to expect. *Irenikon* surveys the field of Reunion from a different point of view from our own. It looks out upon the Orthodox world from that standpoint of loyal and consistent Roman Catholicism which also lies behind its sympathetic and generally well-informed references to the Anglican Church. In the pages of our contemporary may be found much which is important as fact and as comment. But it is no depreciation of its other services to the cause of Reunion, to say that no contribution it makes is of greater worth and effectiveness than the spirit of genuine charity (and, let us add, the common sense) which pervade its contents and inspire its production.

"The annual united service of prayer was held again this year with dignity and solemnity on Feb. 4th-17th, in the Anglican Cathedral Church of All Saints at Khartoum, by the heads of the Orthodox, Coptic and Anglican Churches. Although entrance was by ticket only, the large church was quite filled with a distinguished congregation. A portion of the Holy Gospel was read, and hymns were sung in Greek, Arabic and English. Besides the Anglican Bishop in Egypt and the Soudan (the Right Rev. Dr. Gwynne), the Anglican Bishop of Uganda was also present, and preached a sermon bearing on the occasion."—(*Pantainos*, Feb. 19th, 1927.)

A Distant View of Prayer-book Revision.—"In England the question is being considered of revising the Prayer Book or Book of Common Prayer . . . which constitutes the ceremonial, liturgical and canonical standard of the Anglican Church. As there are three branches in this Church—the High Church, which is the more conservative, the Low Church, which is the more Protestant, and the Broad Church, which is the more rationalistic—a large section of British public opinion continues to be keenly stirred by fear lest in the revision of the Prayer Book changes should be made which are influenced by the rationalistic or Protestant spirit. This state of mind explains—according to the comments of many English newspapers—the unusual display of enthusiasm which was manifested lately in London by a great crowd of people when an old priest—

89 years of age—appeared, who had protested strongly, fifty years ago, against a decision of the English Parliament which was prejudicial to the Catholic tradition of the English Church. The crowd also vigorously applauded Lord Halifax, the well-known champion of a fuller introduction into the English Church of reforms in harmony with ancient Catholicism.”—(*Pantainos*, March 11th, 1927.)

New Theological School in Rumania.—According to information given in *Orthodoxia* and *Pantainos*, a new School of Theology has been founded at Kishinev in Bessarabia, in addition to the two theological schools already existing in Czernowitz and Bukharest. The solemn inauguration of the School took place on Nov. 8th, when a vigil service was held in the church belonging to the Seminary. His Grace the Archbishop of Kishinev presided, assisted by his Vicar and many priests. There was a large congregation. The next day, when the whole city was decked with flags, the Liturgy was celebrated with great dignity in the same church and afterwards a solemn Doxology was sung in the cathedral church, His Grace the Archbishop again presiding, and being assisted by two bishops and forty priests. The Doxology ended, all went in procession to the Eparchial Hall (Sale Eparchiale), where a ceremony was held to inaugurate the classes. His Grace delivered the oration, and was followed by the Minister of Education, the representative of the Patriarch, representatives of the Universities and other speakers. The celebrations ended with a banquet and concert in the evening, in the National Theatre. Besides 217 priests, many laymen have entered as students at the Theological School, and also 20 women. Classes are held in the following and some other subjects:—(1) Introduction to the Old Testament and Hebrew Archæology. (2) Hebrew and exegesis of the Old Testament. (3) Introduction to the New Testament and Grammar. (4) New Testament exegesis and Biblical Theology. (5) Church History up to 1453 for the Eastern and 1517 for the Western Church. (6) Modern Church History, especially of the Eastern Churches. (7) Patristics.

In connection with the laying of the foundation stone of the Orthodox Cathedral of St. Sophia in Sydney, N.S.W., which took place on Feb. 2nd of this year, we have received the following interesting summary of the development of Orthodox Church Life in Australia and its relations with the Anglican Communion in the Commonwealth. We may add that the writer, who desires to remain anonymous, might well have added *quorum pars magna fui* to the narrative:—

“For more than 33 years members of the Orthodox Church have been found in the capital cities of the Commonwealth.

Attracted by the higher wages, the greater freedom and other reasons, they have left their country for a new land. Before long the matter came under the notice of the Anglican Church, and helping hands were held out to these fellow Christians in Perth, Western Australia, and Adelaide, South Australia. Some 30 years ago several hundreds of Syrians left their homes in Mount Lebanon and drifted to Melbourne. Some came with their wives and children and settled there. Utter strangers they were, not knowing any language but Arabic, nor any religion but that of the Orthodox Church. A difficulty arose about a baptism, and some Sisters who had been working in that quarter of the city were asked for advice through the instrumentality of an Egyptian who could speak French. Prompt action was taken, the Bishop of Melbourne was approached by the Sisters, and gave them a paper in which any of the clergy of the Anglican Church in his diocese was authorized to baptize or bury, or help in any way possible the members of the Greek Orthodox Church. This document was translated into Arabic and nailed to the door of the Mission Room that all might see, and that matter closed.

Soon after, with the help of a young Syrian who had been educated in an English school in Palestine, a lay service was started, and when a good congregation was assured the Bishop himself came and addressed these Syrians by means of this young Syrian as interpreter.

One of the Sisters then wrote to Jerusalem for more help. Bishop Blyth very kindly took the matter in hand and approached His Beatitude the Patriarch Gerasimos on the subject. He, through Bishop Blyth, presented some service books to the Orthodox of Melbourne, which books were duly brought to the Mission House by the late Revd. Dr. Dowling (at that time domestic chaplain to Bishop Blyth), who was visiting Australia to see his relations there.

Dr. Dowling did much to encourage these Orthodox Christians, and celebrated the Holy Eucharist for them in the parish church near by. After a while a new Russian Consul was appointed to Melbourne, who took great interest in what the Sisters were endeavouring to do, and frequently came to the lay service and read the Gospel in Greek, while the psalms and prayers were led in Arabic by the young educated Syrian, whom the Bishop had made a lay reader. Unfortunately the Consul, to the grief of all those who knew him, died shortly after, and by his express wish the funeral service was said by one of the parish clergy in the large new Mission Hall the Sisters had lately acquired. The Consul was buried in the Anglican portion of the cemetery, but his body was afterwards removed to Russia.

After a time a priest was obtained from Athens, and many

Greeks joined the worshippers at the Mission Hall. It was, however, determined to build a church of their own and, to make a long story short, after many conflicts won, the church was an accomplished fact, and now stands in Victoria Parade, East Melbourne. A considerable amount of national spite and strife cropped up between the Asiatics and Europeans of the Church, some approving the jurisdiction of Athens, others that of Constantinople, some even of Antioch.

Three years ago a certain amount of peace was obtained by the advent of the Most Reverend Archbishop Christophoros Knetes, who brought with him credentials from the Patriarch of Constantinople.

At first the priest-in-charge, who had been appointed by Athens, refused to allow the Archbishop to officiate in the church, and in fact would not recognize his authority. This was soon set right, and slowly, but surely, the new Regionary Archbishop, and head of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Australia, gained the respect and affection of most of his flock by his geniality and sanctified common sense. Part of his education he received at Oxford, where he gained his M.A. degree. He therefore speaks English perfectly, and has several times preached in Anglican churches in Melbourne and Sydney. Two priests have been ordained for South Australia last year, and the scattered members of the Orthodox Church are now becoming more and more united under the wise rule of Archbishop Knetes. But this is not all. After providing a priest for the church in Melbourne, His Grace proceeded to Sydney, the oldest city of Australia, and was received well by the residents there. A meeting was held early in 1926 to consider ways and means to raise enough money to build a cathedral which should be the Cathedral of St. Sophia and the headquarters of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth of Australia. The sum of £2,000 was promised at this meeting, and shortly after a block of land in the Paddington district of Sydney was bought for £3,000. So valuable was this site that the Government of New South Wales offered the President of the Greek Community in Sydney the sum of £5,000 to acquire it for a Post Office. The Greeks firmly refused this offer, and the foundation stone of St. Sophia's Cathedral at the Antipodes was duly laid by Archbishop Knetes on Feb. 2nd, 1927, in the presence of most of the Greek and Syrian residents of Sydney. Thus was the new endeavour started from such very small beginnings.

The Bishop of Cashel, accompanied by the Archdeacon of Waterford, visited Yugoslavia this Spring from March 18th to April 4th. We gather that the programme of the Bishop's visit was arranged by

the Y.M.C.A., whose headquarters in London have kindly sent us a report from which we make the following extracts. (Those who knew the Serbian students at Oxford will recognize old friends in the Dr. Ireney Georgevitch and Mr. Panitch, who are mentioned in the report.)

... "The Patriarch welcomed the Bishop very kindly, and the interview was conducted in a happy spirit that boded well for the future. Before we left, the Patriarch invited us all to lunch with him on the following Sunday, and asked me to take the Bishop to his seat at Karlovtsi at a later date. . . ."

... "The meeting was for student groups only; but a few other people managed to get in, as they do to everything of this sort in Serbia. There were perhaps a hundred in all, of whom the great majority were University men and University girls, packed together in the lounge, listening intently." . . .

... "On Tuesday morning the Bishop attended the Spring Conference of the Peasant Orthodox movement. For three days they were to listen to addresses, to sing, to pray, and to take their simple meals in the open air. The Patriarch was addressing them when our party arrived. The Bishop spoke to them, and was interpreted by Mr. Panitch. They crushed round him at the close, begging him to continue. 'What do you want me to talk about?' asked the Bishop. A chorus of voices replied, 'Tell us more about God.' And they also asked him to write an article for their magazine." . . .

... "Both these audiences were largely composed of the intelligentsia of Nish. General Trzitch and other officers were there, so were the Veliki Zhupan and a number of priests and school-teachers. Bishop Dositey again presided, and made clear his desire that the Serbian people should draw closer to Great Britain and the desire of the Orthodox Church to draw closer to the Anglican." . . .

... "Thursday, March 31st, was spent at Karlovtsi. We were met by the Rector of the Seminary, and by two wonderfully small carriages, which carried us safely through lakes of mud (the Danube being in flood just then) to the stately palace of the Patriarch. Two Serbian Bishops gave us a charming welcome, one of whom knew a phrase or two of English. When the time for lunch came we sat down . . . with the well-known Metropolitan Anthony of Russia and six other Russian Bishops. At three o'clock we were taken across to the Seminary, where the students had been gathered together into one large room—perhaps 150 of them. Some were young men, others were boys who are just beginning their training for the priesthood. The Bishop of Cashel gave them an excellent address, after which they sang to him, but it is impossible to describe the beauty of their singing." . . .

... "The next engagement was in some ways the most remarkable of all which the Bishop undertook in Yugoslavia. It was a meeting for Orthodox priests, held in the Y.M.C.A. (Belgrade) at 8.30 p.m., and was arranged by special request of Dr. Ireney Georgevitch, who acted as interpreter. Tea was provided in the lounge, round which the priests sat in comfortable chairs and listened. It was one of those occasions when the things that divide us are forgotten and those that unite seem to be the only ones that matter. Various questions were put to the Bishop at the close, but they were devotional, not controversial. Finally, one or two of the priests rose to thank the Bishop, and one of them summed up the situation when he said, 'We ask you, our brother, to be the interpreter of our love to the Church of your own country.'"

We have received a statement of accounts and subscription list of the Appeal for the Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund, prefaced by a short report on its work during the past eighteen months. The administration of funds is grouped under four heads: Relief, Paris Academy, Student Movement and General. Under the second of these the gratifying announcement is made that the fund was able during the last financial year to send to Paris the £1,000 which had been aimed at. Pathetic as are the cases of hardship and destitution among individual Russian priests (and the fund does what little can be done in relief of such cases), there can be little doubt that the Appeal for Russian Clergy is wise in concentrating the bulk of its resources upon that constructive work for the future, which the Paris Academy represents. It may not be generally known in circles outside those who receive the reports of the fund that, under its auspices, a student from the Paris Academy is being given a special course at Oxford in Hebrew and Old Testament for the purpose of teaching these subjects at the Academy, and is residing in the House of the Cowley Fathers.

WHY ANGLICAN CLERGY COULD BE RECEIVED IN THEIR ORDERS.

BY THE METROPOLITAN ANTHONY
(President of the Synod of Karlovtsi).

A BULKY volume was written on this subject by V. A. Sokoloff, the very conservative professor of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy, who sets himself to prove that the Apostolic Succession has not been broken in the Anglican Church. The book was published more than thirty years ago.

We shall examine the matter from quite a different point of view, namely, by direct application of the Canons of the Holy Apostles, of the seven Holy Œcumenical Councils, and of the nine Local Councils confirmed by them.

The Canons which deal with the relation of bishops, and in general of all the children of the Church to those outside her, are the following:—Apostolic, Nos. 10, 12, 45, 46 and 65; Conciliar, 1st Œcumenical, Nos. 8 and 19; 2nd Œcumenical, No. 7; 6th Œcumenical, No. 95; Laodiceæ, Nos. 7, 8 and 33; Carthage, Nos. 68 and 79; and the Canonical Rules of St. Basil the Great, Nos. 1 and 47.

Among these some Canons directly indicate by what rite which heretics and schismatics should be received into the Church if they desire it and request it, after renouncing their errors and confessing the Orthodox faith and their submission to the true Church.

Naturally, these Canons do not lessen the necessity of baptism by water for every man, although it must not be forgotten that very ancient instances in the Church give us examples of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the yet unbaptized, so that the subsequent baptism had a supplementary and chiefly disciplinary significance, as uniting them to the earthly Church of Christ.

"While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word. And they of the circumcision which believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost; for they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God. Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord." (Acts x, 44-48.)

Of this event the Apostle Peter recalls further: "And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then I remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. For as much then as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ; what was I, that I could withstand God?" (Acts xi, 15-17.)

Without dwelling further on the explanation of these utterances, we must, of course, also notice that the descent of the Holy Spirit, referred to in the words of the Acts which have been quoted, did not release the believers from the obligation of baptism by water, and this obligation many converted from heresy had to fulfil in accordance with the 46th Canon of the Holy Apostles, although they already had heretical baptism.

Later Councils, however, clearly distinguish which heretics should be "cleansed by true baptism" (95th Canon of the VIth Œcumenical Council and 1st of Basil the Great), and which should be received by

the second sacrament, and which by the third sacrament and be left in their existing orders. All this is set forth in detail in the 7th Canon of the 2nd Œcumenical Council; in the 95th Canon of the 6th Œcumenical Council; in the 1st Rule of Basil the Great, and others.

However, they all issue from the same idea which lies behind the 68th Canon of the Carthaginian Council, namely, that heretics and schismatics are without grace, which is only received by them on their being united to the Church: there can be no half-grace, in spite of the Latin opinion. If we compare this thesis with other Canons of the Councils, we shall see that it entirely agrees with them.

For this we need only indicate the following characteristics of conciliar legislation on this subject:—

1. These Canons were changed (a) according to time, and (b) according to locality.

2. Their strictness or relaxation depended not so much on the character of the heresy or schism, as on the varying relationship of the heretics or schismatics to the Church; and they varied in the one direction or the other, according to changes in this relationship of the schismatics to the Church.

3. Sometimes the Œcumenical authorities declared their decisions not to be final, and sometimes even deferred their decisions while awaiting new Church Councils.

Let us turn first to the second point.

The Carthaginian Council, in its 79th Canon, decided: "to send letters to our brethren and fellow bishops, and especially to the Apostolic Throne, in which our revered brother and fellow-minister Anastasius presides, to the effect that by reason of the great need in Africa, which is known to him, for the sake of peace and for the good of the Church, even Donatist clergy should be received in their sacerdotal orders if they correct their disposition and desire to come to Catholic unity, in accord with the judgment and will of each Catholic Bishop ruling the Church in that place, if this will prove beneficial to the peace of Christians. It is well known that in former times also this schism was so treated, witness to which fact may be found in instances from many Churches and from almost all the African Churches in which this error arose."

So we see here an instance of the application of the principle we have already pointed out. The manner of admitting the various apostates depends not so much on the quality of the heresy, as on the spiritual disposition of the candidate, and on the expected benefit to Holy Church.

In this connection it is especially important to master the significance of the 1st Canonical Rule of St. Basil the Great.

"The Cathari are of the number of the schismatics. Nevertheless, those of old, such as Cyprian and our own Firmilian, were

pleased to bring them all under one and the same regulation: Cathari, Enkratites, Hydroparastatites and Apotactites.

For though the beginning of the apostasy arose through schism, yet those who fell away from the Church no longer had the grace of the Holy Spirit. For the power of imparting grace disappeared because the lawful succession was cut off. For those who first fell away had received consecration from the fathers, and through the laying on of their hands had the spiritual gift. But when they fell away, becoming laymen, they had power neither to baptize, nor to lay on hands, and could not confer on others the grace of the Holy Spirit, from which they had themselves fallen away. Therefore, those who came from them to the Church, being considered to have received baptism from laymen, were of old commanded to be cleansed anew by true ecclesiastical baptism."

It is clear that by this regulation the Church does not recognize in heretics and schismatics either the priesthood or the other sacraments, and considers them subject to ecclesiastical baptism in the nature of things. However, in this Rule of St. Basil, she admits the possibility of yet another manner of receiving them.

This is what we read further:

"But inasmuch as some in Asia have been resolutely desirous, for the sake of the edification of many, to accept their baptism, let it be accepted." St. Basil writes further, "the baptism of the Enkratites should be rejected and such, coming to the Church, should be baptized, but if this should be detrimental to the general well-being, then the usual custom should be adhered to, and the example of the fathers, who judiciously arranged our affairs, should be followed. For I fear lest in desiring to keep them from hasty baptism we should hinder those seeking salvation, by the severity of postponement."

Now let us attempt to generalize all these indications given at various times and reconcile them with apparent exceptions and relaxations.

Every sacrament has two sides—the visible and the invisible. The second is administered only within the true Church by faith and sincere prayer, according to the words of the Apostle Peter: "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." (1 Peter, iii, 21). And the same is found also in the teaching of Saint John Damascene. For those who are baptized without faith "the water remains water" only. Heretics and schismatics, having the visible side of baptism, chrismation and holy order, are entirely devoid of those gifts of grace which are bound up with these sacraments for believers within the true Church. Therefore, certain of them, for the alleviation of the rupture in their spiritual life and for "the edification of many,"

are permitted to enter the Church without the visible side of the sacraments of baptism or holy order (that is by the second or third rite), but through the operation of another sacramental act in which they receive the grace of baptism, chrismation and holy order. (For example, for Roman Catholics, Nestorians and Donatists.)

Many are troubled by the question : Is it then possible to replace one sacrament by another ? But we, that is, not we, but the Canons quoted above, are evidently founded on the words of the Gospel : " God giveth not the Spirit by measure " (John, iii, 34). Or, in other words, those among heretics, whether clerical or lay, baptized and anointed (with chrism) by heretics, had only the empty sign (or outward form) of the sacrament, and it receives the complement of grace only through that sacrament which unites them with Holy Church (chrismation or penance). Moreover, in confirmation of this principle, should be added the custom, established in the Church, that the reception of heretics and schismatics " in their existing orders," may only be performed by a bishop ; if a priest receive them, then they enter the Church as simple laymen. This means that a schismatic priest united to the Church receives true priesthood only through episcopal reception ; but a priest cannot bestow this grace on the one received. It is only on such a conception of the sacraments of the Church that her regulations as to the applicability to heretics and schismatics of one or the other rite of reception can be accepted ; only on such a conception can the decisions of the Holy Apostles about the baptism of heretics and schismatics, be reconciled with the further Canons of the Councils about not baptizing them, and about their reception by the second, or even by the third rite. And therefore it is futile for Roman Catholic theologians to blame the Orthodox for such diversity of practice.

As a condition of their reception in their existing orders the existence among schismatics, before their conversion to the Church, of hierarchical succession, is usually insisted upon ; but from the canonical Rule of Basil the Great already quoted, we see that *no schismatics have any succession and cannot have any* ; a hierarchy falling away from the Church " become laymen and cannot confer the grace of the Holy Spirit, of which they are themselves devoid." Therefore, in judging of one or the other rite of reception, the question of schismatical succession is in any case secondary if not quite irrelevant.

Besides the Canons of the Councils already quoted, and those of the Holy Fathers, we may refer to the words (also already quoted) of St. Basil the Great, that each Church should keep the customs established in her, and be guided by considerations of benefit to the Church, and the changing disposition of heretics (for the better or the worse). Thus special consideration was shown to the Nestorians, although their heresy was recognized as one of the worst, for it

divided the *One Mediator* (1 Tim., ii, 5) into two persons and refused to entitle the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God. But by the time of the promulgation of the Canon they had forsaken their fanaticism and sought reunion with the true Church. That is why local Churches now increased and now relaxed strictness in the manner of reception.

Thus under the Patriarch Philaret, in 1620, the Latins were reunited through baptism by water, like the heathen, because then, that is at the time of the introduction of the Unia, a very seductive propaganda was carried on by them, but when the Russian Czar annexed Little Russia (1653) and the next year carried out a victorious expedition into Lithuania, and many Uniates began to ask to return to Orthodoxy, the Council of 1667, in spite of all its severity towards deserters from the Church, decreed the reception of Roman Catholics by the third rite. Under the Turkish yoke Holy Church was in a different position. There heresy and schism were stronger, just at the time when among Russians they were weaker, and therefore the practice of the Eastern Churches took a different direction from that of the Russian Church : when our forefathers baptized the Latins, the Greeks only anointed them with chrism, and when we were already keeping the regulation of 1667 and admitting them by the third rite, the Greeks in the Council of 1754, in which all the four Eastern Patriarchs took part, were decreeing the rebaptism of Latins and Protestants. (They have only of late revoked this decree, and that without a new conciliar decision, thereby yielding to the principle of opportunism.)

Another opinion is held by the estimable Russian Old Believers, whom I have always regarded with special respect and sympathy, although they consider us Orthodox " heretics of the second rite," and receive those entering their community by chrismation, even Bishops. (The last such case took place in Russia in 1925, and the first in Rumania in 1846, when they received Arsenius, the first Greek bishop to join their community.)

Apparently the Old Believers are imbued with Latin views on this question. For though the warmest opponents of the Latin heresy, of which they, as well as our other forefathers as far back as the seventeenth century, wrote : " of all the heresies the Latin is the most terrible," yet, by a misunderstanding they assimilated the doctrine of the sacraments according to the Greater and Lesser Catechisms of the seventeenth century, which only by a misapprehension are called Orthodox, and which set forth (in the section on the Sacraments and on the Atonement) purely Latin doctrine. However, as books in " the ancient printing," they are held by the Old Believers to be infallible. In reality these books, like the majority of the Greek and Slavonic books of that and the preceding epochs, were paraphrased from Latin books, only with the exclusion of such Latin errors as were exposed by the Patriarch Photius in his Circular

Epistle of the ninth century. This is why, like the Latins, our Old Believers have declared the Niconites (that is we) are "heretics of the second rite," and anoint with oil (they have no holy chrism), not only the laity who come to them, but also bishops and priests; at the same time receiving them in their orders—a matter for tears and laughter. Like them the Latin theologians also—those dull scholastics—make it an accusation against the Orthodox that they have changed the rite of the reception of schismatics and heretics at various times and places, which indeed is fully agreeable with the meaning of the Canons and with ancient ecclesiastical practice. A sacrament is not simply an *opus operatum*, but a pouring out of the grace of God preserved in the bosom of the Holy Orthodox Church.

Does this practice agree with our teaching about the Church and about grace, or with the Latin teaching and its understanding of the Sacraments, *opere operato*, as giving great grace to the faithful and a certain half-grace to heretics and schismatics? The latter is denied by the 68th Canon of the Carthaginian Council, which declares that in the true Church alone are the Sacraments administered, for she "is the dove, the one mother of Christians, in which all Sacraments, eternal and life-giving, are received to salvation; but by those remaining in heresy are received to great condemnation and punishment. That which in the truth would enlighten and assist them towards eternal life, in error becomes to them the more blinding and the greater condemnation."

From this Canon it is seen that heretics and schismatics have no grace whatever; it does not exist outside the one Church of Christ. And if in the same Canon, immediately before the words quoted, it is said that those heretics, on anathematizing their errors, "by the laying on of hands are received into the Church," it is clear that they obtain freedom from original sin, that is, from the taint of sin, precisely through this laying on of hands. That is to say, in this second Sacrament, the first is also given to them, namely, the grace of baptism.

Mechanical or purely formal understanding of the Sacraments and the Church leads even educated people into the most foolish beliefs, superstitions and actions. Thus devotion to the faith, though worthy of all respect, under the slavery of Western scholasticism was the cause of the following amusing episode:

In the eighties a Greek bishop, a speculative person (probably Bishop Lycurgus, but perhaps I am mistaken in the name), visited England. Certain English priests, doubting the validity of their orders (that means also of their Church?) asked him to reordain them, and this the traveller performed, of course for filthy lucre's sake (Titus, i, 11). But withal, remembering the canonical rule that bishops may not officiate in a strange diocese without the consent

of the local ecclesiastical authority, they set forth with the said bishop to the open sea, and there on the vessel received "ordination" from him, still remaining afterwards clergymen of the Church of England. In this way, while straining at a gnat, they swallowed a camel, for it is clear that if the Greek Church is the one true Church, then after entering it it is impossible to remain Anglican; and while remaining Anglican it is impossible to receive ordination from a bishop of the Greek Church, which is as yet alien from Anglicanism.

Contemporary practice in the matter of reception is defined along the following lines:—

There must be (1) Apostolic succession in the community to which the person to be received has belonged; (2) Baptism by the regular rite (that is by threefold immersion in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost).

When these conditions are fulfilled the rite of baptism is not repeated. And if his community has that sacrament which we call chrismation (or myrrh-anointing) the candidate for union with Orthodoxy is received into the Church by the third rite, that is by the sacrament of penance only. We proceed thus with Latins, Armenians and Nestorians; this is in accordance with Canon 95 of the 6th Œcumenical Council and others. Such reception is called "the third rite," and "in the existing orders," that is, if the candidate be a cleric, he remains such in Orthodoxy after his reception. Does it follow from this that the Church recognizes as means of grace and valid sacraments the baptism, chrismation and orders which the candidate received while yet outside the Church?

Contemporary practice, inherited from Latin teaching on the Sacraments and practised by them long before their secession from the Church (as is seen, for example, by reference to the 47th Rule of St. Basil the Great), is evidently founded on the view that heretics and schismatics have something like grace, some kind of half-grace.

Not without some foundation the Old Believers put to me, while I was still in Russia, this problem. If you consider all heretics and schismatics to be as devoid of grace as the heathen, why cannot you receive in his existing rank a baptized Jewish rabbi, or even a Lutheran pastor?

I answered thus: first, they themselves do not desire it; and secondly, and chiefly, they had not even the visible side of those sacraments which goes with the bestowal of invisible grace in the Church—at least in the interest of Church discipline, and perhaps also for other reasons.

The conditional nature of this aspect of the matter is so great that the holy Fathers, the canonists, left some questions (of a liturgical character) in an undecided state for a time. Thus St. Basil the Great leaves many details regarding the manner of receiving schismatics and heretics into the Church, without definite decision, and, while

fully recognizing the lawfulness of various attitudes towards them in different Churches, leaves open certain questions to be decided by new Councils and more definite opinions of ecclesiastical authorities (Rule 1).

We have already seen that the 79th Canon of the Carthaginian Council decrees the reception of Donatist bishops in their existing orders "according to the judgment and will of each Catholic bishop, ruling the Church in that place; if this should prove to further the peace of Christians."

Therefore, reception into the Orthodox Church, (1) is dependent on the pastoral discretion of the local bishop, and (2) this discretion is conditioned by the general good of the Church.

We may now add that the same Canon establishes our manner of reception in comparison with that of the Church of Rome and others. The same 79th Canon says further: "This is done, not in violation of the decisions of the Council held on this subject in lands beyond the sea, but for the good of those who desire to enter the Catholic Church on these terms, and in order that no barriers might be set up against their union with the Church."

Such decisions of the Church would be quite impossible if the mode of reception were conditioned by the same dogmatic point of view from which each sacrament is regarded by the Latins and contemporary Russian theologians, namely, that strict differentiation of the grace of the sacraments which is rooted in our own theological schools.

Even Basil the Great, dogmatic as he is in defence of ecclesiastical authority in that same classical first Rule regarding the manner of receiving the Cathari, expresses himself quite conditionally and hypothetically, and admits both practices. About the Enkratites he expresses himself thus: "inasmuch as nothing has been clearly declared about them, it were seemly for us to repudiate their baptism, but lest this should be detrimental to the general well-being," and so forth, as has already been quoted.

Continuing, St. Basil still further mitigates his pronouncement, and after decreeing their reception by chrismation he adds, "I am aware, moreover, that the brethren Zoin and Satorin, who belonged to their community, were received as bishops (that is by the third rite). And, therefore, those who belong to their community cannot now be estranged from the Church by severity of judgment after we have established a certain manner of reception in admitting their bishops."

From the point of view we have presented, all this is reasonable and consistent, but from the Latin scholastic point of view quite impossible. Thus the adoption of one or the other mode of reception for those of other confessions who enter the Church (that is, heretics or schismatics) depends on ecclesiastical economy, on the judgment of the local bishops and the Councils, and on the existence of the

outward form of the sacraments of baptism, chrismation and orders in the communities from which the applicants come.

Therefore, in our opinion, Anglicans may be admitted by the third rite, especially in view of the sincere and humble aspiration of many of them to be united to our holy Church.

A FAMOUS RUSSIAN MONASTERY.

By THE REV. THE ARCHPRIEST CHERNAVIN.

At a distance of about 135 miles from Petrograd and about 30 miles from Serdobol (Sortoval), situated on Lake Ladoga, is a group of some forty picturesque islands spread on the lake and forming a small archipelago. On the largest of these islands, called Valamo (in Russian Valaam), stretching eight miles from west to east and four and a half miles from north to south, is the famous Valaam monastery, known and venerated for a long time, not only all over Russia herself, but far beyond her boundaries.

According to tradition it was here that the Apostle St. Andrew, "Pervosvannoi" (the "first-called") lived. From this monastery the Christian Faith spread all over Finnish Karelia and the Olonetz district, and, thanks to the vigorous work of the monks, the wild morose nature of Valaam was radically changed: the forests were cleared, the soil levelled, roads constructed, on the bare rocks orchards, nurseries and gardens were cultivated, and there now grow in abundance apples, all sorts of berries and vegetables, and there, too, are majestic cedars, fir, pine, oak and other trees. It is not without reason that Valaam is called an earthly Paradise, nor is it surprising that annually thousands of Russian pilgrims gather in this place to kneel before the Saints' ikons, and to refresh themselves in its spiritual atmosphere.

Valaam is famous for its natural scenery. The reputation of this charming island has spread everywhere, so that during the summer months large numbers of tourists and artists from America, England and other countries come here. Lovers of nature say that Valaam does not yield in beauty to Italy, and even to the most picturesque parts of Switzerland. It is to be regretted that foreigners visiting Valaam know but little about the past history of this glorious cloister, and its great merits in the eyes of the Russian people. If they knew the history of Valaam no doubt their respect for its monastery would increase still more.

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

The founders of the monastic life of Valaam are supposed to be St. Hermius and St. Sergius, who lived in the tenth century. In the

course of many centuries the monastery was exposed to various vicissitudes as the result of its dependence upon the historical circumstances of the Russian Empire. The monastery rose and fell and again rose from its ruins. The first destruction of Valaam was the work of the Swedes in the eleventh century, when it was burnt to the ground; but it was soon rebuilt. On the 20th February, 1575, the Swedes again attacked Valaam and killed about forty monks for being followers of the Orthodox Faith. At the present time every year on this date (20th February), the Day of the Martyrs, a Solemn Requiem takes place. In 1581 there was a plague, causing the death of many monks, and finally the whole monastery was depopulated.

In 1597, by command of the Czar Theodore, the monastery was restored and endowed by new grants of fisheries and land, churches and cells were erected, bells cast, and the monastery, supplied with all necessities, flourished once more. It continued so up to 1611, when the Swedes again attacked the monastery, and gave up everything in it to fire and sword. The Prior and the Brethren were tortured, the churches and all the buildings inside the walls burnt, and the islands became deserted, remaining in the possession of the Swedes until 1751 when, by the edict of Peter the Great it was restored. Since that time, that is during two centuries, Valaam has stood strong and has been brought to its present flourishing condition.

The forests are composed chiefly of firs, which are used for building purposes, for firewood, and for masts of ships. The trees supply fuel, and besides that about 18 lb. of resin and about 720 lb. of turpentine are annually extracted from the trees. There is an abundance of fish: salmon, trout and others. There are no large wild beasts on the island; but in the forest live rabbits, foxes, squirrels and deer. The climate is mild, the air in spring and autumn is damp, spring begins in May, and the hottest time of the year is about the end of July, when high-shade temperatures are read. In the winter, especially during January and February, the frosts are sometimes intensely severe.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RUSSIAN MONASTERIES IN GENERAL, AND OF VALAAM IN PARTICULAR.

In the course of her thousand years of history the Russian land has seen much sorrow. Who has not devastated and plundered her? There were the Petchenegs, the Polovtzes, the Turks, the Tartars, the Germans, the Swedes, the Poles, the Napoleonic invasion of 1812. But the Russian people endured everything because they possessed an immense faith in God. At all times, and especially in the difficult moments of their life, the Russians looked for assistance and consolation to faith and prayer. They prayed ardently, and being strength-

ened by faith and spiritualized by prayer, they fulfilled the great task of unifying and organizing Russia. It was not the boyars, princes, or officials whom our ancestors approached for help, but primarily they looked for advice to the abbots, clergy and the monasteries. The voice of the monasteries possessed from the very beginning of Christianity great power and significance, and the Russians had glad recourse to them, not only in spiritual matters, but even in the ordinary affairs of life.

Going back to the ninth century, Russia for the first hundred years of its life consisted of an endless number of confederations, and was composed of different tribes, not connected by any political system whatever. Only the Faith, propagated among the people chiefly by the monasteries, united into a single body a great number of those tribes, and it was owing to the Faith alone that out of the Moscow principality, that insignificant province of those days, was created the enormous Empire which lately comprised nearly one-sixth part of the globe, numbering up to 180 millions of inhabitants, with an annual increase in population of three millions. Russia's immense wealth can be explained by the fact that we were spiritually strong, that we possessed spiritual riches, and those riches we obtained chiefly in the monasteries. Thus the monasteries, unifying ancient Russia under the authority of the Metropolitan of Kiev, created the idea and the unity of the Russian nation. Simultaneously with the introduction of the Orthodox Church there appeared in Russia a knowledge of reading and writing, and the monasteries became the only centres of education in those times. It is necessary to point out also that the colonization of some uninhabited districts, all through Russian history, has been due to the work of monasteries, and hermits who, in search of solitude, were often pioneers in colonization, for the numerous pilgrims coming by thousands to the venerable recluse (Staretz) to obtain his blessing, led to the colonization of many places. Furthermore, the monasteries took an active part in the politics of Russia, because the monks and the secular clergy as a social class were the best educated in the country. It is noticeable that the clergy and the monks obtained their strongest influence over the people at the time of the Tartars' rule in Russia (thirteenth century), and the Tartars placed the clergy in a very favourable position compared with other classes. In some cases the spiritual stronghold became the national fortress. Around some monasteries, especially on the frontiers, huge walls with towers arose, provided with all necessary military equipment. The defence of the Faith was at the same time the defence of the realm. Such were the Troitsa Cloister, near Moscow, the Solovetzky Cloister on the White Sea, and others. In the seventeenth century the Solovetzky monastery protected the whole North of Russia against the Swedish attack. The monks entered into negotiations with the

King of Sweden and subsequently concluded an armistice with his generals.

In 1854 (the Crimean War) that same monastery was under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Alexander, who was at the same time the Commandant of the fortress. In fact, the Russian monasteries were the advance troops of the Russian people, and the torches on the path of their historical life, so there is nothing surprising in the fact that Russian sovereigns and people always treated the monks with veneration.

Orthodox tradition tells us how Russian princes used to invite the monks to their table, how they did not venture to approach the monastery walls on horse-back, how, in accordance with ancient custom, even the Czar was obliged humbly to lead the donkey ridden by the Patriarch in the city of Moscow in religious processions, how the Czar did not venture to sit at the Patriarch's table, and even waited on him on official occasions.

The following extracts will illustrate the importance of our monasteries in Russian life :—

"The period of the Mongols had come. Only the clergy and the monasteries maintained Russia's independent life, they were the only ones who did not bow their heads beneath the foreign yoke. The people died, the princes died with them, for the orthodox Faith, for the country's freedom, and finally they broke their chains. In the course of Russian history, the clergy rendered great services to the national life. During the troublous times of the seventeenth century, for the second time our Mother Land was saved by men like Hermongenus, Dyonisius, and Abraham Palitzin." (Tourgenyeff, *Journal of the Home Office*, 1836.)

"The monasteries always supplied fresh sources of strength for the Government. In the building up of Russian life it fell to their lot to play a most important part, and in the hour when trials threatened the country they were so placed as to act as leaders of the people with flying banners of faith and manhood." (Arzibasheff, *The Coming Ruin of Russia*, 1908.)

"Further let us not forget the fact that in our Russian monasteries are found the Chronicles, those treasures of history; that we have to thank those peaceful hermits entirely for the fact that ancient Russia has not perished for us." (Tourgenyeff.)

Such was the importance of the Russian monasteries. The enemies of Russia in our own day have quickly realized this fact and endeavoured to destroy the very foundation of its national life by first of all attacking the monasteries. Of the 900 Russian monasteries at present there are not more than ten which are left unmolested. All the rest have been plundered wholesale, and whatever could be



SCENES ON THE ISLAND OF VALAAM.



PROCESSIONS AT THE ISLAND MONASTERY OF VALAAM.

destroyed has been destroyed. The only one which the hand of the Bolsheviks could not touch at all is the Valamo Monastery, because in 1918 Finland became independent, and Valamo fortunately was united to that Republic. Evidently God's providence and wisdom has preserved Valamo in order that posterity should know what it was that kept alive the soul of the Russian nation and what the monasteries of Russia were like. This monastery was and still is famous for its widespread missionary and charitable activities. Valamo gave itself to missionary work beyond the borders of our country. In the nineteenth century the Aleutian islands were discovered by Russian fishermen, and the first preachers of the Gospel there were Valamo monks. They erected churches and schools, they taught the newly-baptized all sorts of trades and professions, and in addition they were occupied with scientific work. Thus the head of the mission, Bishop Yoassaf, was the first to write about the Aleutian Islands in his work, *A Topographical, Climatic, Statistical and Moral Description of Kadyuk Island*.

In times of war Valamo has been one of the first to come to the assistance of our country, and has sent forth its monks in the capacity of military chaplains, supplied the field-churches with sacred plate and everything necessary, and sent its Brethren to the Front as Red Cross workers, or even as ordinary combatants. In the Great War especially Valamo made itself highly useful. Hundreds of monks were ordered to join the ranks of the Russian forces. What their sacrifices upon the altar of their country were may be seen from the fact that out of 1,400 Brethren before the War at Valamo, only about 500 are now left. The rest disappeared as prisoners or met a glorious death on the battle-fields.

Valamo is famous also for its many workshops, where laymen came, and still come, and after learning a trade there return to their homes as experts to earn their daily bread. The workshops of Valamo are the following: Painting, casting, silvering, bookbinding, wood-carving, gilding, locksmith's, watch-making, photography, tailoring, shoe-making, carpentering, as well as bakeries, and provision for coppersmiths, coopers, etc. There are also works for making candles, pottery and leather. The Cloister maintains a number of Russians and Finns of the poorer classes by providing work, food and clothing for them.

INTERNAL LIFE OF THE MONASTERY.

The monastery of Valamo is at present under the control of the Finnish Orthodox Church. The chief characteristic of the life of the monastery is seen in the strict observance of its Rule. By this the order of common work, common prayer, common meals, and the habit are determined by the whole brotherhood. To everybody

entering the monastery to become a monk a Staretz ("venerable old man") is appointed, that is to say, usually a monk of advanced age and experience in the spiritual life. Every new-comer is obliged all through his life openly to confess all his affairs, desires and thoughts, and also to follow the advice and guidance of his "Staretz" in everything. All the monks from the Prior downwards take an active part during the summer in making the hay, and planting and gathering vegetables and fruit. There are certain places where several men work together as a rule, and among them is a senior, called Master (Khosyain), and before his blessing is given nobody is allowed to begin, finish or to alter his share of the work. The labour starts and ends with prayer. Divine Service is performed with all the exactitude required by ecclesiastical regulations. The early Divine Service starts at three o'clock in the morning and lasts three hours, then comes the Early Liturgy, and at nine o'clock the Late Liturgy. Every Liturgy takes one and a half hours, and on Sundays and Holy Days, two hours. After the Morning Service, all the Brethren, except those on duty, drink tea, and then go to work in the workshop, factory, or waterworks, or to the fisheries, milk farm, stables, garden, orchard, forest or fields. Ten o'clock is the dinner time, from eleven again work, from two to three, tea, and then work again. From five to seven o'clock the evening Divine Service takes place, at seven o'clock supper, and the evening is concluded with prayer. With such a daily routine in which ten to eleven hours each day are devoted to prayer and work, peace and happiness reign in the monastery. The majority of the monks are young men or men of middle age. The Church music is ancient and pure Russian, its tones are majestic, slow and sombre, and at Valamo seem to harmonize completely with the surrounding wild nature, huge masses of granite, and the dark forest and deep water.

Divine Worship is performed most solemnly on Sundays and Holy Days, the Prior himself celebrating with some ten to twelve regular monks, and with the assistance of four or five Deacons. Religious processions are always distinguished by their great solemnity and present a majestic sight, for there are gathered together a multitude of people of all ranks and ages, conspicuous for their reverence and ardour. In front of such processions a great number of banners, the Cross and lights are carried, then follow in pairs the choristers (monks), behind them the ikons carried on special stands, then a number of priests in bright vestments, and finally a large assembly of brothers and crowds of worshippers.

On visiting another cell, instead of knocking, the visitor says a prayer: "Lord Jesus, our Father, have mercy upon us," and as soon as he hears in reply, "Amen," he enters and at first bows three times, crossing himself and then only, after the usual greeting, explains the purpose of his visit. In greeting the Brethren say to one

another, "Christ is among us," and the younger one always replies, "He is and will be."

During the common meal the Brother, whose turn it is, reads from the Lives of the Saints, and a deep silence is observed. None of the inhabitants of the monastery are allowed to possess private property, for all that is necessary for their life is supplied by the monastery itself.

Pilgrims and guests who come to Valamo are welcomed and given board and lodging, free of charge, for ten days, those who desire to pay for their maintenance usually drop some money into a special box for the purpose in accordance with their generosity and ability.

The monastery has at its disposal three steamers, the largest called *The Valamo*, carrying a load up to 160 tons and some 700 passengers. Another steamer, called *Sergius*, renders good service to the monastery, carrying fire-wood, timber and the like between distant hermitages and the islands. There is a third steamer named *Nicolai*.

Not very long ago the monks erected a water-dock for these steamers, and for Valamo's large sailing vessels as well. The flotilla requires constant repair and painting, and previous to the one just referred to there did not exist a single dock on the whole of Lake Ladoga. Now steamers and vessels belonging to various commercial companies come into the dock for repairs, and thus the monastery serves private interests.

In 1910 a Museum was organized within the monastery for the preservation of local Church antiquities. Unfortunately, in spite of its thousand years of existence, Valamo, in consequence of destruction and disastrous fires, has lost many of its most ancient monuments. The last destruction of Valamo in 1611, however, was foreseen by the authorities, who were thus enabled to hide the more valuable treasures in good time. The contents of the Museum consist of manuscripts and printed books, church vessels, plate, etc., and represent chiefly gifts from Russian princes and other donors. There are exhibited also a great number of articles which have no direct relation to religion, but are of great interest on account of their antiquity and rarity, for instance, old Russian counters and medals. The following objects are notable:—

A pewter mould from a portrait of Alexander II., with a representation of worshipping peasants. It bears the inscription 19th February, 1861, which is the date of the liberation of the serfs by the Czar Liberator. A "receipt," made of brass, issued in the reign of Peter the Great as a licence for the right of wearing beard and moustache. The date is marked 1785. The same plate from the back represents beard and moustache, with the inscription, "Dyengi Vzyati" ("money received.") A collection of some ancient Roman

and Greek coins. Two copper coins showing the face of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Greek). A small collection of English coins.

The Valamo Museum also contains rare books and manuscripts. There is, for instance, a copy of Calvin's *Instructions Concerning the Faith*, in Latin, printed in 1577, and there are many valuable manuscripts also.

The Sacristy and its contents provide a collection unique in the whole Orthodox world. There are a great number of vases, and some Bibles bound in pure gold. The following perhaps are specially remarkable:—

A "plashtchanitza" (a representation of the shroud in which our Saviour was wrapped when he lay in the tomb), with needlework figures, valued at about 2,000 gold roubles. An ikon of Our Lady, which once hung in the bedroom of the Empress Elizabeth, and which is decorated with emeralds and precious stones. Another ikon of Our Lady in silver and precious stones weighs 13 lb.

The Library of the Monastery is a good one. There are books in Syriac, Greek, Latin, Arabic, German, English, Finnish, Vlach, Bulgarian, Esthonian, and other languages, and it comprises works on the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, Church History, Theology, Archaeology, Natural Sciences, Medicine, Psychology, Philosophy, and many other subjects.

There are altogether eighteen Churches inside the walls of Valamo Monastery. The great Church was completed in 1890. It is 210 feet in length and 105 feet wide. The belfry is 231 feet high. There are many bells, the biggest of them weighs about sixteen tons. It is called Andrei Pervosvannoi (Andrew the first-called), and its ring can be heard for a distance of thirty miles. The iconostas is of wood, richly gilded, and is built in four stages. The Altar is of pure silver, and weighs 250 lb., and is entirely covered with precious stones. For the Liturgy on Holy Days two Deacons carry a book of the Gospels, of which both covers are of pure gold. The book weighs 76 lb.

All the building materials at Valamo, such as bricks, cement, timber, etc., are produced on the island itself. Among the annexes to the monastic buildings, the following are mentioned:—A water-works. A stable of some 70 Finnish horses. A granary. A milk farm of 100 cows of the famous Kholmogor breed. Works for the production of resin and turpentine. A tannery for preparing leather for foot-wear and sheepskins for furs. Fish ponds in which fish are bred from spawn during the autumn and winter months. In spring, after proper feeding, the fish are let out into the monastery straits in quantities of some 50,000 or more. Brick kilns and pottery shops where domestic pottery, teapots, jugs, etc., are made.

The revenues of the Valamo monastery were and still are derived chiefly from the fisheries, corn mills, salt works, and meadow land,

the income of four guest houses, and the donations of various benefactors.

The monastery is under the jurisdiction of the autonomous Orthodox Church of Finland, which autonomy was granted by the Patriarch Tikhon in February, 1921.

PROTESTANTISM AND ORTHODOXY.

By L. PATTERSON, D.D., VICE-PRINCIPAL OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, EDGBASTON.

THE Russian religious and philosophical journal "Put" ("The Way") has recently published some interesting articles which report (1) a correspondence between Prof. Hans Ehrenberg and Protopresbyter S. Bulgakoff; and (2) an address given by Herr G. G. Kuhlmann to the Student Christian movements at Bana Kostened, Bulgaria. The articles are of value as illustrating the Protestant and Orthodox attitudes towards the Bible, the position of the laity in the Church, and similar questions. It is proposed here to give a fairly full account of the contents of these articles and of the position adopted by the respective writers.

Prof. H. Ehrenberg, who has published a book in two volumes entitled "Oestliches Christentum" (*Eastern Christianity*), and written sympathetic articles on Orthodoxy, begins his letter by asserting that the Christianity of other fraternal confessions is a *terra incognita* for the majority of Christians, and this statement applies not only to educated people but even to theologians. In estimating the value of another communion, it is extraordinarily hard to separate what is deserving of love, from that which does not deserve it. Joy in one's own church and love for it often conceals spiritual pharisaism and personal self-exaltation. Each particular church is threatened by the danger of hardness in religious life and weakness in faith: even the existence of another church besides one's own lets loose evil passions and defiles the springs of high and noble feelings of religion. There can be no true and real religion while all we Christians are not of the same faith. We still tolerate the existence of heathenism, but believing in the revelation of God and the Bible, men cannot be reconciled to a multiplicity of churches. Therefore each of us must aim at rising about his confession of faith, not departing from it, but instilling into it all the fulness of super-confessionalism.

But is this possible, while the comparison is only one-sided? It may be that the conditions for such a comparison are agreeable

to both sides. Prof. Ehrenberg points out that, in his book "*Eastern Christianity*," he exposed himself to suspicions in Protestant circles, of one-sidedness and excessive sympathy with the Orthodox Church. On the other hand, Fr. Bulgakoff and his followers manifest such impartiality in inter-confessional questions that there seem to be grounds for hope of success.

Prof. Ehrenberg is impressed by the fact that in the territory of the Orthodox Church there are not only nurseries of evangelical teaching but a wide propaganda is also conducted, which in recent times enjoys considerable success. He would like to know Fr. Bulgakoff's opinion of the Stundist movement.*

This corresponds to the Pietistic movement in the Evangelical Church, and affects the mutual relations of the Evangelical and Orthodox Churches.

Religion is both individual and social: it is the religion of separate persons and of the whole people. There are two views of religion, orthodox and pietistic. In the form of Pietism Protestantism has ceased to be exclusively Protestant and has occupied an independent position. Orthodox religion presents itself as ecclesiastical; pietistic religion as non-ecclesiastical and individual.

Christianity was obliged from the beginning to be concerned with the Church, that is with a material or political form and to create its own spirituality, hierarchy and dogmas. Orthodox religion is founded on hierarchy and dogmas, the religion of the pietists is based on the Bible alone. The Bible occupies a notable place in Orthodoxy, but only as a Sacred book: it does not enter into religion as its immediate support, and in this respect it is not distinguished from an ikon. It is the opposite with Protestants. The Reformation set aside the hierarchy and, though this is not generally acknowledged, it sets aside dogmas, in order to clear the road for the Bible. Pietism is inexorable in this connection. In consequence, the Bible stands on a lower plane in Orthodoxy, while in Pietism it stands above all, and has nothing beyond itself.

Lastly, there is the relation between the church and the people. It is impossible to say that the church, as an institution, and the people are one and the same thing. They never exist as one and the same thing, though they must coincide in one. Protestantism raises this vision to reality. If the church is cancelled, the people remains ecclesiastical. The Protestant church consists only of a people gathered together; in consequence there is a faith of praying people in place of doctrine. Our church is the nation; the nation

* This sect, named from *Stunden* (devotional hours) probably originated from the propaganda carried on from 1824, by Lutheran pastors in the district of Odessa. [v. Hastings, E.R.E., Vol. XI., p. 343.]

is a union of believers. The Orthodox, as Dostolevsky expressed it, are faced always with the question, How to reach the people? The church is not founded on the people, but the people on the church.

Prof. Ehrenberg has heard in the circles "Light of the East," that educated Russian people, in returning to the faith, always return to Orthodoxy, few educated men to Stundism. This time he limits himself to the question about the place occupied by the people in Church life, from which the question about religion proceeds, and asks for Fr. Bulgakoff's opinion about it.

In reply, Fr. Bulgakoff describes Prof. Ehrenberg's letter as one of the comforting symptoms of the growing aspiration towards unity in the whole Christian world, which is impossible without mutual understanding. Conversations must not be conducted for amiability or compromise, but for the sake of knowledge of inexorable truth. Prof. Ehrenberg is the bearer of an important mission, the acquainting of the Protestant world with Russian religious thought. For this matter there is need of much love, which is possible even toward one who does not belong to the visible Church.

Firstly, as to the relations of Church and Bible. *Biblicism*, absorption in the Bible, is the property of the Protestant world, as much of the Anglo-Saxon as of the German. Outside *Biblicism* nothing remains in Protestantism but an acid "protest" and criticism.

Biblicism is not essential to Orthodoxy, because Orthodoxy, on a general view, is not the religion of a book, but of immediate mystery, and performance of Divine Service. The Bible enters into it, not as a book, but as a fact of mysterious experience. The Bible, especially the Gospels and the New Testament, are parts of Divine Service; the Gospel is not only read, but lives in the Church. However, Orthodoxy is so rich and complex, that, generally speaking, less of human powers is perceived in it, than in simple and one-sided Protestantism. In spite of this one-sidedness and prejudice, born of the "protest," Protestantism is orthodox.

Historically, the Reformation had a notable justification, in the moral and spiritual corruption of contemporary Papalism. The Reformers saved Christian freedom from slavery, though, alas, at an incalculably dear cost. But now the Reformation itself needs to free itself from Protestantism by return to the Church, with its proved and affirmed values, but should not continue the destruction of the Church.* As regards Russian Protestantism or Stundism

* This movement has already begun, and is manifested by the publication of *Una Sancta* (the organ of the High Church (Lutheran) Union). [Note by Prof. Bulgakoff.]

we regard it as a movement not so much Biblical as anti-ecclesiastical.

Stundism is another religion, which approaches to still more rationalistic sects and degenerates into humanitarianism and Socialism. Not Biblicism, but insensibility to mysteries and lack of reverence for the Mother of God animates them. The Stundists, in the majority of cases, know the Bible better than even professional theologians, but they know in a deadly, Pharisaic way, without inner understanding. Stundism is the growth of human pride and intolerable Pharisaism emanates from its leaders. Biblicism, in the hands of Stundists, is anti-ecclesiastical, and not only is the Bible separated from the Church context, but there is direct opposition to all the devotion of the Church. Russian Protestantism does not do any service to the Church, and its evangelical Christianity is not Reformation, which is unnecessary in Orthodoxy, but only Protestantism, a phenomenon of Church decomposition, strengthened by the calamities of the Russian Church. In a certain type of Russian soul there is a natural union of unorthodox rationalism and proud obstinacy, and on this ground Stundism develops itself.

Orthodox life itself is the living Bible. This is for us a matter of church knowledge and need of growth. The use and influence of historical Protestantism is scientific and enlightening rather than directly missionary. We receive the Bible from Protestants with critical, generally accessible commentaries, but we reject all evangelisation, which would tear us away from the Church, as once Protestantism broke away from the Catholic Church at the Reformation. In this relation to Protestantism, Orthodoxy is not distinguished from Roman Catholicism.

As to the question of the people and the Church, there is the conflict between Roman Catholicism and the newest democracy. The teaching of Khomiakoff is essentially orthodox about the Church people considered as the body of the Church, preserving truth. The hierarchy sometimes falls into the Roman Catholic exaggeration of its own importance, establishing in Orthodoxy the Roman Catholic division into the teaching and the obedient Church (*Ecclesia docens et obediens*). But Orthodoxy keeps the high teaching about the importance of laymen in union with pastors, under the leadership of the episcopate. Yet even laymen are not characterized by passive submission. In hard and stormy times, Church people support on their own shoulders the burden of Church leadership, as to-day in the strife with the Living Church. Of course Church people can often fall sick with democracy, as the clergy may with Roman Catholic clericalism. In the Church there is no people, but there are laymen and pastors, and it is a creative problem for Orthodoxy to realize their due relationship.

The spirit of Orthodoxy is not slavery, but the freedom of the sons of God.

In the second article, Herr G. G. Kuhlmann, asserts that as Western Protestant Christians they do not come in a spirit of self-satisfaction. Never, perhaps, from the beginning of the whole Christian era has the mystical robe of Christ been so terribly torn; never, perhaps, have people so renounced Christ; never, perhaps, has Christ been so crucified again for us as now.

This meeting is not simply an exchange of polite compliments, but is a meeting under the Cross and in the light of the Resurrection.

The Orthodox cannot simply answer that they have all the fullness of life in Christ. If they are so convinced that they possess this, they will not be so cruel as to close the door of their Church. There are those who wish only for themselves to be content with their own Church. Out of fear of losing the simplicity of their own faith, they isolate themselves, they become distrustful and hostile to everyone who seems to them strange. They begin to love their own church so exclusively as to be suspicious of and hostile to every other part of Christendom.

The mystical body of Christ lives only if it dies, in order to rise again. So, and only so, the Church becomes radiant with joy, loving without limits, in universal truth.

In the Church two principles are always active, *word* and *symbol*. The word is the call of God at every moment, it is prophecy living in the Church. It unfolds unexpectedly, at the given moment, the great drama of salvation which eternally proceeds between God and man. This word is God in reality, through it God manifests our salvation.

But God is eternal. There is no end to His peace. His truth remains immutable from the beginning. And the symbol of eternal things is indispensable to us. In the symbols of the Church the invisible world of God becomes visible to us. The symbol is divine "stasis," the word the divine "dynamis."

In beautiful rhythm the Church's year reveals to us the figures of the spiritual world: the manifoldness of images of holiness, creation, the judgment of creation fulfilling itself through the Mother of God, the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ, His sufferings, Golgotha, the Resurrection and the Ascension, the Holy Spirit, descending upon the Apostles and establishing the Church at Pentecost. And in the centre of all the Eucharist, God in His endless love, sacrificing Himself for us, in order to rise again in us.

In image-worship, in the life of the liturgy, in the sacraments, the Orthodox Church preserves the secret of redemption through the Incarnation. Through the images and symbols here are incarnate divine realities.

Protestants, becoming in the name of evangelical simplicity fighters against images, too often put justification by faith higher than the mystery of the Incarnation. On the other hand, Christians of the Eastern Church were so filled with reverence for God, that they forgot about spiritual prophecy. The Orthodox Church read the word of God to the detriment of its preaching, and absorbed in the unspeakable mystery of Divine Service, it lost the feeling of apostleship.

That which happened at the Reformation, was done in the name of God. But the act, begun in the name of God, went too far, under the influence of human passions.

Now the Orthodox Church, especially the Russian, is waking up. In the face of war and revolution, the prophetic spirit blows again. The creative forces of the clergy and believers are revealed. Life is born again in parishes and religious movements arise. The Church receives again the holy fulness of word and symbol, each fulfilling the other. This movement of Russian students is no weak sign of the marvellous regeneration of the word.

This mutual penetration, strengthening spiritual regeneration in Orthodoxy, lighting the way to many contemporary Protestant movements, and able to lead the Church, Orthodox and Protestant, to an entire union of word and symbol—is not this the word of God exceeding our power?

It will be realized by most readers that the writers of these essays towards re-union have still a long way to go before they can meet on common doctrinal ground. But such generosity of spirit and desire for mutual understanding as is displayed by them is the ground of hope of ultimate agreement between members of different confessions of faith. For an Anglican, the interest of such an exchange of views lies in the fact that the historical development of the English Church enables him to appreciate something of the point of view, both of Orthodoxy and of Evangelical Protestantism.

MODERN ACTIVITIES IN THE CHURCH OF GREECE.

By EUPHROSYNÉ KEPHALA.

WHEN in Athens I heard much of the religious movement in the Church centred round a religious paper called the "Zoé" (Life), and interest prompted me to go to the Editor's office and hear all about it. It was refreshing to hear of any religious revival in an age of materialism and in a country like Greece, distracted by years of war and, as well as internecine feud, by many catastrophes great enough to submerge the soul of any nation.

"But God has His party also" were the words of comfort that I heard from the quiet, earnest-looking Editor of the "Zoé" after I had climbed the steep hills of Lycabettus and was resting in the quiet room out of the glare of the white streets. And from what I heard about the movement centred round the paper, of its origin, influence and widespread activities, I realised the truth of these words.

From the editor-in-chief, Dr. Panaghiotopoulos, I heard how the paper was first started and its objects. There are four laymen, all doctors of divinity of Athens University who manage the paper in collaboration with the acting-editor, whom I saw. I was intensely struck by his earnestness of manner, while telling me of the work, by his intense devotion to it, and above all by that passionate love of humanity which is inborn in some souls. Every place has an atmosphere of its own, and from every person there emanates an atmosphere also. The atmosphere I felt in the room, up that steep street, was something akin to the atmosphere which surrounded the Apostles of old—a burning zeal to do the work of the Master, and Saviour, here on earth among our fellowmen.

The "Zoé" was founded fifteen years ago by the Archimandrite Pharazoulis. It is a weekly religious paper, with already 34,000 subscribers among all classes. I saw the picture of the founder who was its first editor until his death in 1920.

He gathered round him a band of earnest workers from among the clergy and laity, and especially from students of Theology who later on became preachers. For among those who did not seek ordination, there still remained the desire to help in the work begun by the "Zoé." Lay preachers can be licensed by the Bishop to preach sermons, as the number of clerics who belong to the Order of Preachers, is unfortunately still small. About twenty years ago, there were scarcely any sermons ever heard in a Greek church.

This great need for preachers was the origin, or largely the origin

of the movement round the "Zoé." The then Bishops did not encourage sermons; were if anything inimical to them.

They regarded them as an unnecessary adjunct to the worship and ritual of the Church. The people heard a sermon once, or perhaps twice a year (there were not enough preachers to do more as it had to be done by turn) and that was considered enough.

The prophetic side of the ministry in the Greek Church had been sadly neglected, although provided for by a regular Order of Preachers. This was felt by many to be harmful to the spiritual development of the Orthodox, by depriving them of food for their minds, as well as a spiritual stimulant to their souls. That this appeal to the mind as well as to the spirit is popular in the church to-day, is shown by the intense desire for, and interest in, sermons.

But a new order of things has arisen to-day in Greece. The Bishops are more enlightened and alive to the duty of the Church; they have become aware, in fact, that the Church has her battles to fight, if she is to keep up with the times, and that a Church which expects to retain its hold over the rapidly-increasing number of educated people, by simply adhering to a rigid formalism of worship, is bound in the long run to lose its influence. It would soon relapse into a dull formula bereft of true spiritual life. Thus, the Bishops now apply to the "Zoé" for lay preachers to help in the work of the Dioceses over which they preside. At the headquarters there is always a little band of enthusiasts ready for service.

A great impetus has been given to the preaching of sermons on the great truths of the Gospel.* Thus at the parish church of St. Nicolas, which is particularly connected with the "Zoé" movement, there is a sermon every Sunday, and the church is always crowded. The "Zoé" also prepares young men for the ministry by helping with funds for their training. Another great thing is the forming of Leagues all over Greece, in which men and women work together for the promotion of the Christian life. At their social gatherings they discuss religious and social questions; they endeavour to set a good example by their conduct and in the exercise of their religious duties. The subscription to the "Zoé" is a small one, so that all classes can afford it, and the subscription makes them members of the League. A great work is going on among the people; young men, women, girls, the parish priests, and higher clergy all joining in enthusiastically. Religious life is daily becoming strengthened; there are more signs of true religion to-day; it is growing up among the less well-educated in addition to the thoughtful, educated classes. The number of communicants has increased, or perhaps I should say rather that there

* The motto of the "Zoé" is: "The words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit and they are Life."

are more frequent Communion among churchgoers. For the value of the sacramental side of life is also emphasised as strengthening both the Church and its members.

Men and women are vowing themselves to lives of chastity and work among the poor, and yet not neglecting the practical side of life for the purely contemplative side. There is a publishing department which aims at spreading cheap books and tracts on religion for the masses, written in a popular style. There are also issued little books for children equally simple in style, and language. At their little bookshop I saw the kind of literature they publish, and I felt it could not be better.

This is, in a few words the work being carried on to-day by the staff and members of the "Zoé" through its valuable publication. The paper itself is not a large one, but the matter it contains more than justifies its wide circulation. It deals entirely with religious subjects, such as explanatory articles on the Gospels and Epistles, in order to make their meaning clear to the less educated. The summary of a sermon preached, events of Church history and current ecclesiastical news make up its contents. The Editor hopes for a great religious revival to grow out of the movement; a revival which is to spread and permeate all classes and the life of the whole nation with its fresh spiritual vigour and humanitarianism.

As I left him, the last words were, "The harvest is great, but the labourers are few."

THE PLACE OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN CHURCH HISTORY.

By C. B. Moss.

THE greatness of Constantinople rests on its geographical position. The city lies at the point where two great trade routes, which have been in constant use for war and trade since long before the beginning of history, intersect. The sea passage through the Bosphorus and Hellespont was the road by which, in ancient as well as modern times, the corn from Southern Russia reached the lands round the Mediterranean. In the fifth century B.C. the Athenians depended absolutely on the command of the route by which the corn-ships came. When their fleet was destroyed at Aegospotami in the Hellespont, Athens was doomed, and she knew it. On the other hand, Constantinople also commanded the passage between Asia and Europe. No European people could attack Asia, no Asiatic conqueror could invade Europe by land as long as a strong power held the Bosphorus and the Hellespont.

Each of these routes was of fundamental importance in the late war. Had we held the Straits and Constantinople so that we could have helped Russia, the war might have ended a year sooner. The possession of Constantinople was essential to the German Berlin to Bagdad scheme; the German communications with Palestine, Iraq and Persia were all through Constantinople, and their campaigns in those countries depended on their possession of it. Therefore, this site is of extreme value both to the soldier and to the merchant.

It is not the least of the proofs of the genius of Constantine the Great that he chose this site for his new capital. Byzantium had never been a place of first-rate importance. Ecclesiastically it was not even the seat of an Archbishop. It was now to become the capital of a world-wide Empire, the last stronghold and treasure-house of classical civilization, and the home of the one serious rival to the Roman See in its claim to be the head and centre of Christendom.

Why did Constantine need a new capital? The policy of the Imperial Government had always been to provide a religious basis for the allegiance of its vast variety of subjects. First they had been commanded to worship "Rome and the Augusti," and later "The Unconquered Sun." Each of these cults had its festivals, its temples, its hierarchy of priests. The Christians had been persecuted because they alone among the subjects of the Empire (except the Jews, who were excused) refused to take part in these imperial cults. But the persecutions had failed. Christianity could not be stamped out even by the power of Rome. Constantine conceived the brilliant idea of entering into alliance with it, and making it the religious basis of his Empire. But the strong heathen tradition of old Rome was a serious obstacle to his design. He therefore erected on the site of the ancient Byzantium a New Rome which was to be Christian from its foundation. It was modelled on its predecessor: it had seven hills, a Senate, and, nominally, all the ancient constitutional magistracies and assemblies. But Christian churches took the place of the temples.

Its foundation was a turning-point in the history of the Empire and of the Church. The Church became, as we should say, "established," officially connected with the State with all the advantages and disadvantages of that position. The centre of the Empire was shifted eastward; it became more and more Greek, less and less Latin; and in that age the eastern Greek-speaking part of the Empire was more civilized, more populous, and more completely christianized than the western Latin-speaking part, as well as less exposed to barbarian invasion. Constantine's choice was justified. Rome was sacked again and again; by Alaric the Visigoth in 410, by Genseric the Vandal in 455, by Totila the Ostrogoth in 547, but no barbarian conqueror ever entered Constantinople,

thanks to her impregnable walls and her magnificent harbour, until 1204.

Constantine soon found, as Napoleon did afterwards, that if the Church is to be of use to the Empire-builder, the Church must speak with a single voice. He and his successors were not concerned with doctrinal truth, but they were very much concerned with ecclesiastical order. When controversy broke out, the Emperor's plan was to summon all the bishops of the Empire (or as many of them as possible) to a Council, let them decide the question once for all, and then punish all who refused to accept their decrees. But it was soon found that this method did not necessarily put an end to strife. The Emperors, therefore, determined to enforce the definition which the largest number could accept. This was why the House of Constantine supported Homœan Arianism. "No Christian will deny that the Son is 'like' the Father; let us leave it at that," they said, "and let any bishop who objects be sent into exile." Naturally, Saint Athanasius could not allow the question: "Is Our Lord the Creator or only a creature?" to be left undetermined. Hence, the long struggle between the orthodox and the Court party. On the accession of the orthodox Theodosius to the throne of the East, Constantinople, which had been Arian for fifty years, accepted the faith of Nicæa, and Arianism, deprived of its Court backing, rapidly dwindled away, except among the barbarians beyond the frontier, whose apostles had unfortunately been trained at Constantinople at the time when it was Arian.

The return of Constantinople to orthodoxy was followed by the Second Œcumenical Council which was held in the capital itself; and the great theologian, Gregory of Nazianzus, became for a short time Archbishop of Constantinople. We notice in the Arian struggle the alliance of Rome and Alexandria against Constantinople. Both were jealous of the new capital; for Athanasius, persecuted by the Court, Rome was the natural refuge, and the consequence was the first introduction of the monasticism of Egypt into Latin Christendom. Alexandrian jealousy of Constantinople becomes more definite in the next generation. The Empress Eudoxia's persecution of St. John Chrysostom, who, like Arius came from Antioch, the home of the rival theological party, was supported by Theophilus of Alexandria. The nephew and successor of Theophilus had a still better chance of injuring the bishop of the rival see. Nestorius, who, like Chrysostom, was of the school of Antioch, had outraged popular sentiment by denouncing the title "Mother of God." Cyril of Alexandria seized his opportunity and at the Council of Ephesus, in which he commanded a majority, he had Nestorius condemned and deposed before the arrival of the bishops from Syria who might have taken his part. I do not want to deny the greatness of St. Cyril as a theologian, or the importance of the services which he

rendered to Christology. I have no doubt that the decrees of Ephesus were true, and that they were guided by the Holy Spirit, or they would not have been universally accepted. But God sometimes uses very imperfect means to effect His purposes, and I cannot admire St. Cyril as an ecclesiastical politician. Twenty years later the tables were turned. The old Constantinopolitan monk, Eutyches, an ardent admirer of Cyril and opponent of Nestorius, carried the Alexandrian doctrine a step further by teaching that our Lord's human nature was swallowed up in His Godhead. This led to the break-up of the alliance, now a century old, between Rome and Alexandria. St. Leo, one of the few Roman bishops who have also been theologians, condemned Eutyches, and his influence was dominant at the Council of Chalcedon (just opposite Constantinople) though he was not present. Dioscurus of Alexandria had presided at the "Robber-Council" of Ephesus three years before, where several bishops were lynched by the mob of ruffian monks who came with the Patriarch from Egypt; he was now deposed by the Council of Chalcedon, and a successor was sent to take the vacant throne.

Although at Chalcedon the influence of Rome in the East reached a higher point than ever before or since, it was this Council which passed the famous twenty-eighth Canon, placing Constantinople next to Rome in the precedence of the patriarchates, "because it is New Rome." This canon Old Rome refused to accept, but it has always been regarded by the Greeks as binding.

An Œcumenical council was, as its name implies, a council of the bishops of the *oikoumene*, the Roman Empire. An occasional bishop from beyond the frontier might attend, but he was like a negro bishop at the Lambeth Conference: interesting, picturesque, but of no real importance.

The councils and their decrees had the closest relation to civil politics, though only those councils whose teaching was in accordance with the traditional mind of the Church received universal and permanent acceptance. In the age that followed Chalcedon, the connection between civil and ecclesiastical politics becomes very clear. There were two great Church parties, the schools of Antioch and Alexandria; each representing a permanent element in Christian thought; one the rationalist, the other the mystical point of view; each in its extreme forms, shading off into heresy. The school of Antioch was ardently supported beyond the frontier, under the Persian King; but within the Empire it ceased to be of much importance. The two forces with which the Emperor had to reckon were Roman orthodoxy, adhering rigidly to the formula of Chalcedon which had been so largely the work of Pope Leo, and the enthusiasm of the sectaries of Egypt and Syria determined not to be governed by the Greek Emperor and his court bishops, and resolved that

neither persecution nor compromise should abate their opposition to the detested Council. The Empire was breaking up; the western extremities, Gaul, Spain and Britain were hopelessly lost; the Emperors naturally sought to keep as much as they could of what was left.

It is significant that when Italy was in the possession of the Ostrogoths, Constantinople was Monophysite; clearly it was necessary to keep Egypt and Syria in good humour. The East Syrians were finally alienated during this period; they had learnt their theology from Antioch, they could not remain in communion with Monophysite Constantinople, but they were beyond the frontier and did not count politically. Rome excommunicated Constantinople; but Rome was in the hands of the Goths. When Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narses, with a last great effort won back Italy and Africa, Constantinople returned to the faith of Chalcedon, and Justinian persecuted the Monophysites; but not too harshly. His successors tried by a series of compromises to conciliate the stubborn Egyptians.

The Fifth and Sixth General Councils were held at Constantinople; the former attempted to reconcile the Monophysites by condemning the writings of certain long dead Antiochene theologians; the latter condemned the Monothelite compromise, the last imperial attempt at peace in Eastern Christendom.

For every concession, while it infuriated the orthodox, only made the heretics demand more, until at last the distracted countries were rent away altogether from both Empire and Church by the armies of Islam.

In the age of Justinian, Constantinople was at her greatest. She was the capital of an Empire stretching from the Euphrates to the Straits of Gibraltar; her great Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom was being built; the world was ransacked for art treasures and historical relics to be stored within her mighty walls. Her armies were recovering the lost provinces; paganism was almost extinct, and it looked as though the Empire was about to enter upon a new lease of life.

The fair prospect was blighted by one of those world-shaking cataclysms which no man can foresee. Out of neglected Arabia burst the armies of the Prophet Mohammed, eager for the spoils of Constantinople, or as an alternative the joys of Paradise promised to all who fell in battle for Islam.

When the first wave of the invasion had subsided it was found that Constantinople could hold all this side the Taurus because it was Greek and Orthodox; Cilicia, Syria and Egypt, non-Greek and full of heresy and rebellion, were lost for ever. At the same time the Lombards seized most of Northern Italy. The Empire was narrowed

down into a national state, Greek in culture and language (though they still called themselves Romans) and Orthodox in religion; and, strengthened by the loss of its alien provinces, continued to defy its enemies for another eight hundred years.

During the earlier part of this period Constantinople was the main bulwark of Christendom and western civilization against Islam; for as long as the Christian Empire held the Straits, it blocked the direct land route into Europe. The Arabs could only pass round by the Caucasus (blocked by the Orthodox kingdom of Georgia) or by the Straits of Gibraltar and Spain. They did conquer most of the islands of the Mediterranean, but except Spain they never occupied permanently any part of the mainland.

Thus the infant nations of Europe were given several centuries' respite, and did not have to face Islam before they had assimilated Christianity. It is true, the Arabs got into France, but they were soon driven out again, and they were too far from their base for the assault to be prolonged.

Meanwhile, Constantinople was by far the greatest, one might say the only great city in Europe. In her churches and her libraries, her palaces and her baths, were concentrated all that was left of the classical civilization. Her civil service was the only one in Europe. The manuscripts in her libraries preserved ancient Greek literature for the modern world. While Western Europe was ravaged by the wars of half-savage Franks and Lombards, Saxons and Norsemen, in Constantinople Homer and Sophocles, Thucydides and Plato, Athanasius and Chrysostom were still studied. The Micklegard of the Norsemen, the Tzargrad of the Slavs became almost legendary in the remoter parts of Europe; even in Icelandic saga we read how the murder of the hero, Grettir the Strong, in Iceland was avenged in the barrack-room of the Varanger Guard at Constantinople.

Nor was the Church unmindful of her duty to evangelize the world. Cyril and Methodius went forth from Constantinople to convert the Slavs; their work extended from the mouth of the Danube to Bohemia; they gave the Slavonic tribes an alphabet, which is still in use, and the Greek Liturgy in Slavonic. But the greatest achievement of the Church of Constantinople was the conversion of Russia. The ambassadors of Vladimir were so much impressed with the glory of worship in the Church of the Holy Wisdom that their report led their master to send for missionaries from Constantinople, and so the greatest of all National Churches came into existence.

I pass over the iconoclastic controversy of which it has been said that the defeat of the Iconoclasts was the charter of Christian art; if Leo the Isaurian and Constantine Copronymus had been victorious,

the works of Giotto and Raphael and Murillo would have been impossible.

In 800, when, for the first time, a woman was reigning at Constantinople, the Pope crowned Charles, King of the Franks, as Roman Emperor. Of course, at Constantinople the imperial claims of Charles and his successors were treated with contempt, but the existence of a Latin as well as a Byzantine claimant to the inheritance of Caesar and Constantine prepared the way for the final separation between the Greek and Latin sections of the Church. For more than half of the five centuries before the final break Rome and Constantinople had been out of communion for one reason or another, so that it was nothing new when Pope Leo IX. excommunicated Michael Cerularius in 1054. What was new was that this time the breach was not repaired. The Greeks had been able to come to an agreement with the less developed Papacy of earlier days, but with Hildebrand's full-blown institution no compromise was possible, and the final seal was set on the schism by the Fourth Crusade.

In the eleventh century the place of the Arabs in the van of Islam was taken by the Seljuk Turks. They crossed the Taurus and took from the Empire a large part of Anatolia, which became the Sultanate of "Roum"; it was their oppression of the pilgrims to Jerusalem which led to the Crusades. In 1203 a crusading host assembled at Venice for the recovery of Jerusalem, consented to a bargain with the Republic by which the Crusaders should have the use of the Venetian fleet if they would first help to collect Venetian debts at Constantinople. A dynastic quarrel aided what was really a piratical raid, and for the first time in its history the great city was sacked by a foreign enemy. The so-called Crusaders committed every kind of sacrilege and obscenity in the churches, burnt the libraries, and by their treatment of the Greeks made all hope of reunion finally impossible. Constantinople never recovered from this blow. For sixty years "Latin Emperors" reigned in the city, while its rightful lords took refuge at Nicæa or Trebizond. Then the Latins were expelled, but the Empire was never again what it had been. The bulwarks of Europe had been torn down by those whom it had so long protected, and it failed to keep out the next wave of barbarians, the Ottoman Turks. For nearly two centuries the decaying Empire continued to exist; until in 1453 the final catastrophe came, and the second city of Christendom became the headquarters of a horde of barbarians from central Asia, incapable of any art but war, and rotten with the most unspeakable vices. The churches were turned into mosques, and other mosques were built on their model, but always by Christian architects; the Turk could not even build a house of prayer for himself. The core of his armies, the regiment of Janissaries, was composed of Christian children

born from their homes in early childhood and brought up in the Sultan's barracks to oppress their kinsfolk. You may judge what the Turk is by comparing Asia Minor to-day with what it was under the Roman Empire. The Christians became "rayah," cattle; allowed to practise their religion, but forbidden the use of arms, and relegated to that underworld of intrigue tempered by massacre which is the lot of Christian subjects of a Moslem ruler, especially when that ruler is a Turk. All the Orthodox subjects of the Turks, of whatever race, formed a single "millet" of subject people under the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was always a Greek, and was appointed, and frequently deposed, by the Sultan. It soon became clear that the Russian Church could no longer be subject to a Patriarch who was himself the nominee of the Sultan, and she first became self-governing and then set up a Patriarchate of her own, which in the eyes of the Orthodox took the place of Rome, now fallen into heresy and schism.

But the Slavonic and Rumanian subjects of the Turk were forced to accept Greek bishops and Greek clergy. When at last the Serbs, the Rumanians and the Bulgarians were freed from the Turkish yoke by their own efforts or by those of their friends in Europe, they at once set up for themselves self-governing churches of their own nationality, and the Patriarch consented to this, except in the case of the Bulgarians, who are still out of communion with Constantinople, though not with Russia. When the Greek War of Independence broke out, the Turks hanged the Patriarch over his own door, not for any act of treason, but in revenge for the rebellion of their "rayah." Greece, now independent, was separated from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch by mutual consent and placed under its own Synod, which in the last few years has been reformed to bring it into accordance with Catholic tradition, and to free it from the former excessive control of the Government.

To-day the Patriarch of Constantinople holds a triple position. He is the head of the small group of Orthodox who still remain in Constantinople (in every other part of the Turkish dominion all Christians have been massacred or expelled). He has also under his jurisdiction certain dioceses which since 1912 have been part of free Greece. As well as Archbishop of Constantinople, he is Patriarch of the Patriarchal Province of Constantinople. And thirdly, he is the centre, as Œcumenical Patriarch, of the whole Orthodox Communion, with its 110 millions of members, which cannot act as a body or perform its normal functions as long as Turkish jealousy prevents the Patriarch from taking counsel with his brethren. It has been intended for some time to hold a Pan-Orthodox Council at Mount Athos, but it seems to be impossible, not only because of the persecution in Russia, but also

because the Turkish Government refuses to allow the Œcumenical Patriarch to attend it.

We shall not forget that the Church of Constantinople was the first of all churches outside formally to recognize that our episcopal succession is as valid as that of Rome. The *locum-tenens* of the Patriarchate in 1921 died in England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury read the Gospel at his Pannychidi. The present Patriarch, Basil III., for the first time in history, sent a formal letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, similar to that sent to his brother Patriarchs, announcing his succession.

The future of Constantinople is hidden from us. But I cannot believe either that Europe will allow this great European city, with its magnificent past and its unique site, to remain a provincial town in a small semi-barbarous Asiatic state; or that the day will not yet come, even though our generation threw away our chance of bringing it to pass, when the Liturgy will once more be celebrated in the grandest of Christian cathedrals, and when the Œcumenical Patriarch will preside at the Council which is to restore, at any rate in part, the shattered unity of Christendom.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

REFERENCE was made in the last issue of *The Christian East* to the fact that the Association has adopted a badge, the design of which is based upon the Ikon of the Association. The Ikon itself is perhaps not as familiar to members as it might be. In fact, it has come to the Secretary's knowledge that some are not even aware that the A. and E.C.A. has its own special Ikon. But, after the manner of many Guilds, Clubs, Schools, Societies and the like in the Orthodox world, we have had for the last twelve years or so an Ikon which expresses in pictorial form the ideals for which the Association exists.

We print as the frontispiece in this issue a reproduction of the Ikon, and quote from the Fifth Report the following description of it:—

'A Sacred Ikon has been adopted as emblematic of the Union, representing the Exaltation of the Cross. A somewhat unusual representation of the events, commemorated by East and West alike on September 14th, shows standing on the left of the Holy Cross St. Sylvester, Pope and Patriarch of the West in the time of the Emperor Constantine, seen below, who, after his vision, displayed the Cross as the banner of the Empire. On the right (*i.e.*, left of picture) is the Patriarch Macarius of Jerusalem, in

whose presence the Empress Helen, who stands below, found the Cross, and erected it for veneration at Jerusalem, A.D. 325. Also is commemorated the rescue of the Holy Cross from the Persians and its restoration and exaltation in Jerusalem, A.D. 629.

As a symbol, therefore, of our Society, the picture sets forth the Cross of Sacrifice and Love, as the means of uniting all peoples, preached alike by East and West as the sign of our common Faith and duty and ultimate triumph. This Ikon has also been adopted by our sister Russian Society."

The design of the badge now adopted is a simplification of the central portion of the Ikon (*i.e.*, the Cross and the figures of St. Sylvester and St. Macarius) on a background of green enamel. The whole is enclosed in an oval border bearing the title of the Association, and measures one inch by three-quarters of an inch.

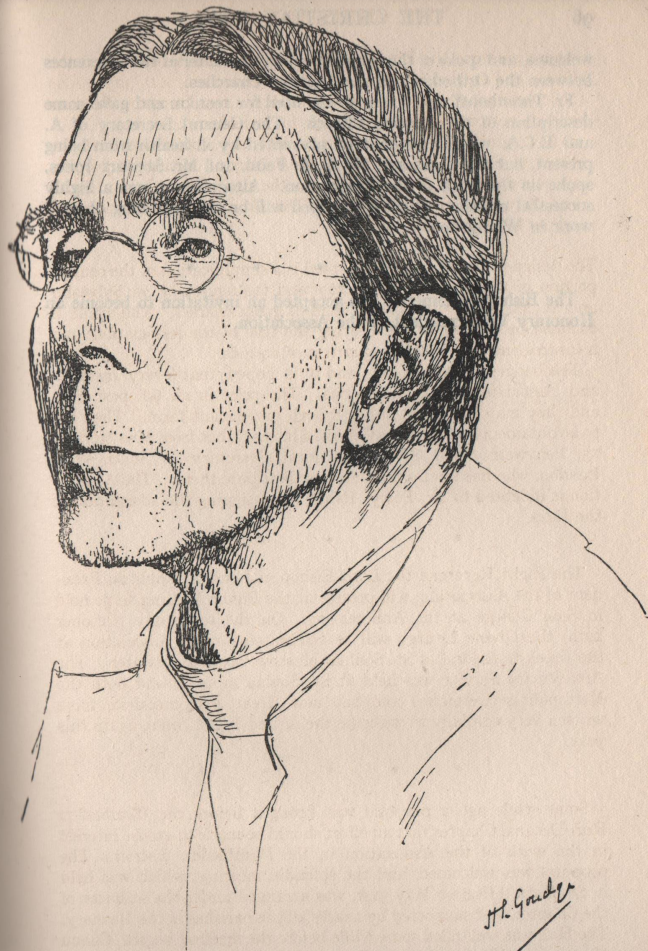
The badges are now ready, and it is hoped that every member and Associate will purchase one. The price is 1s. 6d. post free, and they may be had in either brooch or pendant form. They are to be obtained, not from the General Secretary, but from Miss Morant, 15, Penywern Road, S.W.5, the local Secretary for South West London, who has kindly consented to distribute them. The Association is indebted to Mr. Powys Evans for designing the adaptation of the Ikon.

* * * * *

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, Anglican President of the Association, will preside at the Public Meeting to be held in Sion College at the Anniversary. On the same day (October 12th) the Divine Liturgy will be celebrated for the Association at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Moscow Road, Bayswater. The Anniversary Service was held at St. Sophia in 1924, and both the Metropolitan Germanos and the new Great Archimandrite have written very cordially to welcome the A. and E.C.A. there again this year.

* * * * *

Some while ago a proposal was brought before the Wimbledon Ruri-Decanal Chapter that an effort should be made to arouse interest in the work of the Association in the Wimbledon district. The proposal was welcomed, and the splendid meeting, which was held in St. Mark's Hall on May 31st, was arranged under the auspices of the Chapter, and supported by nearly all the parishes in the Deanery. The Hall was well filled some while before the meeting began. Canon Monroe, the Vicar and Rural Dean of Wimbledon, was in the chair, and many of the local clergy were on the platform. The principal speaker was the Right Rev. Dr. Gore, who received an enthusiastic



THE REV. CANON H. L. GOUDGE, D.D., REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Drawn for "The Christian East" by MR. POWYS EVANS.

welcome, and spoke of the complementary character of the differences between the Orthodox and the Anglican Churches.

Fr. Timotheieff also spoke on the need for reunion and gave some description of the Russian Church. The General Secretary of A. and E.C.A. was, unfortunately, prevented by ill-health from being present, but the Treasurer, Mr. G. F. Feild, and Mr. Stewart Jones, spoke on the work of the Association. Altogether it was a highly successful meeting, which it is hoped will be the beginning of good work in Wimbledon.

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The Bishop of Limerick has accepted an invitation to become an Honorary Vice-President of the Association.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

The following important letter was sent by the Patriarch of Alexandria some months ago to the Head of the Synodical Church in Russia :—

MELETIOS, by the Grace of God Pope and Patriarch of the Great City of Alexandria and all Egypt, to the most Rev. the Metropolitan of Petrograd, Benjamin, and the most sacred Metropolitans and Bishops with him of the Holy Orthodox Church in Russia.

With brotherly eagerness we have read your letters numbered 3675, and dated October 20, of the past year. We learn from them the restoration of normal relations between the Church over which you preside and the Government of your country and we are informed by them of the organization of Metropolitan Sees and Bishoprics, theological Academies and Seminaries, of theological Magazines and of Church life as a whole and we sincerely rejoice that in spite of adverse circumstances and the anomalous life of your country, the Faith flourishes and her works follow her.

We delight also in your assurances, that despite the keenness of passions called forth by the separation and division into mutually hostile groups of the most Holy Church in Russia, you hold firmly the spirit of love and peace and cherish a lively desire and take ceaseless care for the restoration of the desired unity of all those who are in disagreement. But we do not at all desire that you should infer from this our communication and declare as a result that the most Holy Church of Alexandria recognizes you as the only Orthodox Church in Russia, to the exclusion of other groups which are in disagreement with you. For, to speak the truth, we, finding ourselves far from your country and deprived of the means of ascertaining accurately the actual ecclesiastical position in Russia—from the point of view of rightness of profession and canonicity of practice—cannot decide officially which of the many divisions of the Russian Church has wholly or in part the right on its side. Therefore we refrain from expressing definitely our judgment on the ecclesiastical position in Russia; but while awaiting a suitable time for such a definite judgment, we honour and embrace with much love both the Synod and those in communion with it and those who honour the memory of the blessed Patriarch Tikhon, and every



AN ANGLICAN AND ORTHODOX GROUP AT LAUSANNE.

other separated group, so far as, from the information we receive, it appears to be holding fast the dogmas of the Orthodox Church and functioning under a canonical hierarchy. Far therefore from ascribing to this our letter the intention of strengthening the section over which you preside, you will recognize in it the lively desire we have to see removed, as swiftly as possible, the discord between hierarchy and flock in the most Holy Church of Russia and blessed harmony and love restored in the bond of peace, wherein we were all called, and without which there can be no salvation, either for the individual or for the whole body. For this desired peace we do, and will do, everything possible. But when peace is restored and the mist of passions dispersed, then the work of each will be made manifest, whether, that is, he has brought into the building of Christ's Body, gold, silver or precious stones which abide for ever, or wood, hay and stubble, whose end is corruption and loss to the builder. May Christ the Chief Shepherd bless both shepherds and flocks of the Holy Church of Russia and guide them into the pastures of salvation and a haven of rest.

In Alexandria, March 5-18, 1927.

MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA,
Your brother in Christ.

We learn from "Pantainos" (May 27, 1927) that the Synodical Church in Russia, under the Presidency of Archbishop Benjamin of Petrograd, subsequently addressed an epistle to the Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria, imploring his presence at a Synod to be held in Moscow in the late autumn, with a view to a settlement of the matters in dispute between the Synodical and Tikhonist Churches. The epistle recalls the visits of former Patriarchs of Alexandria to Russia and lays stress on the troubled condition of Russia at the present time and the absolute necessity of restoring peace and unity between the warring sections of the Church. To this end it is believed that the presence and counsel of the Patriarch would greatly contribute. At the same time the epistle emphasizes the devotion of the Russian Church to Orthodoxy and her great reverence for the four Patriarchal Thrones.

The epistle bears the signature of the Metropolitan of Petrograd, Benjamin, and other members of the Synod.

This epistle was carefully considered at the spring sessions of the Synod of the Patriarchate of Alexandria under the Presidency of the Patriarch Meletios. The Synod reported as follows:—

"A letter was read from the Russian Synodical Church, appealing to His Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria to take part in a Synod to assemble in Moscow about the end of the current year, with the object of bringing peace to the Russian Church, torn in pieces and rent by divisions.

The Synod decided:—

(1) That the appeal of the Synodical Church be received in principle with a view to assisting in the pacification of the tempest-tossed Russian Church.

(2) The reception of this appeal and the contact established thereby must not be construed as a recognition of the Synodical Church, nor as preferring it above the other ecclesiastical parties in Russia.

(3) The criterion of the acts of this or that party in the transactions of the Synod must be the Holy Canons, interpreted according to the spirit of the whole Church and in particular of the Russian Church before the present abnormal position.

(4) Married Bishops shall not take part in the Synod in question.

(5) The representatives of the Patriarchates shall have freedom—assured beforehand—of opinion and decision in ecclesiastical matters.

(6) The decision regarding the possible participation of the Church of Alexandria in the anticipated Russian Synod to be communicated to the Patriarchs of the East."

THE SEMINARY OF ST. ATHANASIUS AT ALEXANDRIA.

Of the various activities set on foot by His Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria since he became Patriarch none would seem to be more full of promise than the Seminary for training young men for the priesthood, which was opened last October, and of which a report is issued in "Pantainos" of June 24th. During the College year, which has just closed, nineteen students have entered on their courses of training there. Of these students, twelve are Greek and seven Arabic-speaking (Syrian). Their course of studies includes amongst many other subjects music, both Byzantine and European, with the result that they have been able to form the choir at the Patriarchal Church on all Sundays and great festivals. In their spare time they work in the spacious gardens of the Seminary. The Seminary is managed by a committee of which the Archbishop of Nubia—who visited this country in 1925—is President. The year closed in June, when the Patriarch addressed the Seminarists after their examination was concluded. In the course of his address he spoke as follows:—"Here under the shelter of St. Athanasius, quietly, patiently, as befits serious labour, are being laid the foundations of the work of the regeneration of the Church and of the reform of the Community through her. And our joy is so much the greater inasmuch as we see that we may be useful also to the neighbouring churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. This year we have five boarders from the Throne of Antioch. During the coming year—from information we have already received—probably twice the number besides will be added to them. We always keep places for the Church of Jerusalem, but the Synod has

decided to offer places both to the Coptic and the Ethiopic Churches, with which it is the earnest desire of the Patriarch and Synod that our ties may become continually closer and more friendly, until, through the grace of the Lord and the power of the Holy Spirit, we may all arrive at the unity of the faith and the communion of the Holy Spirit. Because, if we desire the union of Western Christianity with our Church and, so desiring, labour and take part in re-union Conferences, how much more ought we to desire it with those offshoots of Christianity in the East, whose differences from Orthodoxy—when examined in a spirit of love—are not more difficult to settle than those of the West?" In dismissing the students to their homes, His Holiness said:—"You are going to your families that you may spend the time of the vacation with them; by your good manners and prudent speech commend yourselves and your spiritual Mother. Lord, keep them in Thy Name!"

THOSE who follow the "Points from Letters" column in *The Times*, will have been able to compile, if they care to do so, a formidable list of earthquakes from which the Holy Land has suffered since the beginning of the Christian Era. Unfortunately, the damage inflicted by the recent earthquake seems to be more serious and widespread than was at first supposed. The sacred sites appear to have escaped lightly on the whole, though there are some bad cracks in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is distressing to learn that the condition of their buildings is such that the Russian Nuns at Ain Karim are obliged to camp in the open. This Community and Archbishop Anastassy, in whose spiritual care it is, are well known to and loved by many English people, and it is to be hoped that something may be done to help them repair the damage which the earthquake has caused, for the Community itself is very poor. The Editors of *The Christian East* will gladly acknowledge and forward any gifts sent to them for this purpose.

THE Metropolitan of Thyatira attended the Friday afternoon session of the Anglo-Catholic Congress at the Albert Hall in July. He was accompanied by the Great Archimandrite of St. Sophia's and by Fr. Legatos (chaplain to the ex-King of Greece), who was visiting England at the time. A number of Anglican priests, among them the Rev. Arnold Pinchard, the Rev. H. J. Fynes Clinton and the General Secretary of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association attended the Metropolitan to the platform, where he was welcomed by the Bishop of Nassau. The Congress received him enthusiastically and listened with great attention to the short speech which he delivered. Although this speech and also the letters sent in greeting to the Congress by other Orthodox

Prelates will already have been read in the *Church Times* and the *Congress Handbook* respectively, we print them in this issue, as no doubt our readers will like to have them in their bound volumes of *The Christian East* as part of a permanent record of such interchanges of greeting. We think it unnecessary to enlarge upon the "direct contradiction" which a contributor to the *Church Times* professed to find between the Metropolitan of Thyatira's speech and the Archbishop of Athens' letter. An attentive reading of the two documents will show that they express one and the same Orthodox doctrine of the adoration due to the Blessed Sacrament.

HIS HOLINESS CYRIL Vth, the 112th Patriarch of the Egyptian (Coptic) Church has recently died at a very advanced age. He was elected Patriarch in 1875 and very soon the relations between the Reform Party and the Patriarch, who was the incarnation of a very solid form of Conservatism, became strained and he was exiled to a Nitvian Monastery. A reaction followed and Cyril was recalled and entered Cairo in triumph.

He was a charming, a gentle, an affectionate old man. His age must have been well over a hundred. He was over 90 when I knew him, 1902-15, and in 1897, Mrs. Butcher in her "Story of the Church of Egypt" described him as "old."

[ALGERNON WARD.]

NEW GREEK CHURCH IN CHICAGO,

A new Greek Church has been opened in Chicago, through the efforts of the Right Rev. Bishop Philaret. The first liturgy was celebrated by His Grace the Archbishop Alexander—who had been invited from New York for the purpose—and Bishop Philaret, assisted by many priests. The Church, which is a very fine structure, is dedicated to St. Basil the Great and is capable of holding some fifteen hundred people.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER.

AN APPRECIATION BY CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

EVEN if the *Christian East* were the place for a detailed narrative of the Conference or for a diary of the part in it of an ordinary delegate such as myself, my proper business being its appreciation in special regard to the Orthodox and their friendship with the Anglican Church, I will use the pages at my disposal to illustrate the relationship of the Conference to our movement.

I.

THE PROVENANCE OF THE CONFERENCE.

A few words as to the provenance of the Conference, however, are necessary in preface. Its idea was conceived twenty years ago by Mr Robert Hallowell Gardiner, an American Anglican of very definite views and by general consent of the rarest vision and spirituality who in conjunction with Bishop Brent devoted himself, his time and his large energy and means to bring it to the birth, the General Convention of the American Episcopal Church approving it and setting up the machinery for carrying it out as far back as 1910.

To say that something like an æon of change has passed over the world since 1910 is a bit of a commonplace. The Great War has left nothing the same. It has done far more than recast the political map of the nations. It has shifted all their horizons, political, social, economic, ethical, moral, teleological. Its dynamic has speeded up and has altered the transformation of the old order of modern civilization which was in swift transition before it happened and no one can forecast how the new order which it is fashioning will develop. The one thing which the observer can and must predicate is that, while on the one hand all nations, Eastern and coloured no less than Western and white, are in process of becoming more and more of a *bloc*, if not with common consciousness, at least with a common material civilization, the peoples of Europe and America are undergoing a rapid and startling modification in their habits and with them in their categories of life.

On the one hand, the spread of the grosser materialism which by principle or factually is tantamount to expressed or practical atheism and which either by forbidding, or sparing no time for, the ideal, is flinging men almost without their knowledge into the godless gulf of naturalistic ethics and morals, is in itself a rebuke to the disunion which renders the Christian name weak to resist it, and provokes Christians to combine to stem it.

On the other hand, never was there a time when strong young movements, born of the direct inspiration of the Gospel, were more impatient of the paralysis entailed by disunion among Christians, the demand for the ending of which is insistent in Christian countries only less than in the Mission Field where its shame before heathendom and the practical need for unity of front, no less than for unanimity in heart, is translating it—and very vocally during the past ten years—into action. The life and outlook of the churchgoer in the more progressive countries of Christian civilization are tending increas-

ingly to become exotic from those of the non-churchgoer. In the effort to bring home the relevancy of Christianity to those masses of every type and class which stand aloof to-day from "organized religion" the pressing necessity for the single voice and the single front is beginning to be realized by the ever-keen Christian worker at home no less than by the missionary abroad, and that not only by those who are directly engaged in widespread, international, dynamic enterprises such as those epitomized in Copec, but, as is exemplified in my own thirty years' experience of congested South London, by those whose work lies in the microcosm, e.g., of an ordinary congregation. Service is the Christian password of the day. The coefficient of service is co-ordination and, if co-ordination does not postulate Union, it points to it. Accordingly, whereas, even to the relatively few who laboured and prayed for it as precious for its own sake, Reunion was something of an academic and impracticable ideal seventeen years ago, it has come to be widely recognized that the attempt to achieve it is of the most urgent practical importance.

In short, granted that, as the pessimist tells us, the antinomies of belief and tradition which divide the Churches are insoluble—and, speaking humanly, their resolution cannot present itself as easy—at least every brave and sincere effort to bring "a rainbow into the sky" for Reunion must have the effect of making their members appreciate both their essential kinship and their common vocation, and must so make it easier for them to co-operate in the sphere of Christian "Life and Work."

Moreover, while in the world of 1910, Mr Gardiner's project seemed that of a visionary, the cosmic factors which have quickened the General Christian Mind into a sense of the profound importance of the Reunion Movement, have been accompanied by, as indeed in a large measure they have produced, a series of happenings which, in creating a new ecclesiastical position, even though they have brought the difficulty of success into relief, have worked to fashion the best of possible *terrains* for such efforts.

The volume of "*Documents on Christian Unity*,"¹ published in 1924 by Dr. G. K. A. Bell, the present Dean of Canterbury, itself simply a compilation running to 384 pages, of encyclicals, declarations, official letters, concordats, statements put forth by interecclesiastical Conferences, and so on, and not recording the events which produced them, illustrates how universal has been the theatre of those happenings. When it was issued, the possibilities of Reunion were at least beginning to be explored by every Church in almost every direction, and substantial advance had been made in regard to their particular Union by many Churches.

¹ Oxford Press, 1924.

Dr. Bell must by now have to hand sufficient documents of like nature and importance for a second volume.

In his summary of the Lausanne Conference in the *Times* of August 24th, Dr. Gore has recorded that the Lutheran delegates described the Anglican Church as a *Brücke-Kirche*—a bridge Church. That is to say, from its circumstances, its tradition and its comprehensiveness of many schools of Christian thought, it would appear suited to mediate between the other Churches and especially between those that are of Catholic tradition and character and those that are Protestant.

The excellence of that designation is exemplified by the fact that the Anglican Church has been a prime party in most of the approaches which have taken place since the War and that she has been concerned in practically all of them.

The lines of those approaches may roughly be categorized as bilateral, that is to say, on the one hand, they have excluded Reunion from their immediate purview and have endeavoured both to formulate a common Christian outlook upon the world and to facilitate interecclesiastical co-operation in the practical problems of modern civilization. On the other hand, they have been directed definitely to establishing the bases of that agreement as to Faith and Order which must be the preliminary of a general or of a particular Act of Reunion. Both, however, have necessarily been interrelated.

In the former category the capital document is, of course, the admirable Encyclical of January, 1920, in which, during the locumtenency of the Metropolitan Dorotheos of Brusa, who died in London in March, 1921, the Oecumenical Patriarchate invited "all the Churches" to form a Federation of Churches to sustain and advance Christian morals and ethics and to work together for the betterment of the world. The outstanding event is the World Conference on Life and Work which was held at Stockholm in 1925 and which I was privileged to attend.

In the latter category, which naturally concerns us most here, the celebrated Appeal to Union issued by the Lambeth Conference of 1920 is perhaps the central document. Though in its scope it comprehended both Catholic and continental Protestant Christianity, its practical proposition was rather addressed to the Liberal Evangelical Churches of Great Britain and America. At any rate, its consideration as a basis of Reunion has been confined almost exclusively to them. Its kernel was that the Churches should unite upon the basis of the so-called quadrilateral of the Lambeth Conference of 1886, the Holy Scriptures, the historic Creeds, the Sacraments of the Gospel and Episcopacy. Each Church so uniting was to remain free to retain its characteristic interpretation of the common Faith and organization and the difficult problem of particular minis-

tries was to be solved by non-Episcopalians accepting episcopal ordination and vice versa, no one repudiating his past ministry, but each thus receiving mutual commission to minister in every one of the uniting Churches. The Lambeth Appeal, however, has not hitherto been approved by any Liberal Evangelical Church,¹ and though, as witness the documents printed by Dr. Bell or published since 1924, as the result of frequent Conferences between Anglican and Anglo-Saxon or Continental Protestants approximation has taken place, the thorny questions of the Ministry and with it the conception of the Nature of the Church are plainly likely to remain a considerable obstacle to its acceptance.

On the other hand in the Mission Field and in some of the British Dominions, where, as has been observed, the problem of Unity is of compelling urgency, many discussions and formal negotiations with a view to Union have taken place between Anglican and various Liberal Evangelical Churches, that which amounts to an agreement, for example, having been reached in Southern India.

At the same time, the different Methodist Churches have been considering their Union and, as in Canada, concordats which imply Union have been reached between several Liberal Evangelical Churches.

Finally the Lambeth Conference of 1920 resulted in the establishment of a form of Inter-communion between the Anglican Church and the Swedish Lutheran Church, the former accepting the orders of the latter as valid and sending two bishops in 1921 to share in the consecration of one of its bishops.

The Swedish Church, it should be noted, is itself a kind of *Brücke-Kirche*, having retained at least the outward succession of its Episcopate but being in communion with the other Nordic and German Lutheran Churches which have not retained the form of episcopal succession and admitting other Protestants to its Sacraments.

The lingering bitterness of the Versailles Peace has only recently begun to allow fraternization between Anglicans and German Protestants. A "conversation" however, was held between Anglican and German theologians this summer at Canterbury, and resulted in the publication of a measure of agreement.

In summarizing the approach to Reunion on the Protestant side, it may be generalized—and the generalization is of great importance for the appreciation of the Lausanne Conference—that it has moved by the method of minimizing the importance of diversities in doctrinal interpretation and in Church life and points to the process of Reunion as being first Intercommunion and the mutual recognition of the Churches each as they are, and then full Union—a process which I note Dr. Major is recorded in the *Times* of

¹ At any rate in Great Britain.

August 27 as having advocated at the recent Oxford Modern Churchmen's Meeting.

That the reverse is the only process which by their principles the historic Churches of the East and West can admit is both attested by and has shaped the character of the manner in which the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox labour for the Reunion of all Christians—an end to which both as an ideal and for practical purposes they consecrate themselves with no less fervour than any Protestant Church.

The principle of Rome is well enough known. Briefly it is that outside herself there can be no Church life and that the preliminary to Union with her is the acceptance of the Chair of St. Peter as the Centre of Unity. Accordingly, the Vatican is constrained to decline invitations not only such as that to the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, but also, though the Cardinal Secretary expressed sympathy with its object, such as that to the Stockholm Conference on Life and Work. Without deviation from principle, however, and with the cognizance of the Holy Father, Cardinal Mercier found himself able to initiate those "Malines Conversations" by which, as by other *imponderabilia*, mutual charity in the discussion of controversy and in co-operation outside its sphere has gained greatly as between the Anglican and Roman Catholic.

The principles of the Orthodox, of course, permit them to do what Rome is precluded from doing. But everyone who has been at pains to acquaint himself with the ABC of the matter must be aware that they also cannot recognize as part of the One Church any Church which is not in Communion with themselves. They are not constrained, however, as is Rome, it is true, to predicate any categorical negative concerning those who are outside that Communion. For them the preliminary to Reunion is full dogmatic agreement. As they declared at Lausanne, their principle is that "where the totality of the Faith is absent, there can be no Communion in Sacris." None the less, where there is an approximation towards them, by their principle of Economy they can recognize it and can enter into such measure of comity and amity with other Churches as may be judged for the good of the Church.

Consequently since in the past fifteen years their relations with the Anglicans have grown very close and cordial, and since by theological discussion with Anglicans, and by independent investigation, many of them have concluded that there is good reason for formal enquiry as to whether the Faith and Life of the Anglican Church does not warrant its economic recognition by them, they have been able to express their sense of nearness to it by very many and striking acts of Economy, such as their official participation on June 29, 1925, in the Liturgy at Westminster Abbey with which the Church of England commemorated the sixteenth Centenary of

the Council of Nicea. The considerable progress in Anglican-Orthodox approximation, which has been, of course, greatly facilitated by the conclusion of many Orthodox theologians that Anglican Ordinations can be accepted as valid and by the formal declarations of Constantinople and other Orthodox autocephalous Churches to that effect, should however in no way obscure the only process of Reunion which they can contemplate as thinkable. That is to say, first full doctrinal agreement, then recognition and Union and finally Intercommunion.

Mutatis mutandis, the same is to be noted in regard to the Old Catholics in the West, who finally accepted Anglican Ordinations in 1925, and to the Assyrians, Copts, Jacobites and Armenians in the East, with all of whom Anglicans are in close friendship and progress in understanding.

II.

THE CHARACTER AND COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE.

At the conclusion of the Great War preparation for the Conference which had necessarily been suspended was at once renewed. A "Continuation Committee" was held at Geneva in 1920, August, 1927, and Lausanne were fixed as the time and place of its assembly and the admirable machinery already erected for its convention was perfected for the arrangement of its procedure and agenda.

Mr Robert Gardiner himself was called to rest two years before the Conference assembled, but, though his loss was very great, the organization which in a degree he had perfected was efficient for its purpose and in due course the programme fixed at Geneva was carried through, his friend and collaborator, Bishop Brent, having the joy of seeing it through and of presiding over it.

Even before the Conference assembled, however, it must have been apparent to every dispassionate and informed observer that the situation had changed materially since Mr. Gardiner had brought its idea in 1910 before the American Anglican Church.

In the first place, the very happenings which, as has been indicated above, were forcing the need of Reunion on to the practical horizon, had also placed the difficulties in its way into prominence. The antinomy between the Catholic and the Protestant as to the process of its inception had already brought many efforts to a standstill and to say the least, the various discussions and so forth which had been initiated after the Lambeth Conference had not arrived at

a stage when they could be co-ordinated. Indeed, some had reached something of a deadlock and it remains to be seen whether, especially after the Conference, they can be recommenced.

But over and above all that, as Dr. Gore was at pains more than once to remind the delegates in *plenum*, the Conference could rightly be styled a "World Conference of the Churches" only in the sense that it represented Churches from all parts of the world where there are to be found those who profess and call themselves Christians. Inasmuch as the Roman Catholic Church which includes something like a moiety of the Christians in the world and which has played in history, and plays to-day, so great a part in Christendom, had declined to send delegates to the Conference, it could in no right sense claim to be representative of World Christianity.¹

In fact, if not in its character, in its composition it was preponderantly Protestant, not of intention, but by the circumstances of the case; and, in consequence, as will appear, it found it hard at times both to remember that it was not a Conference of Liberal Evangelical Churches which accept *a priori* the Protestant conception of the process of Reunion, and to refrain from initiating that process.

Thus of the 500 or so delegates who represented 102 Churches,* the Orthodox delegates numbered only twenty-nine, the Old Catholic seven and the Armenian and Jacobites four.

Of course the fifty-two Anglicans were not a *bloc* but, except that they included no marked Modernist, were typical of the various opinions comprehended in the Anglican totality.

I did not observe myself the crossing of swords which my friend, Mr Albert Porritt, has recorded in his weekly the *Christian World* as having taken place between the Archbishop of Armagh and Canon Woods on the one hand and Dr. Gore and Dr. Headlam on the other. But the Irish Primate and other Anglicans were indisputably not averse to the Conference committing itself to reports which would presuppose the Protestant process of Reunion and which the Central and Anglo-Catholic sections of the Anglican Church could not consider favourably.

The other 400 or so delegates represented Churches which by history and tradition are definitely Protestant.

Dr. Gore has remarked in the *Times* of August 24 that

¹ Both the Stockholm and Lausanne Conferences are often termed "Œumenical" by some of our Continental brethren—a perplexing misuse of the term: for, if Œumenical signifies anything, it signifies a single and uniform polity, a characteristic which was certainly absent both at Stockholm and Lausanne.

* The term was used not to designate world-wide confessional systems such as the Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, etc., but their particular organizations in the various lands, e.g., the Anglican Church in the Argentine and the Methodist in Australia counted each as a Church.

Modernism was practically absent from Lausanne. That the observation is just was due less to the acceptance of the Incarnation being involved by the invitation to the Conference—on one occasion Dr. Garvie ruled out of order an amendment to substitute "revealed" in the phrase "God incarnate in our Lord Jesus Christ"—than to the fact that the delegates being officially appointed were naturally typical of the average opinion traditional in their Churches.

At Stockholm the nationalities sat in lumps and the Germans had been difficult of access. It was very different at Lausanne where we sat anywhere. I found the German Lutherans a very lovable and companionable set of men. Of course, they were diverse enough in outlook and included many types, e.g., Dr. Martin, the Editor of the *Hoch-Kirche* periodical *Una Sancta*, and Prof. Heiler, whose books and personality have recently attracted attention in England, as well as administrators and authoritative theologians such as Dr. Adolf Deissmann, Dr. Otto Dibelius, and Dr. A. Lang. With all their diversity, however, they struck me—those who had travelled far from the letter of Luther's tradition no less than the more conservative—as permeated uniformly with his idealism. Thus they held very firmly to his doctrine of the invisible Church, of which they appeared to regard it as axiomatic that the invisible Church is not and cannot be expressed, visible union being to their mind simply a matter of expediency.

A dear old friend, a Berlin pastor, asked me, How is it that you Anglicans go back past Luther and appeal to Scripture and the primitive Church? That enquiry was not so naïve as it might seem. Luther marks an epoch for the German Protestant mind in the same manner that Nicea marks an epoch for the Catholic mind.

For the reasons stated above, the Swedes, and indeed the other Nordic Lutherans, possess more of the ecclesiastical outlook than the German Lutherans. Dr. Söderblom, Archbishop of Upsala, is a familiar and acceptable personality in England, and with him were men of great ability and learning. The Swedes came to Lausanne plainly hopeful that it would lead to Intercommunion at least between the Anglican delegates and those of the Liberal Evangelical Churches. There can be need to write here neither of the Scotch Presbyterians who, headed by their Moderator, Dr. Norman Maclean, made many weighty and valuable contributions to the Conference, nor of the British Free Churchmen—the English Baptists alone were absent—who furnished some of the most effective personalities, Dr. Garvie, for example, discharging the heavy and fatiguing responsibility of the vice-chairmanship with peculiar and winning tact and skill.

It is stated that in U.S.A. of the 27 millions of Christians who are not Roman Catholics, 26 million are members of the Methodist,

Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist or other Churches belonging to the Federation of Evangelical Churches, presided over by Dr. Parkes Cadman, himself a very potent influence both in the organization and the procedure of the Conference. Thus America knows next to nothing of the factors which in pre-War England produced bitterness between the Church and Nonconformity and invested the demand of the latter for recognition and Intercommunion with something of a social political character and except in sympathy with their English co-denominationalists among whom traces of it sometimes appear to linger even in 1927, the American delegates were unaffected by the old "inferiority complex." But perhaps partly because of the strength of Rome in U.S.A. and certainly because as Americans they are eager and impatient of the inefficiency caused by lack of unity and by overlapping in general Church work and especially in the mission field, they appeared to me to be, except possibly the Swedes, the most expectant among all who came to Lausanne that the Conference should have "practical results," in the form of mutual recognition and of unconditional Intercommunion. They were a fine body of men, scholarly, businesslike and altogether Christian.

Environment counts for much and over and above the numerical preponderance of the Protestant mind in the Conference, its *mise en scène* being in Calvinist Switzerland, the home of French Protestantism, necessarily gave it a Protestant bias. To take part in the Opening and Closing Services of the Conference on Wednesday, August 3 and Sunday, August 21 and in the Service Penitence on August 14, was, of course, an unusual and vitalizing experience. The tense contact of prayer, of self-dedication to the common task and hope and of penitence for every wrong approach to it, with one's 500 brother delegates assuredly altered the alignment of the whole problem of Reunion. Except at Stockholm in 1925, the world can hardly have known such a Babel of languages and yet such a single voice of the Spirit as when, each in his own tongue, we sang the great hymns that belong to all Christians or recited the Creed or joined in the Paternoster. Moreover, apart from the unique features which belonged to an unique occasion, I found the two former Services—the last-named was arranged by Canon Woods and contrasted with them in type—impressive and helpful. They appealed to me in themselves and for themselves. But they were altogether Protestant and Calvinist, and I could not help thinking how different would have been the impulse of the Conference if the Centre of those services had been our own High Altar in St. Paul's and not the lofty pulpit draped with its big Swiss flag and surmounted by the Vaudois coat of arms in the nave of Lausanne Cathedral. The latter of them consisted of a long catena of Bible reading and its exposition, and of three sermons—

the last 37 minutes long—interspersed with an organ solo, an anthem and two hymns. We were bidden to sit during the extempore prayers which were very short. The twin bare Communion tables were far away in their empty apse and altogether out of sight to those of us whose backs were not turned to them. A huge Bible, open at Jeremiah, the Calvinist's favourite prophet, stood in front of a big gilt cross on a table before the pulpit, and with the 102 minutes' sermonizing out of 124 minutes' service stressed the exclusive pre-eminence which the Calvinist seems to assign to the Ministry of the Word.

None the less I found those services inspiring and fruitful. There was something in them which I wished to appropriate and they taught me as much as did the delightful personality of Dr. Merle D'Aubigné that however unimportant numerically in France, French Protestantism is worthy of study and of admiration.

Finally, the readers of the *Christian East* will be interested to know that the Metropolitan Germanos of Thyatira who, as representing the Ecumenical Patriarchate, headed the Orthodox, was very popular with all sections of the Conference which his influence pervaded. Taken as a whole, the Orthodox delegations were exceptionally strong. Thus from Athens came our old friend, Professor Alivisatos, who has served on the Continuation Committee since 1920, and has a rare knowledge of, and no small influence upon, European ecclesiastical life and public affairs and with him, as leader of the delegates from Greece, the Metropolitan Ambrosios of Navpaktos, a prominent member of the Athens Synod, and two of the most authoritative Greek theologians of the day, the veteran Professor Dyovouniotes and Professor Balanos. Two members of the Synod of Alexandria, the Metropolitans Christophoros of Leontopolis and Nicholas of Nubia, both well cognizant of Europe, and the latter especially of England, which he visited two years ago with the Patriarch Photios,¹ represented the Patriarch Meletios, whom we all missed. Mgr. Dionysios, Metropolitan of the now autocephalous Orthodox Church of Poland, brought with him Father Turkevitch, who served in America for 16 years and was nearly appointed to London two years ago, and Prof. Arseniev, who taught at Saratov till he left Russia in 1920, and is doing fine work among the Russian youth in exile. From Rumania came Archbishop Nektarie, the Metropolitan of Bukovina and from Bulgaria, that forceful leader, the Metropolitan Stephan, with our old friend, the doyen of Russian theologians, Professor Nicholas Glubokovsky and Professor Zankov, a very able and rising man. Bishop

¹ A memorial of the Patriarch Photios and of the martyred Chrysostom of Smyrna (1922) was celebrated after the Liturgy in the Greek Church of Lausanne, which several of the Anglicans and the Swedes attended on August 13, and after which the Archbishop of Thyatira, who pontificated, preached an extraordinarily suggestive sermon on the mind necessary for Reunion.

Nicholai of Ochrida had been called to America and the paper he had been asked to prepare was read for him. The Serbian Patriarchate was represented therefore only by Bishop Iriney of Novi Sad, whose personality we know so familiarly in England.

All readers of the *Christian East* have an affection for the Metropolitan Evlogie of Paris, and most are acquainted with the work of Professor Bulgakov of the Paris Russian Academy, who with the young Georgian Dr. Peradze, now on his way to Tiflis, came as co-opted members and not delegates.

Mr. Claudius Saleeb, a member of the Egyptian Parliament, was the only Copt, but Archbishop Barsawm of Syria represented the Syrian-Orthodox Church and Bishop Tourian, formerly Vicar Patriarchal of Constantinople and Archbishop of Smyrna, now of Manchester, and the Vardapet Balakian of Paris, were appointed by the Armenian Catholics.

Among the Old Catholic delegates were Archbishop Kenninck of Utrecht, Bishop Vlijem of Haarlem and Bishop Adolf K ry of Berne.

The delegates of the missionary churches were very prominent in the Conference, Dr. Palmer, Bishop of Bombay, and Dr. Vedanayakam Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, among Anglicans, Dr. Timothy Lew, of the Congregationalist, North China, Kung-Li-Hui, Dr. Banninga, of the South Indian Church, and Dr. Shaw, of Canada, striking me as being particularly influential.

III.

THE PROCESS OF THE CONFERENCE.

First and last my recollection of the Conference will always be as of a singularly happy and fruitful experience—and of a disaster escaped through the courage of our Orthodox colleagues.

As to the former, no days of my life have passed more swiftly or have left me a more pleasurable recollection than the nineteen days which I spent at beautiful Lausanne by romantic Lake Lemane in intimacy with a single-hearted and attractive body of men, from whom by the circumstances of our divisions my lines of life are cast generally as in another world. Not that the Conference was anything of an ecclesiastical picnic or of a retreat. If the weather had not consisted first of heavy heat and then of downpours of rain in sticks, our being hard at work—the daily sessions, Saturdays included, lasted seven hours and there was much to do outside them—would have precluded that. The thing which made the Conference delightful above measure to me was its comradeship and contacts, purposeful, social, spiritual. There were clashes, controversies and conflicts of opinion in plenty, but they were always

chivalrous. Mutual goodwill and tolerance ruled everything. There were disappointments, but they were taken in charity and there was never a regrettable incident. All through we were “a happy band of brothers” and the Conference will long remain a fruitful exemplar of the constructive manner in which fundamentally contrasted religious diversities should and can be discussed.

Indeed, it is because those diversities presented antinomies of which humanly the solution borders on the impossible and because they were discussed kindly and charted clearly, to a great extent in public session, that the Conference is so supreme and precious a memory. But in view of what has been observed above as to its provenance and composition, the enterprise of holding it involved grave risks. The aloofness of mentalities and the conflict of practical objectives in so large and varied a body of theologians and ecclesiastics of many nations as well as Churches meeting for so short a time and with little previous mutual knowledge might obviously have produced further misunderstanding rather than a sense of approximation and as my friend Mr. Porritt of the *Christian World*, mistakenly, I think, concluded that it did, the Conference might have had a “soured end.” Its fine temper saved it from that peril. Nevertheless, to speak plainly, there was a moment of crisis when it was near the disaster either of breaking up in a deadlock or of producing not unanimously, but *nem. con.* equivocal formul e of agreement and ill-considered recommendations based upon them which might have produced a renaissance of the nineteenth century *odium ecclesiasticum*.

When the Church of England delegates met during May in London, their anticipation had been that on most of the subjects prepared for the agenda by the Subjects Committee no agreed reports could be possible. Cold common sense asked how the Quaker could concur with the Presbyterian as to the Sacraments, or the Congregationalist with the Anglican as to a credal Confession of the Church—and none of them compromise radical convictions.

In atmosphere, however, Lausanne was a thousand leagues distant from London and as soon as the Conference opened, it was plain that a very large proportion of the delegates had come to it not with the expectation that a way to the organic Union of the Churches would be discovered, but with the presupposition that the several churches participating in it must recognize each other as integral parts of the Church, that all must agree that the common essential Unity in Faith in Christ should be manifested and sealed by a common act of Communion which in itself would be tantamount to Union and that other matters were rather of efficiency and expediency. The factors which I have described made that presupposition infectious at Lausanne. As has been said, for practical reasons many of the missionary delegates were enthusiastic

Others who were aware of the principles which barred concurrence in it on the part of the historic Churches were carried away to forget their more sober knowledge. So that in spite of caveats uttered by spokesmen of the Catholic type, such as Dr. Gore, an unconscious discipline in favour of the above *petitio principii* grew up and became so strong that without seeming to disturb the general harmony it was hard to resist.

The method of the Conference was that in the mornings of Thursday, Friday and Saturday, August, 4, 5, 6, two papers were read respectively on the Church's Message to the World, the Nature of the Church and the Church's Confession of Faith. These were followed by four chosen 15 minutes' speakers and by free discussion which lasted over the afternoon. On the Monday following the Conference divided into three sections, each member joining that which he preferred, which again divided themselves into sub-sections to draft reports on the three subjects specified, which were to be discussed on the Wednesday morning and on the Thursday.

The papers were printed in English, German and French and the speeches being made in one of those languages were translated into the other two.¹

The two papers on the message of the Church were by the Lutheran, Dr. Deissmann, and the Methodist, Bishop McConnell, and supplemented each other. Those on the Nature of the Church were in sharp antithesis, that sent in by the Metropolitan Chrysostom of Athens which will appear in the *Christian East*, setting out the Catholic conception of the Church, and that by Dr. Parkes Cadman, the Protestant. Those of Dr. Gore and Dr. Zöllner on the Creed were in greater harmony. Though the appointed speakers often occupied conflicting positions, they represented the different types in the Conference very fairly. But in the discussions, the Protestant point of view was predominant and became more and more insistent until any demur to the *petitio principii* which I have just described, seemed to be a discordance.

In consequence, when we went into sections, the Conference was undoubtedly heading towards the slippery slope of equivocal compromise.

That process developed into something like a stampede in the sections and especially in that on which I was serving and which dealt with the Nature of the Church. There was no *malice prepense* about the matter. It was simply the result of advance upon advance based upon the original *petitio principii*. Dr. Adams Brown who, with the Bishop of Manchester as his vice-chairman, presided over our section and was kindly consideration itself, was

¹ It was resolved at the last session of the Conference on the motion of Professor Kaye, of St. Andrews, that the official version of the Reports should be in the "Greek of the Apostles."

resolute that objections should be duly met. None the less, in the sub-sections it was extremely difficult for a single Anglo-Catholic or Orthodox—and we were rarely more—to make his principles heard. The work had to be done quickly and the choice lay between blocking the draft or contenting oneself with unsatisfactory and obscure emendations.

When the drafts were ready for presentation to the *plenum* the first, an inspiring document largely from the pen of Dr. Deissmann, which identified the Message of the Church with the Gospel, was at once challenged not only on the ground that it omitted all reference to the Pentecostal Mission and to the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church but that in precisising the Appeal of Christ on the Cross not as in the first instance to Repentance and the new life of Faith in Himself but as solely to self-sacrifice and service, it was starkly Pelagian.

The second report, though it contained a few notes of difference was pervaded by what used to be termed "undenominationalism" in the positive sense and pointed to Pan-Protestantism. The third was shorter and far less open to objection. If they had been pressed in their then form, the Conference must have come to disaster.

On the Wednesday—the only "off" week-day afternoon during the whole period—the delegates went by the munificence of the Lausanne municipality for an excursion on Lake Lemano to Byron's Chillon, and so found relaxation for their tired brains and bodies as well as useful opportunities for discussion and reflection.

On the Thursday morning the Orthodox had the courage to take drastic action which in result saved the situation.

That they had not done so earlier is the only thing which was surprising. In fact they had been disturbed by the tendency of the Conference from the beginning. "It will be a tragedy if the Conference separate without a *Gemeinsames Abendmahl* in the Cathedral," we were told in our sub-section. And, "We must have a union of the Evangelical Churches." I myself asked an American Methodist, "Are you really prepared to unite with a Church such as the Orthodox which teaches that in the Eucharist the bread is changed to be the Body of Christ, that a priest has power to forgive sins, that to invoke the Blessed Virgin and the Saints is efficacious?" "Yes, if I am left free to combat those opinions," was the answer, and it was sincere.

Before the Conference began the Metropolitan Stephan of Bulgaria had circulated a pamphlet exposing the Orthodox conception of the Church at length and very plainly. The paper of the Metropolitan Chrysostom of Athens had been equally plain and that of Bishop Nicholai on the Sacraments was already in circulation.

A perusal of those documents ought to have warned those who were unaware of the Orthodox position that the situation had become impossible for the Orthodox delegates. They must either follow the road of Ferrara-Florence in 1438 and be repudiated by their home authorities or break away.

At a meeting they held on the Tuesday evening they decided reluctantly on the latter course and on the Thursday morning Archbishop Germanos, as their leader, read in English an admirably plain and courageous Declaration which had been signed by them all and of which I may be pardoned for mentioning that I had been privileged to help him in the translation.

In it, they recorded that, though they had entered wholeheartedly into the preparation for the Conference, they had made the only basis on which they could discuss Reunion clear at the Geneva Continuation Committee in 1920. The Orthodox Church could not agree to ambiguous compromises in matters of Faith. For them where the totality of the faith is absent there can be no *Communio in Sacris*. Therefore Holy Scripture must be interpreted by tradition and the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. There must be no diminution of the Seven Sacraments. They could not contemplate an alternative to the one fixed Ecumenical Creed. Accordingly, while they would concur in the Report on the Message of the Church, they could have no part in the other reports. That did not mean that they withdrew from co-operation in the Conference. On the contrary, they advocated a Federation of Churches on the lines of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Encyclical of 1920 for the stemming of materialism and the advance of the Kingdom of Heaven. But in the realm of Faith and Order they must stand aloof. Meanwhile they urged that Churches of like principles should unite and so prepare the way for their discussion of Reunion with a single Church with a single Faith.

Naturally that Declaration came as a sharp shock of disappointment—an American journalist wired New York that the Orthodox had torpedoed Lausanne—to those delegates whose eagerness for unconditional Intercommunion and its corollaries had been encouraged by the tendency of the Conference. But fine Christians that they are, they showed no resentment. Rather they recognized that the Orthodox had rendered good service in clearing the position.

For it was soon plain that it was not the Orthodox alone who had been uneasy. The Quakers followed their lead at the first opportunity, Mr. Carl Heath putting in a statement for them that their principles prevented them agreeing to the reports and Mr. Athelstan Riley on behalf of himself and other Anglicans identified himself with the Orthodox inability to concur in ambiguous and misleading agreements which concealed real differences. The Old

Catholics and the Armenians were known to be ready to do the same, and the Conference would have been left a Conference of Protestant Churches.

But there was no need. Once the initial mistake had been realized, the Conference swung round. It was resolved that the reports should not be adopted, but simply received and passed on to the home authorities for consideration—a very important distinction which precluded their being quoted as authoritative documents—and a general drafting Committee set to work to amend them.

The remaining programme of the Conference was thus carried through in a saner but not less eager atmosphere.

When the set papers on the three remaining subjects, the Ministry, the Sacraments and Unity in relation to existing Divisions had been read in *plenum* on Friday, Saturday and Monday, August 12, 13 and 15, the Conference went into sections and sub-sections as on the preceding three. Each of the three subjects, of course, was fecund with possibilities for ambiguous compromise. But the lesson had been learnt. Perhaps the most noteworthy figure among the delegates during the previous week had been that of Dr. Gore, who with all the firm courage needed to stand against the *petitio principii* but with very winning gentleness, had risen again and again and yet again at most sessions to urge that differences should be noted and not whitewashed over. Now he had his way and although his function needed discharge until the very end of the Conference, his rising was greeted rather as that of an acknowledged and wise leader than as that of a disturber of common complex.

Accordingly reports on the first five subjects were worked into such a shape not only that they gave a very just presentment, as it were, of that morphology of the Church which all the delegates were agreed that it has possessed onward from Apostolic times, but also that if the notes of difference be strung together they give no less just a presentment—the Roman Catholic alone excepted—of the chief different and contrasted conceptions of the Church which are held to-day.

Considering the crisis of a false start from which the Conference had escaped, it would have probably been wiser to have dropped the sixth subject, Unity in relation to existing divisions, from the Agenda. If the sixth section which dealt with it under the direction of Dr. Söderblom and to which most of the missionary delegates naturally attached themselves, had confined itself to the logical basis first put forward by Dr. Headlam in his Bampton of 1920 and advocated by him very attractively in the paper which he had read in the *plenum*, the result might have been valuable. As it was, the section could not resist the temptation of putting forward tentative recommendations of Reunion and when—Dr. Söderblom had left

the night before—the Primate of All Ireland presented its report, the wide dissatisfaction with its tenor was voiced by the American Anglicans, who as a way of shelving it moved, and carried *nem. con.*, its reference to the Continuation Committee. Its loss was a bitter disappointment to some of the missionary delegates who set great store on it and provoked a passing indignant but charming protest from the Chinese Congregationalist, Dr. Timothy Lew, but the general mind of the Conference was quick to recognize that Dr. Manning and his colleagues had rendered a service by their action, a conclusion which was the more uniform inasmuch as by presenting it as carrying out the recommendations of the Lambeth Appeal, Dr. D'Arcy had illustrated the controversies that can arise from different interpretations of ambiguous documents.

Among the most delightful unofficial happenings of the Conference the luncheon at the Beau Séjour, given on August 19 by the Anglicans to the Orthodox, other Eastern and Old Catholic delegates must take pride of place. The Irish Primate took the Chair, many speeches were made and a good photo—Dr. Gore was unfortunately called away—was taken and serves as the frontispiece of this issue of the *Christian East*.

Other incidents worth recording here are the manifesto signed by representatives of all the Churches against the Bolshevik persecution of the Russian Church; the reception given the Armenian Bishop Tourian by the Conference, and the telegram of sympathy sent the Coptic Church on the death of its Venerable Patriarch Cyril.

VI. IN RETROSPECT.

My purpose in writing the above description of certain aspects of the Conference and of its happenings has been to bring into relief that which I believe it to have demonstrated to be the great fissure which divides the Churches represented at it into two categories. Relatively, such differences as to the number and significance of the Sacraments, the sacerdotal character or otherwise of the Ministry were felt to be secondary. Fundamental to and behind them all there always lay the antinomy of the Protestant and Catholic conceptions of the Nature of the Church, and, as I have tried to show, the unconscious *petitio principii* of the former permeated the majority of speeches and then became the atmosphere of the Conference, even appearing as a substratum of much of the extempore prayer in the daily devotions and changing them into preaching *ad hoc*. Finally it crept into and pervaded the draft reports until it brought the Conference near to shipwreck.

When the five reports that were agreed at Lausanne are studied

by experts apart from their provenance, they may well be found open to detailed criticism. But one thing about them is indisputable. They were compiled ultimately not on the principle of presenting a semblance of agreement by covering differences, but of stating things as they are. If the notes of difference in them be put in sequence, the two conceptions, Catholic and Protestant, emerge in defined contrast. In the one, the visible expression of the Church was "determined by Christ Himself and is unchangeable." As such the Faith must be that which she first received at her Foundation and which by her tradition she has preserved through the ages and has defined in her Ecumenical Councils. Her sacramental system and her Apostolic Ministry are essential to her existence. In the other, it is either solely a human instrument devised for the spreading the Kingdom of Christ by the members of the invisible Church, which on earth is the totality of true believers, or it is a society founded by Christ, the organization of which is of its *bene esse* and not of its *esse*.

For having the courage to compel the Conference to chart that antinomy the Orthodox deserve lasting gratitude and that the Conference charted it must make it a salient event in the Reunion Movement.

When men of goodwill desire to reconcile their differences, the first thing to do is for both to realize just where the other stands. The way of failure is that which the Conference began by taking. That each of our particular denominations should use the term "Church" to designate itself is logical and right and in consequence it must use it to designate the others. But for the consideration of Union that natural comity and amity cannot be stretched so as to carry with it the recognition of all such "Churches" as being a "Church" in the accurate usage of the term, or as being "integral parts" of the One Church which Christ founded.

That, as things are, unless and until either the Catholic and the Protestant conception of the Church be modified, they are in irreconcilable and opposing categories, was demonstrated at Lausanne.

The problem of the future is not to dismiss obstacles to Reunion as immaterial. It is to face them as fundamental and patiently to prepare the terrain for their removal.

For that end, I venture to think that the advice given by the Orthodox that Churches of like principles should not delay their Union to be admirable.

Incidentally surprise may be expressed that while refusing to agree to the last four, the Orthodox agreed the Report on the Message of the Church. For it would surely appear that on their principles the Church cannot proclaim a Gospel in which she herself is not set forth explicitly as the One Ark of Salvation which was instituted by Christ Himself and is safeguarded and guided by Him through the infallible operation of the Holy Spirit. The only good reason for agreeing the report with that deficiency would appear to be the scandal to which the inability to precise the Church's Message to the world would have amounted.

If to maximize the agreements revealed at Lausanne would be as grave an error as to minimize them, it is encouraging and indeed remarkable that, apparently the Quakers included, all Churches represented there are unanimous in agreement that, in whatever sense the terms be used, a United Church must be characterized by the quadrilateral of :—

- (a) the acceptance of the Holy Scriptures;
- (b) the affirmation of the Incarnation as expressed in the Nicene Creed;
- (c) the use of the two major Sacraments;
- (d) a Ministry with a pastoral office and set apart for the ministration of the Word and the Sacraments.

It is true that, while roughly the Catholic and Protestant conception of the Churches divides the Churches which sent delegates to Lausanne into two types, the Churches belonging to each of those types are separated by traditional and doctrinal differences, many of which are not easy to reconcile. None the less the broad agreement of many of the Protestant Churches as to the Nature of the Church affords a basis for their considering Union among themselves. Nor if their Union were happily achieved would there be reason to view it askance for fear of its signifying a Pan-Protestantism militant against Catholicism. On the contrary, as the Orthodox forecast at Lausanne, the centripetal process which incited them might be relied upon to prepare the best of *terrains*, for whatever approximation is possible between them while the Catholic remains a Catholic and the Protestant a Protestant.

At any rate, that the Orthodox believe the advice which they gave at Lausanne to be sound, is evidenced by their having held a conversation during the Conference with the Old Catholic delegates, the result of which was that they arranged to hold, as it were, a Bonn Conference with them—and possibly with certain Anglicans—next May at Utrecht.

Finally, humanly insoluble though the antinomy charted at Lausanne may appear, God prepares miracles. The faint-hearted or the pessimist may see no rainbow in the sky to betoken the coming of general Reunion, but love is a mighty solvent and God's Spirit can accomplish the impossible. It is a great thing that we all met and prayed one with another at Lausanne, that we studied each other and tried to identify ourselves with each other's positions and that we received and obeyed a common inspiration. We were fellow-workers and not foes. If the time is not yet ripe for General Reunion the Lausanne Conference will hasten its day and meanwhile, if the Churches cannot rightly unite, they can get together for the extension of Christ's Kingdom, to the Glory of God and the bettering of Mankind.

FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

By The Most Reverend THE ARCHBISHOP OF SOFIA, STEPHAN.

FOR some time the Christian churches have been endeavouring to do away with their differences and to reach unity on questions of faith and order. A world conference of the churches was held in Geneva in 1920 at which a way was sought by which mutual understanding and unification might be attained. A permanent committee was chosen at the end of the conference to continue the work and to prepare a programme for a better organized and more effective activity on the part of the churches, with the hope that at the next world's conference the desired unity might be realized on the basis of a common confession of faith.

As a member of this committee, led by its purpose and object and moved by a desire to see the immediate attainment of these ends and objects, which would be a triumph for our holy Church universal, we have decided in a brief outline to state our point of view concerning the fundamental conditions for the unification of the churches in order that our position may be clear and precise as we participate in the work of the Christian world for attaining unity of faith and order.

These fundamental conditions, as our readers will understand from our exposition, are of an absolute nature; without them it is impossible and unthinkable to work for unity among the Christian churches, or even to discuss it. They must be studied, adopted and applied by all who want to see the Christian world in the ranks of the Apostolic Church, and then indeed all Christians will be brothers, one flock with one Pastor who, without any differences in conception, will be for all of us our Lord Jesus Christ.

* * *

Most men feel a natural longing to be united with those who are similar to them. To this instinctive longing are due most social institutions, such as the family, common groups of several families, the tribe, the nation, the state and all cultural, economic, educational and similar organizations. Human culture can have no higher end than to strengthen more and more this instinct in man by grouping larger social units until at last it can unite all men and nations in one universal society, developing on the basis of the holy principles—liberty and fraternity. The Christian faith has exactly this aim and, therefore, true culture is so organically allied to Christianity, that if it is separated from it culture misses its way. The Church, or a society founded by Jesus Christ, is meant to work for the development of the feeling of unity among men and nations according to the Gospel ideal of one flock with one pastor—the Lord Jesus Christ.

From this point of view there cannot even be a question about the unification of the churches, because the very name church is a synonym of unity in Christ.

The fact, however, is to be regretted that the churches are separated from each other like man's political organizations. And they have remained divided without any spiritual communion for many centuries. The first schism took place in 1054 between the Eastern and Western churches. Later, in the sixteenth century, the division between the Anglo-Saxon and the Roman churches appeared. Attempts have often been made toward the restoration of unity between the Western and Eastern churches, but without success. To-day the movement for uniting the churches has been renewed. The beginning made by the Episcopal Churches of England and of the United States deserves praise, admiration and strong support.

Every Christian heart ought to yearn for the unification of the Christian church, especially every one who has accepted the high calling of a servant of Christ, because he does not serve Christ well who does not work for the fulfilment of the covenant given at the last supper, "that all may be one, as Thou, O Father, art in me and I in Thee." And we pastors of the Orthodox Church pray God every day for the more speedy unification of the churches. We would feel a great burden on our consciences if we did not work for the strengthening of this holy movement. But at the same time we realize that for the establishment of permanent unity among a number of organizations it is necessary to have as a basis a common, unshakable foundation accepted by all. To attain real unity it is necessary that all should confess the same confession of faith.

We, the members of the Orthodox Church, proceed from the belief that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, that His miraculous birth, life, service, death and resurrection have been prophesied many times in different ages with remarkable precision and detail by the Old Testament prophets Isaiah, Micah, Malachi, Daniel, David, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, etc.; that He is the One who was expected by the heathen to save suffering humanity from evil; a fact abundantly proved by the Egyptian traditions concerning Osiris and the Greek tragedy of Prometheus by Aeschylus; by the Persian expectation of Mithra; by the Hindu belief in Krishna; by the Roman prophecies concerning the Sibyls and by the Greek philosophy of Socrates and Plato.

Since we believe that Christ, as a real God and a real man, was the One, who alone by His death on the cross could redeem and has redeemed humanity, which had fallen through sin and had been deprived of the grace of God, that He was a new Adam and as such has given new life to mankind, we must go to His teachings in order to understand His service on earth, the problems which He put before His disciples, and the means which He appointed for their solution.

In the person of the first Adam mankind became disobedient toward God, and injured his very being, since, as a consequence of sin, he was deprived of the possibility of being at peace with God and, as a result, lost his earthly prosperity and made his flesh subject to decay and death. In order that he might rise from his fall and again receive the grace of God, there was necessary a sacrifice equal to the measure of the sin so as to satisfy the judgment of God. Such a sacrifice it was impossible for man to offer. That was possible for the Son of God alone, who for this purpose took upon Himself flesh without sin, offered Himself as an innocent sacrifice by means of a shameful death on the cross for the forgiveness of the sins of men and conquered death by His resurrection. And man can find salvation only in Him as he follows the way pointed out by Him. As the prophets through whom God spoke brought good tidings to suffering men with their teaching so Jesus Christ "went throughout every city and village, preaching and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God" (Luke 8 : 1), and before Pilate he said, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice" (John 18 : 37). The prophets were inspired by the Holy Spirit, and Jesus Christ Himself was the Truth, and the "true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (John 1 : 9). He revealed Himself as the Son of God, sent by His Father; He also declared that He Himself would send the Spirit of God; He pictured God not only as the embodiment of unspeakable love, but He also showed that God, in spite of the sins of men, loved them so much that He supplied them with all good things (Matt. 7 : 11) and besides sent "His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John 3 : 16). Through Christ we are no longer slaves, but sons and heirs of God (Gal. 4 : 7). Christ has given us a new teaching and a new commandment of love (John 13 : 24) so strong and all-embracing that, like the love of God the Father, it must extend to those who hate us (Matt. 5 : 44-47), and He Himself became an example of moral perfection (John 13 : 34). Christ has shown to men that the highest moral ideal is in God and has given us a teaching in regard to immortal life for those who follow Him, and for those who remain in sin (Matt. 25 : 46).

But the mere teaching of the Son of God was not sufficient: it was necessary to give to men the possibility of feeling that they are the children of God and of turning to Him with filial boldness. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to remove the barrier between their guilt and the righteousness of God. Christ did away with this guilt by the service of atonement which he rendered in His capacity of High Priest. In His human capacity He suffered and lived—a just man for the sake of the unjust. (I Peter 3 : 18; II Cor. 5 : 15). And if men would become truly the children of God filled with His

grace, they must receive a new heart and a new spirit (Ezek. 36 : 26), as well as means for growing in the life of grace. Christ has also given these means in His royal ministry. Therefore, the Archangel Gabriel announced to the Virgin Mary at the Annunciation "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest : and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His Father David : and He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever ; and of His kingdom there shall be no end " (Luke 1 : 32, 33). Christ Himself when preaching said, " Repent ye, for the kingdom of God is at hand " (Matt. 3 : 2), and before Pilate He declared that He was King, but that His kingdom was not of this world (John 18 : 36), but of heaven, for which the earth and all that is earthly are only a preparatory stage (Matt. 6 : 19-21 ; 6 : 33).

The kingly power of Christ was directed towards one aim : to educate men in a spiritual life full of grace in order that they might become worthy members of the kingdom of God revealed to them. In order to achieve this aim he rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, performed many miracles, gave to men a new moral law, created the Church and supplied His disciples with means of grace for the attainment of this purpose (Matt. 16 : 18). The Church, founded on the granite faith in His human-divine nature—in the words of St. Paul—" must serve for the perfection of the saints . . . till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ " (Eph. 4 : 11-13) Having all power in Heaven and on earth (Matt. 28 : 18), He helped people on their way to the kingdom of God (Hebr. 2 : 18), and sent the Holy Spirit to His disciples (Acts 2 : 14) in order that it might abide with them and their followers for ever (John 14 : 16). He guided them unto all truth (John 16 : 13) ; and gave them different gifts (I Cor. 2 : 7), remaining always the unseen Head of the Church (Eph. 5 : 11 and 23), as St. Paul has said, " For He must reign until He has put all enemies under His feet " (I Cor. 15 : 25).

The aim of the public ministry of Christ, therefore, was to lead people into the kingdom of Heaven, *i.e.*, as He Himself said, God " will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth " (I Tim. 2 : 4). Salvation is not limited merely to the atonement for human guilt in general by the death of Christ on the cross, but also consists in the application of the means of redemption in the life of every man separately. The second step in the act of salvation was taken by Christ Himself in sending the Holy Spirit and in creating the church on earth, to which He has given all means necessary for the sanctification of men, that is—for the inward spiritual regeneration of man to a new life in Christ, to an ever-growing and flourishing life in Him. St. Gregory of Nazianzus calls this regeneration a holy washing, a healing from the infirmities

of sin ; St. Basil the Great—a restoration of the picture of God in the darkened soul of man ; and Makarius the Great—an illumination of the soul, through the power of which it is delivered from darkness, as though the whole of it had become light itself, and an eye which sees.

The main factor in the regeneration of man is the Grace of the Holy Spirit, which suffuses the faithful not only by the power of the merits of Christ, but because of the faith of man. Christ Himself has said, " He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be damned " (Mark 16 : 16). And St. Paul explains that we are saved by grace through faith (Eph. 2 : 8), also in his epistle to the Romans, " The just shall live by faith " (Romans 1 : 17). And the essential need of the Grace of God is emphasized by Christ in His talk with Nicodemus when He says that man must be born from above (John 1 : 13) in order to enter the kingdom of God and that for salvation men are powerless without Him and cannot do anything of themselves (John 15 : 5). In another place He says, " That which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." After His ascension Christ revealed to His disciples the source of life-giving grace by sending them the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, in order to abide in the Church until the end of the world.

This regenerating power acts in man and perfects him. The Apostle John calls regeneration the seed of God, which abides in the faithful and develops with the help of the spiritual nature of man himself. Thus, some, according to the Acts of the Apostles, received the Grace of God with obedience and compassion (2 : 37, 38), others with resistance (7 : 51). Some, according to the words of St. Paul, fan it into a flame (I Tim. 4 : 14), while others put it out (I Thess. 5 : 19).

The question arises : How is this grace communicated ? only inwardly, independent of outward means or is it dependent on them, and is the inward work of man himself sufficient, or are outward means and guidance essential for the springing up of faith ?

To the first question St. John Chrysostom has answered that if man were without flesh, God would offer him His gifts directly, but since the soul is joined to the body, the gifts of God are offered to the faithful through outward signs and acts. To the second question St. Paul gives the following answer in his epistle to the Romans, " How then shall they call on him whom they have not believed ? And how shall they believe in him whom they have not heard ? And how shall they hear without a preacher ? " (Rom. 10 : 14).

Christ Himself sent the Holy Spirit to the apostles in order that they, being filled with the Holy Spirit, might serve as organs and mediators through whom other believers might receive His holy gifts. For this exalted purpose after His resurrection He ordered them to go

among all nations to baptize them and to teach all men what He had taught them. (Matt. 28: 19). This means that of all His followers the Saviour gave to the apostles only the right to officiate at those celebrations through which the Grace of the Holy Spirit is communicated to the faithful. The fact that Christ made His apostles builders, teachers, and leaders of the faithful, that He promised to send them the Holy Spirit to abide with them always (John 14: 16), and that He assured them that He Himself would be with them to the end of the world (Matt. 28: 20), shows clearly that Jesus Christ attributed great importance to visible, outward teaching and guidance, and that He Himself determined upon an unchangeable order, according to which the consecration of men is to take place. And this order was able to be realized on earth and preserved for ever only through a continuous and successive passing on of the power and means for the consecration of the apostles to their successors. The church which Christ founded was foreordained to begin with the apostles, to exist to the end of the world and to preserve within itself, without interruption, the divine organs or mediators essential for the consecration of men, as well as the consecrating means themselves. He invested the apostles with the divine power of teachers when He said to them, "As my Father hath sent me, so even send I you" (John 20: 21). Again He said to them, "He that heareth you heareth me; and He that despiseth you despiseth me; and He that despiseth me despiseth Him that sent me" (Luke 10: 16). "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth; go ye, therefore, and teach all nations" (Matt. 28: 18-19). He invested them with priestly power when He ordained that not even one of the faithful should perish (Matt. 18: 10-17), and gave them power to bind and to loose (Matt. 18: 18).

From all the quotations which we have cited it is clear that it was Christ who established the Church and that He gave it an organization in which the power is based on the authority of those who are higher in spiritual gifts, and this power must be handed on by those in power to their successors. To this group of people is given a definite activity, which has for its purpose the consecration of people, as Metropolitan Makarius of Moscow says, "The Church is a community of the faithful baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, founded directly by Him, and through the holy apostles, quickened and guided towards eternal life by Him—outwardly through spiritual pastors, through teaching, through the celebration of the sacraments, through organization, and in the meantime inwardly through the almighty Grace of the all-consecrating Holy Spirit."

The immediate successors of Christ, the apostles, were living witnesses of His work and continued that work on earth. Inspired by the Holy Spirit and faithful to the teaching of the Saviour, they gave to the Church an organization which is to be accepted as an

obligatory authority for the times after them and which contains in itself the nucleus of the whole further development of ecclesiastical organization, in which can be distinguished clearly that which is in the Church, "*jus divinum*" and is, therefore, inviolable and not subject to change by the hands of man and that which has grown and developed "*de jure humano*," although on a divine basis. To the first, *i.e.*, to the divine organization belong triple hierarchy and the seven sacraments. The Church cannot change anything in this category, because the Church is a faithful guardian of the apostolic tradition. To the apostolic tradition belongs also the teaching concerning the organs and the forms of church legislation and government which was given and sealed for ever according to the directions of the Saviour Himself with the assistance of the holy apostles.

That the hierarchy is not a product of human thought, that it is not something determined by men, that it is not created by the development of the church, but that the source of its authority lies in the will of its Founder, can be seen from its function, namely, to be an organ through which the faithful can receive the means of grace and to be the guardian of these means. Christ told the apostles, "Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. 18: 18); and also "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me" (Luke 10: 16). And although all the faithful by the power of their redemption and their union with Christ, the Chief Priest, are priests, still in order to realize the priesthood in the church separate persons have been set apart to be mediators between God and the faithful. Their ministry receives its power from the ministry of Christ in His capacity of High Priest, and aids in the building up and growth of the Body of Christ, and aids in the building up and growth of the Body of Christ, as St. Paul says in the Epistle to the Ephesians, "And He gave some apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the body of Christ: Till we all come into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Ephesians 4: 11-13). From the very beginning this hierarchy was connected with certain persons and was continued by the passing on of ecclesiastical authority through the laying on of hands. St. Paul writes in the first Epistle of Timothy, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of hands of the presbytery" (I Tim. 4: 14). In another epistle to the same he writes, "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands" (II Tim. 1: 6). And again he writes to him, "Lay hands suddenly on no man"

(I Tim. 5 : 22). Any ministry which is not connected in a visible manner with the original bearers of authority cannot have any power. The whole fullness of the ministry was passed on by God to the apostles whom He sent to preach the gospel after He had given them power to forgive or to retain sins, and he commanded them to officiate at the Eucharist, to teach and baptize all nations. To them He sent the Holy Spirit, as is seen from the Gospel, "As the Father has sent me so I send you," and when He had said this He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost : Whose soever sins you remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins you retain, they are retained." So also He has given them power to perform the sacraments and to exercise the power of a pastor. The apostles passed on their power to their successors, and in this way created the hierarchy (John 20 : 21-23).

The bearers of this hierarchical power are the bishops, but along with them in the Acts of the Apostles we meet presbyters and deacons also. These three grades were distinguished from one another even as far back as the times of the apostles. The duty of the presbyters was restricted to the pastorhood. ("Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly ; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind") (I Peter 5 : 1-2), and to the performing of the sacraments, ("Is any sick among you ? Let him call for the elders of the church, and let him pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord") (James 5 : 14). But the government of the Church, the power to appoint bishops, presbyters, deacons was given only to those persons who possessed special authority, as can be seen from St. Paul's address to Timothy and Titus. Regarding the initiation into the rank of a bishop we have a testimony left by St. Paul in the 1st Epistle to Timothy, when the latter is appointed independent hierarch in the church at Ephesus and St. Paul instructs him how to conduct himself in God's house (I Tim. 3 : 15), and gives him power to ordain others (I Tim. 5 : 22). In the same epistle the apostle gives instructions concerning the remuneration of priests and the manner in which they shall be judged when accused (I Tim. 5 : 17, 19). The ordination itself was performed by the council of the priestly elders under the presidency of St. Paul. The ordination of presbyters is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (14 : 23). There is also mentioned the appointment of seven men which was the origin of the office of elder (6 : 1-6). Although at the beginning of the apostolic era the two names "presbyter" and "bishop" were somewhat mixed, even during the times of the apostles, according to data left by the writers from the first century, two separate grades were distinguished in these names, and the bishops alone had the authority to pass on the holy gifts requisite for performing the sacraments. In the course of the following centuries, in every hierarchical grade

there appeared differences in honour and power in the church government (the bishops began to be divided into patriarchs, exarchs, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and among the presbyters and deacons appeared proto-presbyters and proto-deacons) but these distinctions had as their bases not divine but canonical regulations and were, therefore, liable to change.

That which has been established by the Divine Founder and His apostles is not subject to change. This can be said of all the seven sacraments. They are all designed to communicate in a visible manner definite gifts of grace. They are means for the consecration of man and through them special persons, by virtue of the fact that they have been ordained to transmit these gifts, have been called to regenerate men to a new life full of grace, as St. Paul writes to Titus, "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation had appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in the present world. Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ ; who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. These things speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee" (Titus 2 : 11-15). Among all the means employed for the consecrating of men such as the preaching of the Gospel, the pastorhood, the ministry—the central place is occupied by the sacraments through which, as has been said by St. Paul, the grace of the Holy Spirit acts, "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God" (I Cor. 4 : 1).

First comes the sacrament of ordination, which gives us persons invested with the right to perform other sacraments. To what has been said above in connection with the hierarchy we will add what St. Paul himself says in his speech to the presbyters of the church at Ephesus, "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood" (Acts 20 : 28). In the second Epistle to Timothy, St. Paul writes, "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by putting on of my hands" (II Tim. 1 : 6). This mysterious service of grace, together with the other similar means for transmitting the grace of the Holy Spirit, later on received the name of "sacrament."

The sacrament "baptism," which has its practical origin in the baptism of Jesus Christ Himself, was established after the resurrection of Christ, who, having received from His heavenly Father all power in heaven and on earth, said to His disciples, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : Teaching them to observe

all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world " (Matt. 28 : 20) and added, " Whoever has faith and is baptized will be saved." Christ Himself has shown in His conference with Nicodemus that this sacrament is absolutely necessary in order to be born into the life of grace, saying, " Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God " (John 3 : 3), and afterwards He explained more fully, " Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh ; and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit " (John 3 : 5). St. Paul speaks of the abounding power of the sacrament baptism, " Christ loved the church and gave Himself for it ; that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word " (through baptism and the pronouncing of words) (Ephesians 5 : 25-26). In another place he compares the baptism to the death and resurrection of Christ, " Therefore, we are buried with him by baptism into death : that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord " (Rom. 6 : 4, 11). Through this sacrament not only are the sins of man forgiven, and his faith quickened, but he is also fully renewed and regenerated to a new life, as can be seen from the above-mentioned words of St. Paul and of Christ Himself.

At the very beginning also there was another sacrament which was connected with baptism, and the purpose of which was to augment the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the newly-baptized persons : it was performed by the laying on of hands, and afterwards—by anointing with oil. And the apostles after the Holy Spirit had been sent to them, began to perform this sacrament upon faithful followers after their baptism. Thus, after the baptism of the Samaritans, the apostles sent Peter and John to impart to them the Holy Spirit and they " when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost : (For as yet He was fallen upon none of them : only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus). Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost " (Acts 8 : 15-17). St. Paul did the same thing at Ephesus, as is recounted in the Acts of the Apostles (19 : 1-6). It is possible that even at the time of the apostles the grace of this sacrament was transmitted by anointing with oil, for John speaks of it in his epistle when he addresses himself to the newly-baptized, " But the anointing which you have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you : but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it had taught you, ye shall abide in him " (I John 2 : 27). And in the epistle to the Corinthians St. Paul writes, " Now he which stablisheth

us with you is Christ, and hath anointed us, is God ; Who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the spirit in our hearts " (II Cor. 1 : 21-22). The apostles Paul and John testify of the anointing as a visible means for the receiving of the Holy Ghost by the faithful.

There is, finally, a sacrament in which not only is the grace of the Holy Spirit transmitted to the participant but God appears to the believers in His bodily presence when they taste of His flesh and blood. This sacrament is the Eucharist, in which by tasting of Christ's flesh and blood the faithful are inwardly united with Him and receive the fullness of the divine life, as an earnest of that life in which is revealed to us in its perfection the future kingdom of Christ. In uniting ourselves to the body of Christ which was sacrificed for the life of the whole world, and to His blood which was shed for many for the remission of sins, we unite ourselves with His sufferings and accept His redemptive act. Even before the establishment of the Eucharist Christ taught that He had come from heaven as the bread of life. " I am the living bread which came down from heaven : if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever : and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world " (John 6 : 51). He taught the Jews also more details concerning the eating of His flesh, saying, " Except ye eat of the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life ; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father : so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me " (John 6 : 53-57). The sacrament itself, according to the evangelists Matthew and Mark, was established at the Last Supper, when Christ, having taken the bread, blessed it and gave it to His disciples with the words, " Take, eat ; this is my body. And He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying Drink ye all of it." " And He said unto them, This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many " (Matt. 26 : 26, 27 ; Mark 14 : 22-24). In this way He gave bread and wine to His disciples after having thanked God and blessed them, *i.e.*, after having performed upon them an act of prayer, as a result of which the bread and wine became that which He Himself called them—His body and His blood. In celebrating the Eucharist Himself He asked them to do that in remembrance of Him (Luke 22 : 19) " till He came " (I Cor. 11 : 26), *i.e.*, He commanded the apostles and their successors to perform the Eucharist on behalf of all the believers. The sacrifice of the Eucharist appears to us as a reproduction of the sacrifice which took place at Golgotha. The teaching of the Eucharist is set forth in the Orthodox Apostolic Creed as follows :— " We believe that in this celebration our Lord

Jesus Christ is present, not symbolically, not in appearance, not by superabundance of grace as in the other sacraments, not merely by the entrance of the Holy Spirit, and not by the penetrating of the Body so that the divinity of the Word enters truly in the bread offered at the Eucharist . . . but truly and in reality, so that after the consecration of the bread and wine the bread is altered, changes its nature, is transformed into the real Body of the Lord . . . and the wine is transformed into the real Blood of the Lord . . . We believe also that this is a real sacrifice for propitiation, which is offered for all godly people, whether living or dead, as is said in the prayers of the sacrament itself, which have been delivered to the church by the apostles by the order of God for the salvation of all."

Marriage was given a deeply religious significance even during the period of the patriarchal society which prevailed in Old Testament times. For the performing of the marriage ceremony the blessing of God was considered necessary as well as the blessing of the parents, which at that time was equal to a priestly blessing. Christ, who came into the world to fulfil the law, and not to destroy it, enhanced still more the religious meaning of marriage by teaching that it was instituted by God and that by its very nature it is indissoluble, although He recommended chastity for those who could preserve chastity of the body and of the soul. He said to the Pharisees, "Have ye not read that He which made them at the beginning made them male and female, And said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder" (Matt. 19 : 4-6). In attributing such a character to marriage and in ordaining its indissolubility Christ assigns the things concerning marriage not to the domain of Cæsar, but to the dominion and law of the church founded by Him on earth and furnished with His own authority. Besides this He honoured with His presence and with His blessing the marriage feast at Galilee and thus showed that it is necessary to transmit the blessing of God to the newly-married. It is clear from the epistles of St. Paul that everything concerning marriage must be referred to the church founded by Christ. When St. Paul rebuked the false teachers for forbidding marriage, the reason was that they were preventing that which was sanctified by the word of God and prayer. (I Tim. 4 : 3-5). And in his epistles to the Ephesians St. Paul developed in more detail his teaching on this question, namely that this union represents spiritually the blessed union between Christ and the church. "This a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church" (Ephesians 5 : 23). If the meaning of the union formed at marriage is so high, this is due to the fact that this union partakes of the grace of God, on account of which there must exist

a special service by the church. According to the information handed down by the church fathers during the early years of the Christian church, every Christian marriage had to be approved by the bishop and to receive his blessing with prayer, which gave to the marriage a religious character and a moral significance. Our church, in holding to the clear teaching of St. Paul cannot deny that the Christian marriage has sacramental, religious significance and, therefore, cannot refuse to make its solemnization equal to that of a ceremonial rite.

For the same reason the church cannot dispense with another of its means of grace, namely, the sacrament of repentance, which serves as the chief instrument for the recovery of the grace of the Holy Spirit, which, although obtained through the sacrament of baptism, disappears whenever the believer falls into sin. This sacrament was established by Jesus Christ after His resurrection. When He appeared to His disciples, He breathed on them and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained" (John 20 : 22-23). By this act He invested them with the power which during His earthly life He had promised to Peter in the words, "And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. 16 : 19); afterwards He said the same thing to the rest of the apostles, in the following words, "Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. 18 : 18). Thus Jesus Christ gave power to the apostles to forgive sins, and authorized them to pass this power on to their successors. In the parable of the lost sheep Christ pointed out how valuable repentance is. He said, "Likewise, joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance" (Luke 15 : 7). Again He ordered His disciples to go among all nations and preach forgiveness of sins and repentance. "And in His name repentance and forgiveness of sins were preached among all nations beginning at Jerusalem." It was to this repentance that St. Paul called the Jews when they were seeking forgiveness for their sins. He said, "Repent ye, therefore, and be converted" (Acts 3 : 19). St. Paul also required repentance "With godly sorrow" (II Cor. 7 : 10) and required from those who repent deeds worthy of repentance (Acts 26 : 20). He speaks of the lamenting spirit of repentance which was sent into the world by God to pierce even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow (Hebrews 4 : 12). As a condition of forgiveness the Saviour required of the sinner sincere repentance and a contrite recognition of guilt together with faith in the mercy of God and a decision not to sin in the future, as is proved by the

cases of the prodigal son, the publican and the sinning woman, concerning whom the Saviour Himself said, "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much" (Luke 7 : 47). The Saviour Himself pointed out the limits of forgiveness in the words, "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come" (Matt. 12 : 31-32). St. Peter acted in the same way when he condemned Ananias for a lie against the Holy Spirit. St. Paul at the beginning excommunicated the man guilty of incest, but afterwards when he was overwhelmed with great sorrow and repentance he forgave him in the name of Christ (II Cor. 2 : 7).

The sole way to determine the degree of guilt in every case of sinning can only be verbal confession. Such repentance for sin was offered to John the Baptist by many believers of whom it is said that they confessed their sins and received instructions from him (Matt. 3 : 6). During the years of early Christianity which constituted a period of deep religious regeneration, the natural means of repentance was verbal confession, when "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh" (Matt. 12 : 34). This was the only means through which the believer could receive healing for his mental infirmities, "And many that believed came, and confessed, and showed their deeds"—are words spoken in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 19 : 18). It was altogether natural for the apostles merely to confirm this way of expressing repentance. The apostle speaks, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (I John 1 : 8-9).

Concerning the question as to who should act as a mediator between the sinner and God, only those can act to whom power has been given "to bind and to loose sins" (Matt. 18 : 18) and their successors to whom has been entrusted the stewardship of God's mysteries, "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God" (I Cor. 4 : 1).

If we cast a glance at the sacrament of repentance as it was practised in the ancient church, we see that the same practice has been preserved in the Orthodox (Eastern) Church. She can neither relinquish the mediation of priests established by the practice of the apostles and required by the teaching of the Saviour Himself, nor can she accept the teaching of predestination, because, according to that teaching, the grace of God is left to save only such as are predestined for salvation independent of their own participation and confession and that in spite of the clear teaching of the Saviour Himself, who requires for the salvation of man not only the grace

sent from above but also the living faith of the sinner himself who is receiving the act of grace. "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water" (John 7 : 37-38). And at another time when He sent His disciples to preach He told them, "Go into the world and teach the gospel to all creatures. He that does not believe will be judged" (Mark 16 : 15, 16). In the same way St. Paul has taught that faith is necessary at all times for the continuation of the work of consecration of man because we are saved by it; by faith we receive forgiveness of sins (Rom. 5 : 1), have access to grace (Rom. 5 : 2) and become worthy of grace (Gal. 3 : 2, 5). This same faith he considered the special possession of the believers (I Thess. 3 : 7, 10) and advised them not to grow weak in faith (Rom. 14 : 1), but to strengthen it and to multiply it (II Thess. 1 : 3; II Cor. 10 : 15).

The sacrament of anointing is designed to heal in a direct manner the infirmities of the body of man as repentance heals the infirmities of his soul. It was established by the Saviour Himself, who in sending His disciples to preach ordered them to heal all sickness and infirmity (Matt. 10 : 1, 8) by anointing the sick with oil. And truly, the apostles during the time of their ministry "anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them" (Matt. 6 : 13). From the epistle of St. James we see that even from the time of the apostles the church had the right to anoint with oil. The apostle James writes, "Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he hath committed sins they shall be forgiven him" (James 5 : 13-14). This commandment the apostle gives not on his own authority but in the name of Christ, which he refers to at the beginning of his epistle (James 1 : 1). Thus this ministration was inaugurated by Christ Himself and was performed by the presbyters as well as by the bishops (presbyters in this case meaning bishops). The anointing with oil is accompanied by prayers and forgiveness of sins, *i.e.*, together with the healing of the body; the soul also is healed, as is pointed out in the epistle of James. Since it possesses these characteristics this ministration must rightly be given a place beside the other services through which the believers receive invisibly the grace of the Holy Spirit by means of outward signs, namely the sacraments.

Generally speaking, the Church sees in the sacraments the principal means for the consecration of man. Without them it is impossible for a man who has sinned to lead a Christian life, because he cannot by his own efforts recover from his fall; to be lifted up he must come into contact with Him who has redeemed him by His death on the cross and has showed him the way of salvation through the church

established by Christ who promised that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The true Christian life is a life full of grace. Without the help of grace a life cannot be Christian, no matter what form it may take. The achievements of man do not give fruit of themselves, but by grace. "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase" (I Cor. 3 : 6). Grace lightens up the whole being of man, because God "will come unto him, and make our abode with him" (John 14 : 23) and fills him with joy, "and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you" (John 16 : 22).

The ultimate aim of man—communion with God, the dignifying of man by the indwelling of God in him—cannot be achieved except in the way pointed out by the Saviour, cannot be attained outside His church governed by the successors of the apostles, according to the words of the Saviour Himself: "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me" (Luke 10 : 16). "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (I Cor. 3 : 11). He is the Head of the church, and governs it invisibly by His grace, and visibly through His instruments, that is, the church hierarchy established by Him for the purpose of performing the holy ministrations—the sacraments.

In the act of salvation the bishops, as successors of the apostles, are called to play the leading part, being superior to the presbyters in virtue of the fact that only they have the right to perform the sacrament of ordination, and likewise in the legislation and government of the church they have a predominant significance. They alone have received certain authority in the government of the church, and they alone have received the right to reward and to judge the presbyters, as can be seen from the instructions which St. Paul gave to Timothy; who was endowed with all the rights which had been given to the apostles, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine. Against an elder receive not accusation, but before two or three witnesses" (I Tim. 5 : 17, 19). Christ Himself points to the church as the supreme spiritual and moral court. He has also laid down regulations according to which one should conduct himself towards a sinner, namely, at the beginning a sinner must be reproofed in private; afterwards before two or three witnesses, and then if he does not obey he is to be handed over to the church; if he does not obey it "let him be unto thee as a heathen man and publican" (Matt. 18 : 15, 16, 17). With these regulations the Saviour has given the church the right to inflict final spiritual punishment—to excommunicate from its midst the guilty ones; and in the church the predominant part is played by those to whom He has given the right to bind and to loose and to guide the spiritual

act by which man attains perfection "unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (Ephesians 4 : 13). In their pastoral practice the apostles have given an example to their successors, to which they must turn whenever any matter arises which concerns the whole church. For example, when a dispute broke out at Antioch concerning the circumcision of the heathen and the application of the law thereof, the apostles gathered at a council in Jerusalem and decided not to compel the heathen to keep this law and ordained that this decision was to be compulsory for the whole church (Acts 15 : 16-23). "And as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem" (Acts 16 : 4). There were other people present at this council besides the apostles and persons who had the grace of the priesthood, and they took part in the discussions of the council, yet they did not participate in the making of the decisions. The decrees issued in the name of the whole church were made by the apostles alone (Acts 15 : 7, 13, 22, 23). A little later also the apostles, presupposing that the centre of spiritual power in every church is its bishop, from whom issue the teaching, the ministrations, and the church governments, decreed that certain individual churches are subject to the control of all their bishops of the local council. The 37th rule of the apostolic regulations reads, "There shall be a council of bishops twice a year to discuss the dogmas of godliness and to settle the church disputes which may have arisen." In the course of the first three centuries, until the calling of councils made up of delegates from all the churches of the world, *i.e.*, up to the time of the Œcumenical councils, there were many local councils which consisted of bishops and elders invested with the authority of bishops. This shows that it was impossible for a separate church to exist without the hierarchy, with a bishop at its head. At these councils the church was always recognized not as an ordinary human society but as an association founded by God under the government of a hierarchy blessed by God; as a society not worldly but spiritual and endowed with divine grace, a society striving towards the divine regeneration of souls and the moral prosperity of the people. And the whole church of Christ, which comprises all separate churches, is subject to all the bishops, while the centre of the spiritual power of the church is the Œcumenical councils, as that centre once rested with the apostles who laid down rules for the whole church Œcumenically, as can be seen from their decree ending with the words, "For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us" (Acts 15 : 28).

After the cessation of the persecutions against the church Œcumenical councils were called with the co-operation of the authority of the state and there all matters concerning the church were decided. These councils were the supreme authority in matters of faith, and all separate churches, pastors and believers were required

to obey them. At these councils representatives of the separate churches were always bishops or their deputies. This superior court, in uniting all the bishops who are subject to it in respect to ecclesiastical teaching, ministry and government, preserves the unity of the universal church of Christ, with Christ for its only Head, and it also preserves the religious doctrine expressed in the inviolable Apostles' Creed. This unity is not violated by the fact that the separate local churches have their own forms of government which correspond to their needs, and their own organizations which may differ in some respects from those of the other local churches, because they all have the same common basis, determined not only by canonical right, but also by God. In this respect the decrees of the Ecumenical councils are divided into two kinds: some refer to religious and moral doctrines and are decreed by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the others come as a result of temporal historical conditions and are liable to change together with them. The unusual wealth and breadth of the Christian spirit presents an unlimited horizon for the national genius of every nation in the manner of revering and glorifying the Most High, without infringing upon the unity of the religious and moral doctrines and with full unity of faith and spirit in the bonds of peace (Ephesians 4 : 3) with the remaining national churches of the same faith.

Determined to remain ever faithful to Christ the Saviour, and to the covenants and traditions of His apostles, the Orthodox Church will never give up its religious doctrine expressed in the Nicene Creed, worked out by it in the battle against the heresies; nor will it give up its understanding of the question of the hierarchy and the holy sacraments. In spite of all this the Orthodox Church, remembering the covenant of its Founder Christ which is a covenant of brotherly love, is prepared to extend its helping hand to all humanity, suffering and seeking the truth and striving toward salvation; it will point out to mankind the roads of salvation; will open before men the depths of the divine revelation where this is possible in the church, at private meetings, and at world conferences. The acceptance of these truths given by God constitutes an essential condition for the spiritual unity of Christians.

But if it is impossible to reach complete spiritual unity among the churches because some churches may not accept the gospel of salvation as presented by us, which the Orthodox Church accepts as the teaching of the incarnate God Himself, and which will be kept eternally inviolate, it is still possible to organize on the basis of general Christian moral principles in co-operation with the other non-Orthodox churches for the attainment of the same high aims. There is a wide horizon open here for the determining of the ways and forms for a mutual realization of such an undertaking. In this respect the churches can unite in the same way as the states.

As is well known, there exist different alliances among different countries for the purpose of common action and for the realization of common purposes. In ancient and mediæval history the ones best known were the military alliances, which were concluded temporarily for mutual military help against a common enemy. In modern times, however, there appears a closer alliance among the countries, the so-called confederation or federation. Several states form an organic whole, in which the individual states do not disappear, but supplement each other and, while keeping their own form of government together, maintain an organization having common governing organs, which pursue the general aims of the confederated or federated states. Besides this, in the course of nineteen centuries the states have created many other forms of unity for the realization of special purposes held in common. There are different international leagues of an administrative character such as: the international Red Cross, the postal, telegraph and railway conventions, the league for the protection of literary rights, the league for the protection of labour, etc. If the states have been able to come so close that they have already created international law and international courts for common sanitary measures, then we see nothing which should hinder the co-operation of the existing churches for the realization of common aims such as: determining means for a campaign against the dechristianization of contemporary humanity, mutual measures of defence against the persecution of the church of Christ by the state, the destruction of all negative teachings and movements which pull down everything positive created by centuries of culture, in which the most valuable contributions have been made by those institutions on which in some form or other has been stamped the spirit of the Saviour of the world—the churches. This mutual activity will serve as a strengthening of the Christian spirit in humanity and as a moral uplifting of the individual in society, as well as for a greater mutual understanding and *rapprochement* among the Christian churches for the common continuation and growth of the work of Christian justice and love.

THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH.

BY HIS HOLINESS CHRYSOSTOM, METROPOLITAN OF ATHENS.

THE Church of Greece, gladly accepting the call to unity, extends to all the representatives of the several churches and nations here present a hearty greeting; desiring, from the bottom of her heart, that the day may soon come when differences as to the faith will no longer bar the way to Christian fellowship and mutual goodwill.

The assignment of a first place in our discussions to the nature of the Church is, in my judgment, wise and right; for upon this the possibility of an understanding entirely depends: it is fundamental to unity. I have therefore gladly consented to give a brief explanation of the teaching of the Orthodox Church upon this subject, a doctrine which, as we believe, is in entire accordance—to use a current expression—with that of the ancient and undivided Church.

In speaking of the Nature of the Church, we must first consider certain general characteristics of that holy fellowship called Ekklesia, and, after this, we must elucidate the particular marks which were attributed to the Church by the Fathers in the Nicene Creed, and which still represent the unchanging doctrine of the Greek Orthodox Church.

A

1. *The Church as the divinely-instituted Body of the Faithful.*

The founder of any society must of necessity be its original law-giver. It is he who determines alike the aim for which the society is to exist and the means by which that aim is to be attained: it is he who gathers its members into a unity for the accomplishment of that purpose. So we see in the New Testament that Jesus Christ, after choosing the twelve Apostles, delivers to them those laws and means and ordinances upon which the Church, having as its aim the salvation of the faithful was to be built up. Receiving these instructions from Jesus Christ, the Apostles took the Christian religion out into the world by founding Churches in every place; and they made it plain in doing this that they were acting in His Name and under the instructions received from Him. From the first century onwards the Church was regarded as a divinely-instituted Society, and this was recognized by heretics, Jews and Gentiles, as well as by the Fathers of the Church. The early heretics, as is well known, claimed in self-defence that *their* Churches were founded by Christ: and it is to Christ that non-Christian writers such as Celsus, Porphyry, and Pliny ascribed the foundation of the Church. Let us add that the prophecies of the Old Testament point forward to the establishment by the Messiah of a world-wide Kingdom, in which He Himself will teach the truth and bring about the salvation of mankind. There can be no doubt, as soon as we admit the Church to have taken its beginning from Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and Very God, that the Church is a divinely-instituted Society or foundation.

2. *The Church founded by Jesus Christ is both visible and invisible.*

The prophetic pictures of the Church in the Old Testament depict the Church as a visible society. The Church of the Old Testament which prefigured the Church of Christ, was itself a visible society. It is clear, from the calling of the disciples, and the sending of them forth to proclaim the Kingdom of God, from the provision made for the preaching of the Gospel, and from the institution of the Sacraments, that it was the intention of Jesus Christ to constitute the Church as a visible communion or society. The fact that the Church is the instrument through which the faithful are to attain salvation implies directly the visibility of the Church. If the Church is to be a fellowship of human beings, it must of necessity be a visible fellowship; it can have no existence as a community unless it has external marks by which it can be recognized. The primitive practice, dating from the first century, according to which heretics and schismatics were excluded from the Church, is in itself a proof of its visible character; for exclusion from an invisible fellowship is impossible and meaningless, and, in such a context, the word "schism" has no significance. Further, the fact that the Church has among its members both bad men and good, is a clear proof of its visibility. Thus, before his excommunication, the offender at Corinth was a member of the Church; and, before receiving Holy Communion we are bidden to examine ourselves, because to partake unworthily of the Body and Blood of the Lord is to eat and drink judgment to ourselves: there are, therefore, in the Church, some who eat and drink unworthily. And the Sacrament of Confession also makes it plain that the Church includes sinful men among its members,—a fact which is signified to us by the parables of the wheat and tares and of the fishing net.

The Church is, of course, invisible as well as visible. All its members are united in one Body by grace, as St. Paul says (1. Cor. 12, 12; Eph. 4, 1; Rom. 12, 3-8) and this bond of grace is invisible. The faithful are also united by a common belief and by the Sacraments: and these belong, in part, to the sphere of the unseen; so that in this aspect, again, the Church has an invisible character. And this twofold nature of the Church, seen and unseen, can be inferred from the Bible and the Fathers, which teach us to regard the Church as symbolizing the two natures, Divine and human, in the one Person of the Lord, Whose work the Church continues. Like Him, therefore, the Church must be at one and the same time outward and inward, human and Divine, in virtue of its correspondence with the Divine and human natures of its Founder: visible, therefore, and at the same time invisible.

3. *The Church founded by Christ as a visible community is infallible.*

The promise of Christ that He will be with the disciples till the end of the ages (Matt. 28, 20) and that He will send His Holy Spirit to abide with them for ever (John 14, 16) reveals to us that Christ and the Holy Spirit remain continuously in the Church and preserve it from every error. Christ, as the Head of the Church which is His Body, gives life to her continually, and guides her: so that, inasmuch as Christ is the very Truth (John 14, 6), it is impossible for her ever to fall into error. So it is that the Scripture calls the Church "the pillar and ground of the truth" (I. Tim. 3, 15) and declares plainly that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against her" (Matt. 16, 18). It is evident that in that verse of the Epistle to Timothy Paul is not referring to the Church of Ephesus but to the Church Catholic: also that he is not speaking of partial truth, or some special kind of truth, but of the truth as a whole; so that the whole Christian Church is regarded as the pillar and ground of the whole Christian truth, and therefore as infallible. And in the quotation from St. Matthew, the invincibility of the Church involves her unerring infallibility.

Jesus Christ, the Founder of the Church, gave to her Apostles and Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers . . . that we may be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine (Eph. 4, 11). Individually, of course, Bishops or local Churches may err (Acts 20, 30; Rev. 2, 5 ff.) but the Church as a whole is infallible. Tertullian (*De Praescr.* 28), referring to the action of the Apostles under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit at the Apostolic Council ("it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," Acts 15, 28), teaches with emphasis that the unity and unchangingness of the Church's faith is based upon the unique authority of the Church and the guidance given to it by the Holy Spirit.

4. *The aim and purpose of the Church.*

The aim of the Church is the sanctification of men and the building up the Kingdom of God (Matt. 6, 33), that is to say, the uniting of man with God, Who is the fountain of life and blessedness. Through the Church a share in the saving work of Christ is made possible for everyone who believes on Him (Eph. 5, 25; Tit. 2, 14), through grace, unto life everlasting (John 17, 3).

B

Thus understood, the Church is a divinely-instituted fellowship of men united one with another by the same faith, sanctified by the same mysteries, and governed by those Pastors and Teachers whose office originated in the Apostles. This Church, according to the definitions attached to her by the ancient Greeks, possesses the following marks:

5. *The Church of Christ is One.*

Jesus Christ speaks of His Church as one (Matt. 16, 15), and therefore there is only one Church, although its members are innumerable, dispersed throughout the whole world severed in time and in space, and although the local Churches are many. Our Lord teaches the unity of the Church in His parables, as clearly as He speaks of one fold and one Shepherd (John 10, 16). The Apostles also spoke of one Church (Eph. 5, 25), in which the unity of the faithful is derived from the oneness of the Body of the Church (Rom. 12, 5): "for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body" (I. Cor. 12, 13); "there is one body and one Spirit . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all" (Eph. 4, 6; cf. I. Cor. 10, 17; 12, 14-27). The Church is one in her internal life, and this unity is based upon the one Christ, Who, abiding with her, gives life to her through the Holy Spirit, uniting the faithful, the members of the one body, with Himself as its Head. This mysterious oneness of the members of the Church finds its special manifestation in the Sacrament of Holy Communion. Thus united, through the Holy Spirit, in Christ, the faithful are bidden to live one and the same life, the Christ-life. This unity is not affected by the use of varying languages in worship, nor by the external varieties of organization in local Churches. But the Church, according to St. Cyprian, is "una et sola a Domino constituta"; religious communities divided from her, whether by heresy or by schism, cease to be members of the one Church (John 2, 19); and their existence, therefore, does not destroy the unity of the Church. And the unity of the Church is not only to be thought of as a unity of the Church on earth, but as including also the Church in heaven, a unity transcending time and place, since the Church, with Christ as its Head, lives with His life eternally. The maintenance of the Church's unity on the part of man depends upon fidelity to faith in Jesus Christ as the Church's Head. By the power of a living faith the faithful have their share in the unity of the Church, and by the grace of God they form one spiritual community, the same in all ages.

6. *As the Body of Christ, receiving its life by the agency of the Holy Spirit, the Church is Holy.*

It is as a holy Church that the Saviour "presents" her (Eph. 5, 25-27) having founded her through His Blood. She is made holy by the Holy Spirit, sanctifying and enlightening her members, who therefore are called a "royal priesthood" (I. Pet. 2, 9-10); "fellow-citizens of the saints and of the household of God" (Eph. 2, 19), "children of light" (Eph. 5, 8; I. Thess. 5, 5), "Saints" (Rom. 1, 2; I. Cor. 1, 2; Eph. 4, 12; I. Tim. 5, 10; Heb. 3, 1),

"temples of God" and, "temples of the Holy Spirit" (I. Cor. 3, 16-17; 6, 19; II. Cor. 6, 16). Not that the members of the Church individually are all holy; it is the Church that is holy, and this does not mean that it has none but holy members. Our Lord compared the Church to a field in which wheat and tares grow together (Matt. 13, 24-30), to a net gathering of every kind (*ib.* 47), and to a supper at which there are worthy and unworthy guests (Matt. 22, 2-13). He taught that in the Church there are good and wicked servants (Matt. 18, 23 ff; 25, 14 ff.), sheep and goats (25, 33 ff.). It was for this reason that He founded the Sacrament of Confession in the Church, for the forgiveness of sins (John 20, 22 ff.), and taught His disciples to pray for the forgiveness of their sins (Matt. 6, 12). Perfect holiness belongs to the condition of the life everlasting, but in this present life none is free from sin (I. John 1, 8). In the days of the Apostles Ananias and Sapphira were members of the Church of Jerusalem, as the offender excommunicated by St. Paul was of the Church of Corinth. The holiness of her members is the aim which the Church aspires to reach through the means afforded to her. The inclusion of members who are not holy does not destroy the holiness of the Church, nor prevent it from making spiritual progress. A tree may have some withered branches, and yet go on growing, as long as its roots are strong and healthy. Deriving her sanctity from her Head, the Church ever seeks the betterment of her weak members, and only casts out from her fellowship those who cannot be made better—like the branches which, because they bear no fruit, are cast into the fire and burned (John 15, 1 ff.).

7. *The Church, One and Holy, is also Catholic.*

The Christian Church knows no local limitations. It is oecumenical and world-wide, as that Kingdom of God which Jesus proclaimed (Matt. 8, 11). It was not foreordained for one place or for one people. When our Lord was yet on earth, the Church needed but a little fold to contain it, but the Lord foretold that to this little flock His Father would give the Kingdom (Luke 12, 32). Through the sending out of the Apostles to the whole world (Matt. 28, 19), and to the uttermost part of the world (Acts 1, 8) the Lord foreshowed the Catholicity of the Church; this Catholicity was made strikingly manifest at the moment of the Church's definite entry upon the world, on the day of Pentecost, when the Apostles were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance (Acts 2, 4). Then came the founding of local Churches, particularly through the preaching of St. Paul: yet the local Churches in their totality constituted the one Catholic Church of Christ. In every Christian community in which there were believers in Christ, "brethren," a Church was

constituted; yet all the Churches of Achaia, Galatia, Macedonia and the rest, formed together the Church of the Churches, the Catholic Church. This Church, as contrasted with the heretical communities severed from it, was the one and only true Church, and stood alone in the possession of the true faith. Though scattered over the world, it existed as one whole through the identity of its faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus, Catholicity, and the right and true faith of the Church, were one and the same thing; and so the term Catholic Church meant "the Church which possesses the true and right faith." And for the same reason the name Catholic was applied, not only to the whole body, but also to each local church. The "Martyrdom of Polycarp" which is addressed in the form of a letter from the Church of God in Smyrna to the Church of God in Philomelium and to all local communities of the holy Catholic Church, speaks of Polycarp as praying for the "whole Catholic Church in the world"; and it also describes him as "an apostolic and prophetic teacher, and Bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna." In this sense of the word, at the time of the first and second Oecumenical Councils, the Bishops of the several cities and places were called Catholic Bishops of those cities (as, for instance, Meletios, Bishop of the Catholic Church in Antioch).

8. *The Church is also Apostolic.*

As God has sent His Son (Gal. 4, 4) the "Apostle and high-priest of our profession" (Heb. 3, 1), and the Son sent His disciples, whom He also named Apostles, so also the Church, founded in the world, sends out her own Apostles, to bring the world to Christ. But in order that the Church may be able to accomplish this aim, it must keep unspotted the apostolic doctrine and tradition, exactly as these existed in the time of the Apostles. Through them whom the Lord chose and the Holy Spirit inspired the Church was spread throughout the whole world: through them their successors were appointed, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, to continue without interruption the work of the salvation of believers—"being built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye also are build together for a habitation of God in the Spirit" (Eph. 2, 20 ff.). The apostolic doctrine and tradition, with the apostolic succession, are the elements in which the apostolicity of the Church consists. Only that Church can be apostolic which has and retains from the Apostles themselves the true doctrine and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Through the divinely-constituted Hierarchy, and so alone, this Church is con-

nected by unbroken succession with the Apostles, and keeps the deposit committed unto it by them.

When in the second century the Gnostics attempted through their Bishops to corrupt the faith of Christ which the Catholic Church throughout the world was teaching, Irenaeus, Bishop of Lugdunum, wrote against them thus:—"This teaching and this faith the Church has received: and, though scattered over the whole world, she preserves it as though she were dwelling in one house. And accordingly she preaches and hands on this faith as though with one mouth. For although in the world there are diverse languages, yet the power and meaning of the tradition is everywhere one and the same: neither do the Churches founded in Germany, or in Iberia, or among the Celts, nor those of the East of Egypt or in Libya or anywhere else in the world, teach or believe otherwise. But as the sun which God created is one and the same for the whole world, so also the preaching of the truth everywhere enlightens every man who desires to come to the knowledge of the truth. And neither will those among the Church's rulers who are mighty in speech teach otherwise than this (for the disciple is not above his Master), nor will those who are less powerful diminish the content of the tradition. For in that the Faith is only one, he who is mighty in speech cannot add to its greatness, nor can he who is less powerful diminish it. For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God also, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and the grace of the Lord. "Ubi ecclesia, ibi et spiritus Dei, et ubi spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et Domini gratia."

This, in a very brief compass, is our conception of the nature of the Church. Holding to this conception we are by no means far removed from that view of the Church's nature which was held in the ancient and undivided Church. And if, as we wish from the bottom of our hearts, all Christian bodies could find themselves united on this basis, which avoids both the extravagances of Romanism and the extremes of the theories most opposed to Romanism in the Western World, the Orthodox Church would be the first to rejoice over so great a blessing from God.

THE DECLARATION OF THE ORTHODOX AT LAUSANNE.

The following is the text of the Declaration referred to in Canon Douglas' appreciation of the Lausanne World Conference in Faith and Order, and read to the plenum of the Conference by the Archbishop of Thyatira in the Palais de Rumines, on the morning of Thursday, August 18. It was signed by all the delegates of the Orthodox Churches who attended the Conference, as also by all those Orthodox co-opted as members thereof, with the exception of the Metropolitan of Sofia, who had previously left Lausanne.

ON receiving the invitation of the Organizing Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order seven years ago, the Orthodox Church answered readily by sending representatives from her particular Orthodox Churches to the preliminary Conference, in 1920, at Geneva. That delegation of the Orthodox Church put before the Conference a united declaration in general terms of the teaching of their Church in the matter of Faith and Order, and at its conclusion recommended that before any discussion of the Reunion of the Churches in Faith and Order a League of Churches should be established for their mutual co-operation in regard to the social and moral principles of Christendom. Further, when the Orthodox Church was invited a short time ago to take part through her representatives in the present Conference, although many of her particular Churches are in distress so grave as to threaten their very existence, she hastened to send her delegations to it.

Accordingly we, the undersigned delegates of the Orthodox Church, being inspired by a sincere feeling of love and by a desire to achieve an understanding, have taken part in every meeting held here for the purpose of promoting closer brotherhood and fellowship between the representatives of the different Churches and for the general good and welfare of the whole body of Christians. But while sharing the general labours of the Conference, both in delivering addresses as arranged in the programme and in taking part in the open debates, as also in the work of the sections, we have concluded with regret that the bases assumed for the foundation of the Reports which are to be submitted to the vote of the Conference are inconsistent with the principles of the Orthodox Church which we represent.

Therefore, we judge it to be a matter of conscience that, with the exception of the first we must abstain from voting in favour of the Reports which are now ready. Although both in the papers read, in speeches, in debate, and in statements made in the three sections, we Orthodox have already made plain and clear what are

the points of view and conceptions of the Orthodox Church in regard to the subjects under discussion, we hold it to be of importance that we should specify here certain points in order to make manifest the difference which separates us from other members of the Conference. For example, while the Report on the message of the Church, since it is drafted on the basis of the teaching of the Holy Scripture, is in accordance with Orthodox conception and can be accepted by us, it is otherwise with the two other Reports, on the Nature of the Church and upon the Common Confession of the Faith of the Church. The drafting of these two latter was carried out on a basis of compromise between what, in our understanding, are conflicting ideas and meanings, in order to arrive at an external agreement in the letter. Whereas, as has often at other times been emphasized in statements by representatives of the Orthodox Church, in matters of Faith and Conscience there is room for no compromise. For us, two different meanings cannot be covered by, and two different concepts cannot be deduced from, the same words of a generally agreed statement. Nor can we Orthodox hope that an agreement reached upon such statements would remain lasting.

That the drafting Committees have realized the existence of this disagreement is apparent from many of the notes which they have placed in the Reports and which leave full liberty upon matters which at least we Orthodox hold to be fundamental. Thus, for example, we Orthodox cannot conceive a United Church in which some of its members would hold that there is only one source of Divine Revelation, namely, Holy Scripture alone, but others affirm that Apostolic Tradition is the necessary completion of Holy Scripture. While the full freedom so accorded in the Report to each Church to use its own Confession of Faith would make those Confessions of indifferent value to themselves, on the other hand, nothing but confusion as to the one common conception of the Faith of the so-united single Church could arise.

The Orthodox Church adheres fixedly to the principle that the limits of individual liberty of belief are determined by the definitions made by the whole Church, which definitions we maintain to be obligatory on each individual. This principle holds good for us not only as to the present members of the Orthodox Church, but also as to those who in future may become united with it in Faith and Order. Moreover, the Symbols which would be accepted by the united Church acquire their importance (in our conception as Orthodox) not only from the fact of their being historical witnesses of the Faith of the Primitive Church, but, above all, because the Church has affirmed their validity in her Œcumenical Councils. It should be unnecessary for us to add that the Orthodox Church recognizes and accepts as an Œcumenical Symbol only the Creed of Nicæa-Constantinople.

That which holds good for us in regard to the Œcumenical Symbol holds good also in regard to the dogmatic definitions of the Seven Œcumenical Councils, the authority of which no Orthodox would be justified in shaking.

Therefore, the mind of the Orthodox Church is that Reunion can take place only on the basis of the Common Faith and Confession of the ancient, undivided Church of the seven Œcumenical Councils and of the first eight centuries.

Although the Reports of the other three sections are not yet to hand, the process of debate upon them makes it evident that agreement on them can be reached only by vague phrases or by a compromise of antithetical opinions. Thus, for example, we cannot conceive how agreement can be made possible between two conceptions which agree that the existence of the ministry of the Church is by the Will of Christ, but differ as to whether that ministry was instituted by Christ Himself in its three degrees of Bishop, Priest and Deacon. In the same way we judge there to be no practical value in an agreed formula as to the necessity of Sacraments in the Church when there is a fundamental difference between the Churches not only in regard to their number, but also as to their general significance, as to their particular essential nature, and as to their particular effects.

This being so, we cannot entertain the idea of a Reunion which is confined to a few common points of verbal statement; for, according to the Orthodox Church, where the totality of the Faith is absent, here can be no *Communio in Sacris*.

Nor can we here apply that principle of Economy which in the past the Orthodox Church has applied under quite other circumstances in the case of those who came to her with a view to union with her.

In consequence, while we, the undersigned Orthodox representatives, must refrain from agreeing to any Reports other than that upon the Message of the Church, which we accept and are ready to vote upon, we desire to declare that, in our judgment, the most which we can do now is to enter into co-operation with other Churches in the social and moral sphere on a basis of Christian Love. Further, we desire to add that, as Orthodox Delegates, we should view with satisfaction a partial Reunion of those Churches which share the same principles as a precedent to general Reunion; inasmuch as it would thus be easier for our Orthodox Church to discuss Reunion with the Churches which had so united into a single Church, and had a single Faith, than with many Churches with different Faiths.

In making it plain that we have arrived at our decision only in obedience to the dictates of our conscience, we beg to assure the Conference that we have derived much comfort here from the experience that, although divided by dogmatic differences, we are

one with our Brethren here in Faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Declaring that in the future we shall not cease to devote ourselves to labour for the closer approach of the Churches, we add that we shall pray to God without ceasing that by the operation of His Holy Spirit He will take away all existing hindrances and will guide us to that Unity for which the Founder and Ruler of the Church prayed to His Heavenly Father: "that they all may be as One, as we are One."

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN ALBANIA.

By H. C. LUKE, C.M.G.

A VISIT to Albania in the spring of 1927 revealed a very unsatisfactory position so far as the Orthodox Church in that country is concerned. To realize something of the difficulties with which Albanian Orthodoxy is at present beset, it is necessary to consider for a moment the position of affairs as they were while Albania still formed a part of the Ottoman Empire. At that time the Albanian Orthodox, in common with the rest of the Orthodox of Turkey in Europe (other than the Bulgarian Exarchists), were under the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch, who, in pursuance of the secular policy of the Phanar towards its non-Hellenic *ressortissants*, carefully avoided giving the Albanians Bishops of their own race and tongue. Such Albanians as attained episcopal rank were either titular Bishops employed at the Phanar, or else were given sees in Asia Minor, while the Albanian sees were invariably filled by Greeks. The liturgical language was Greek, and attempts at the creation of a national Church were strongly discountenanced.

Nor did the proclamation of Albania's independence at the end of 1912 effect any instant alteration in the *status quo*. Immediately upon the first confused period of Albania's independence—from 1912 to 1914—followed the infinitely greater chaos of the Great War, and it was not until some years after the Armistice that the Orthodox of Albania were able in some measure to take stock of their position and to consider possible remedies for their deplorable condition. It should be stated that the Orthodox form about 20 per cent. of Albania's total population of 832,000, and are to be found principally in Southern Albania, that is to say, in the part of the country nearest to Greece, a circumstance which is not without its significance.

The ambition of the overwhelming majority of Orthodox Albanians is to possess an autocephalous, or at least an autonomous, native Albanian Church, with a hierarchy of their own race and a liturgy in their own tongue. The first step in this direction was taken in 1922, after the political situation had become slightly more stabilized, by the proclamation at Berat of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, a proclamation which has hitherto failed to receive the *de jure* recognition of the Phanar. There have been negotiations, hitherto inconclusive, with the Phanar, and in the meantime there are doubts and difficulties, there are local intrigues, there is a lamentable lack of organization, and there is no Synod, although two Bishops of Albanian nationality have now been for a little while in the country, Hierotheos, Metropolitan of Kortcha (Koritza), and Christopher, Metropolitan of Berat. These prelates, however, having served for long periods at the Phanar, are believed to be but luke-warm nationalists and to be unlikely to take very active steps in the furtherance of Albanian Orthodox national aspirations, where such aspirations are likely to conflict with the policy of the Phanar. Despite the presence in the country of these two Bishops, and of others to be mentioned later, there is as yet, as I have said, no Synod of the Albanian Church; the only organized body of any sort is a more or less informal mixed Committee of clergy and laity, which came into existence before the arrival of the Bishops and is presided over by a simple priest of Kortcha. This Committee has of necessity but little authority; and it produces the anomaly that while the priest, who is its President, kisses the hand of the Bishop of Kortcha as his hierarchical superior, the Bishop is compelled to acknowledge and pay due respect to one of his own parish priests as being President of the Committee.

The other Bishops now or until recently in the country are, firstly, a certain Bessarion Djouvanni, a former Albanian Deputy and Senator, who was recently given episcopal consecration at the hands of certain refugee Russian Bishops at the Monastery of Savina, near Castelnuovo in Dalmatia; secondly, a Bishop at Scutari, who owes obedience to the Autocephalous Church of Yugoslavia and is responsible for the spiritual oversight of the Serbian and Montenegrin Orthodox colony in and around Scutari; thirdly, the equivocal Fan Noli, who did not receive episcopal consecration until four years after he had unjustifiably assumed that rank, and who left Albania in 1924.

Clearly the position of the Albanian Orthodox, who admittedly need a strong, vigorous and united national Church, is still (July, 1927) most unsatisfactory. The Phanar is, in its present precarious condition, bound to be guided in a large measure by the wishes of the Church of Greece; and Athens is still jealous of anything tend-

ing to strengthen the sense of Albanian nationalism in the districts north of Epirus, much of whose population is claimed by the Greeks to be ethnologically Hellenic. In May, 1926, the Metropolitan of Trebizond, Chrysanthos, was despatched by the Œcumenical Patriarch to Tirana to negotiate with the Orthodox people, and with the Government of Albania, on the subject of recognition by the Phanar of an Albanian Church. When he returned to Constantinople it was hoped that agreement had been reached; but in March, 1927, he came back to Tirana, still empty-handed. Great was the general disappointment; but it is evident that the Phanar will ultimately be compelled to recognize the claims of nationality in Albania, as it was compelled in the past to recognize them in Rumania, in Serbia and in Bulgaria. For the sake of all concerned it is to be hoped that it will resign itself to the inevitable without a delay that is bound to be injurious to the best interests of Orthodoxy.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Commander Luke sent us the foregoing article from Sierra Leone on July 22nd. On July 29th the following announcement appeared in *The Times* :—

Mgr. Basil III., the Œcumenical Patriarch, has recognized as Autocephalous the Orthodox Church of Albania, and has, accordingly, detached Albania from the direct spiritual oversight of the Phanar. This decision has been communicated by his All-Holiness to Ahmed Beg Zogu, the President of the Albanian Republic.

The newly-constituted Church of Albania, which has about 168,000 adherents, is governed by a Holy Synod composed of the Metropolitan Archbishop of Tirana, who is Primate of Albania, and the Bishops of Gyraokastira (Agyrokastro or Ergeri), Berat, Durazzo, and Kortcha (Koritza).]

THE CHILDREN OF RUSSIA.

By R. M. FRENCH.

A SYMPATHETIC observer of the great Russian tragedy in that aspect of it which concerns the religious life of the people will find his anxiety for the future concentrated upon two matters which are like a double heart in the welter of distress. One is the supply of clergy for the Russian Church in the near future. The other is the training of the children of Russia. It is upon the latter of these two subjects that a word or two will here be said.

Little need be prefaced by way of emphasizing the importance of the subject and the gravity of the situation. The familiar maxim of the Jesuit, "Give me the child until he is seven; I care not who has him afterwards," if it does not command literal agreement in detail, is at least accepted as reflecting the conviction of all civilized people that the environment in which a child is deliberately placed in his early years is of paramount importance alike for his own future and for that of his country.

Goethe said that every child should be made to see something beautiful every day. A while ago a group of our English children was taken to what used to be "Russia," but is now "S.S.S.R.," to see for themselves. There are still beautiful things to be seen there, relics of the past which still remain undestroyed, and it is to be hoped that the English children will have seen them. But one remembers the words of a recent dispassionate and competent observer that "The Russian town has been reduced to one vast slum."

And what of the Russian children who are growing up in "S.S.S.R."? To begin with the worst, there are the hordes of "nomad" children, references to whom have occasionally appeared in our Press. A leading article of the *Times* of June 15th, 1927, wrote as follows in comment upon the proposed visit of English children to Russia :—"A full exposure of child life under the Soviet would have given them a picture of degradation which is without parallel in the history of civilization. They would have heard of the ever-increasing number of vagrant and criminal children who roam the cities; they would have learned, on the authority of the Special Commission for Homeless Children appointed last year by the Soviet authorities to inquire into the evil, that during the year 350,000 children had been rounded up into children's 'camps'; that about 300,000 were still homeless, and that child outcasts continued to increase. A full recital of the 'methods of bringing up Russian children in the ways of Communism' could hardly have concealed the appalling fact that (according to the same report) 'in Moscow

alone the number of criminal children dealt with amounted to 50,000,* and that nine out of every ten of this vagrant army are children of the 'workers and peasants.' It would have been explained to them that at least half of these children are between the age of twelve and fourteen years, and are 'suffering from every kind of infectious disease,' and that numbers have abandoned themselves to the drug habit. They might even have been told that Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, incurred the displeasure of the Political Bureau a little time ago by insistently disclosing the revolting conditions of 'Soviet homes' and of the children whom the authorities from time to time have banished by thousands from Moscow and other towns to remote districts, 'where they perish far from the sight of Moscow's citizens, whose eyes their presence in the streets of Moscow offended.' And as the new rule of morality for the young, according to a high Bolshevik authority, is that 'everything is allowed,' they might even have been informed that, at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets at Moscow, attention was drawn (according to the *Pravda*) to the increase in the custom of 'practising abortion among quite young children.'"

The formation of these troops of nomad children is not a deliberate purpose of the Bolshevik government. They represent rather a Frankenstein's Monster of the Soviet régime, brought into being by misgovernment during famine and economic chaos, and the destruction of family life and moral sanctions.

How many of these unfortunates are there? No one knows exactly. But they roam about towns and country, under their own chiefs and with their own "soviet" organization. Devoid of the rudiments of civilization, fierce, half-naked and diseased, they are pitiable in themselves, and to the community a menace which even the Bolsheviks themselves realize they must make an attempt to cope with. Here is D'Herbigny's* account of the wild children as he saw them in Kiev. "Among the crowd in its holiday attire there wander many of those homeless children whom the Ukrainian Republic endeavours to round up. It is said that their efforts have brought 600,000 of them under shelter. But according to official statistics 300,000 remain homeless.

"They are more than ragamuffins. The word does not apply, for the few tatters of stuff or linen do not even cover their nudity. Wretched they are, and, above all, insolent. The Moscow police dread them, frequently arrest them, but do not know what to do with them. Organized under chiefs of their own age, these urchins of eight to twelve years have nothing to lose and very little to fear. At Moscow one of their principal centres of operation is the busy and animated Arbal Square. At an order of their chiefs, in the space

* *Pâques 1926 en Russie*, p. 94 ff.

of a few minutes they rob a shop or plunder a passer-by. Make no attempt to resist them. Vicious and diseased, they know how to infect others. If a woman holds on to the handbag they want to seize from her, the small chieftain coolly says, 'Let go or I'll bite.' 'Let go, or I'll give you the disease.' And his bite would in fact inject the incurable poison into the blood by his saliva. Official reports record these facts. Sometimes the police round up a few of these bands and deport them to a distant part of the country. But others return, the products of the great famine, a multitude of lost or orphan children, some of whom are said to be of the noblest blood.

"In the Ukraine they prefer the country to the town. In the country they feel safer, and live more easily on the produce of the fields in summer, and in winter on groups of farms. For the most part the farmers are pitiful and generous, and voluntarily supply their needs. In case of refusal, ricks, barns and farms flare up in the neighbourhood, cattle mysteriously die, and sometimes also village children disappear. It may be that imagination exaggerates the real facts; it is at least certain that fear of these young bandits secures their means of existence, and that their youth guarantees something near impunity for them. At Kiev and in the big towns they scarcely appear except in holiday seasons; there is nothing surprising in the fact that they are numerous on this first of May, Easter Eve. They by no means remain, like the innumerable cripples and beggars, at the church doors and street corners. They go boldly along the houses, and the housewife whom they surprise on her doorstep scarcely hesitates. She brings a hunch of bread or an old garment, anything that is demanded. Usually it is a fairly large coin which she must produce on the spot."

To the question, what becomes of these children, the answer is that many of them die of want, exposure and disease. Others grow up to swell the numbers of the hooligan class of society. Some are captured and placed in institutions, but such, it appears, frequently escape, to revert to the wild undisciplined life for which they have formed a taste. Of these institutions it is reported that some are properly conducted so far as the material well-being of the children is concerned. Others are said to leave much to be desired in that respect, as well as in the moral tone which is encouraged, or at least connived at, among the children. The *Times'* citation of Krupskaya on this subject has been given above. But there are perhaps signs that the Soviet authorities are awakening to the havoc produced by the wholesale sweeping away of traditional standards of morality in the past, and making some effort to stem the flood of evil and repair the damage. In any case the children will all be brought up under the influence of that anti-religious propaganda which is one of the basic principles of the Soviet régime.

Children must not be taught religion in Russia. Naturally parents cannot be prevented from teaching their own children at home if they desire to do so. But the teaching of religion of any sort to a group (more than three) is still illegal. Nor is this all. Every opportunity is taken of instilling into the receptive minds of children a deliberate and reasoned atheism and a scorn and hatred of religious belief and practice. It is important to realize the deliberate purposefulness, the energy and the ability with which this gruesome task has been undertaken. It took the world some time to grasp even the crude and brutal physical aspect of the Soviet persecution of religion. Perhaps it has not yet grasped the subtler and more dangerous attempt that is being made upon the plastic mind of the children. All the resources of modern psychological knowledge are brought to this work of evil. "We must have done with administrative measures such as the closing of churches, mosques and synagogues. Antireligious propaganda in the country should assume the character of a purely materialistic explanation of those natural phenomena and facts of common life with which the peasant is familiar. Hail, rain, drought, insect pests, the nature of the soil—all such should be taken into consideration from the point of view of the struggle against religion. We must always advance cautiously and according to a definite plan. We must systematically re-educate the people, using every means of instruction, but especially in the schools and by the schools." "It is the village schools and reading-rooms which must be used for propaganda."*

Thus, at the outset of his life, the inmost recesses of the child's mind and the very depths of his personality are to be made the battleground. The warfare against the very idea of God is to be carried on there. Nor is it to be waged in a blind fury of hatred, but coolly, with care and forethought, in a scientific spirit, and with long and patient study of the psychological problems involved. Thus P. Blonsky in "Towards the New School" (1925) writes: "Our propaganda against religion would have gained greatly if we had applied ourselves to the study of the question: why do children become religious, and how are they to be detached from religion? Plainly, the reasons which attract the adolescent towards religion lie in the moral sphere. Failing to find satisfaction in life as it presents itself to his experience, he seeks for the supreme good. The stately setting of divine worship adds an æsthetic attraction to religion. It is clear that study of the natural sciences will not succeed in making an atheist of this young man; the theatre and everything which appeals to the eye will be much more efficacious. But what is of still greater value in his moral discontent with life is to open his eyes to all the evil and immorality there is in religion, to awaken in him, on moral

grounds, a feeling of disgust for religion, and to satisfy with social activities his aspirations towards the good and the perfect."* This theme of endeavouring to excite repugnance to religion "on moral grounds"—this calling good evil and evil good, of putting light for darkness and darkness for light—is a favourite one with Bolshevik educationalists. And they realize the immense importance, apart from the positive teaching the child receives, of the environment in which he lives:—"If we cannot alter the religious atmosphere in family life, then we must see to it that in schools and kindergartens the children are surrounded by non-believers," say MM. Goolit and Blonsky.† Further, they point out that favourable opportunities of destroying the child's faith must be carefully watched for, and advantage taken of them with painstaking diligence. Such opportunities are afforded at moments of religious conflict and doubt. Unanswered prayers, complaints to God in times of trouble—these are golden opportunities for the instructor to dwell upon the uselessness of prayer. "The child who comes to the conclusion that it is not worth while praying since it is all the same whether he does or not, for in any case nothing happens, that child has already ceased to believe."

The age of the child is naturally another factor which must be carefully taken into consideration. Soviet instructors direct the attention of their workers to the age of puberty. "At this age the knowledge of natural history and the history of civilization is a powerful agent for the weakening of religious feeling." But that is not sufficient to achieve the end desired. It is an age also of moral struggle, of the growth of sex consciousness, and the awakening of imperious desires. This is the time when "moral doubt" can be awakened in the youth, and he must be shown evil in the lives of ecclesiastics and the idea driven into him that "religion is full of immorality" (Goolit and Blonsky, *op. cit.*).

Another writer, however, sounds a note of warning from the psychological point of view. "Experience proves that direct antireligious propaganda among children has not been entirely successful. The more aggressively the lecturer attacks religion, the more protests are aroused among his listeners. Moreover, it is a matter of observation that children are as a rule indifferent to religious questions. Now violent attacks upon religion result in arousing the children from their indifference, but in a direction quite the reverse of that desired. So we must be careful not to oppose science to religion. That will only serve to attract the child's attention to religious problems, and at the same time hinder his acquisition of exact ideas about science. What is desired is that doubt and opposition should arise naturally in the child's mind as he reflects upon what he sees and hears. That is the moment at which we must come to his help and put into his

* "Communist Instruction," No. 3 & 4. Quoted in *Vestnik*, October, 1926.

* Quoted in *Vestnik*, November, 1926.

† "The problem of the antireligious training of children." *Ibid.*

hands some suitable book which will supply answers to the questions which are exercising him."*

The most promising children, and those who show themselves most susceptible to receiving this kind of instruction, are to be picked out and organized into groups for special work. They are to be given intensive cultivation, as it were, with a view to their becoming leaders in the "Komsomol" and among the "Red Pioneers." In any case they will always be useful as antireligious leaven at school and at home. Perhaps it was of one of these brighter pupils that Kordes-Borisova tells the following story, presumably with satisfaction: "A little girl was ardently proving the existence of God, and of the Guardian Angel who always stands at the child's right-hand side. A boy who was disputing with her struck her violently on the right side. The child fell down, and the boy triumphantly shouted, 'What about your guardian angel taking care of you now? There, you see, there aren't any angels of any sort. That's all nonsense.'" The boy would seem to have lost a good deal more than his belief in guardian angels.

Thus no effort is spared under the Soviet *régime* to kill the natural religious instincts in the child, and to train him to regard himself simply as a thinking animal and a chance product of blind natural forces. All school books, upon whatever subject, are revised and scrupulously edited with this purpose in view, and to the same end the teachers are selected with great care, and given rigorous instructions. They are responsible to the local representatives of the government, and the whole system is under the direct supervision of the O.G.P.U. (Cheka).

And the last-mentioned body has a far-seeing eye. A Bolshevik newspaper prints the following item of local news: "The teacher Choubaroff, one of the most zealous atheists in the village, has had one of his children baptized in the regular old way. Some of the peasants whom he had himself converted to atheism made no attempt to conceal their disgust at this spectacle, and went away indignant. Strange behaviour indeed in a schoolmaster who is expected to set a good example to the young."

The result hoped for is that "every year there will issue from the workmen and peasant schools thousands of atheists able to prove scientifically that the Church is a mischievous institution founded upon a lie."†

Indeed, the application of so thoroughgoing a system can hardly fail to produce to some extent at least the effect sought for. It is appalling to think of generations growing up in Russia in a worse condition than paganism. The latter implies the religious faculty unimpaired though misapplied. The same faculty which has been

exercised upon a false object may be persuaded to accept the true. But if the Soviet system succeeds, that faculty itself will be destroyed in millions of young Russians who will be forearmed against conversion by a positive hatred and contempt for any religious belief whatever. You may pour what liquid you will into a jug so long as the vessel remains intact, you may change its contents until they are what you believe they ought to be. But the Bolshevik purpose is to knock the bottom out of the jug.

Yet, after all, such a simile fails, for it is to concede the Bolshevik major premise as to the nature of human personality, and to reduce the situation to material terms. And it is precisely because of the reality of other factors in the situation that the Bolshevik attempt will fail. Apart from the divine promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail, in multitudes of cases the attempt will be defeated by the child himself. For all its zeal and energy, and patient application of scientific psychology, the Soviet is going to work with its eyes shut to the principal fact in the case, the reality of the child's religious instinct. The Bolshevik is aware of it only as a delusion. The child himself knows it as a reality. He may be untaught or mistaught, but, nevertheless, he frequently possesses a clarity of insight which staggers the adult, and a shrinking from evil that he does not in the least understand. Moreover, he is very unexpected and elusive, and not always won when he appears to be. He commonly knows much more about the adult than the latter gives him credit for. Disastrous as the position of Russian children now is, there is some comfort in that. And Russian children are often old for their years, just as Russian adults remain young. We are told that children who have passed through the Soviet schools display a highly-developed critical attitude towards their elders, and towards their teachers a boldness of demeanour both outward and interior, that they are half children, half adult. In many cases that have come under observation they joined "the Pioneers" to conceal their origin and save their parents from persecution, or in a spirit of sheer mischief. "They gave the Pioneers pictures and penknives," said a child of twelve from a Soviet school, "so I put my name down, but my brother wouldn't." Some of the stories told by children who have left Russia are pathetic enough. Here is one* from Belgrade giving the experiences of two little boys of ten and twelve who had recently been in a "standard" Communist Home. "Every day they said dreadful things to us about God and about the Mother of God. They forbade us to say our prayers, and took away our crosses† and threw them into the cesspool. We all thought it was dreadful to listen to. There were some of the children who laughed with the teachers at the time, but

* *Vide Vestnik*, June, 1927.

† The little cross always worn by the Orthodox suspended from the neck beneath the clothing.

* Kordes-Borisova, "Antireligious Campaign in Children's Libraries."

† *Communist Instruction*, No. 1, 1925.

afterwards, when they went to bed, they were frightened and crossed themselves. We learned our prayers from each other. There was a boy in our Home who came from Voronezh, and he used to tell us about the miracles of Mitrophan of Voronezh, and about other bishops who live in Russia to-day. There was a little church opposite, and when the master was out on Saturdays, we used to run over to it."

And here again are the thoughts of an eight-year-old little girl who came to say good-bye before being taken back to Russia. "Mother wants to go home. I should like to stay; I like it here at school. And now I'm going to go on learning there, only they won't let you learn Scripture. But I shall go to the Parish Church, and put my name down for the class at the priest's. A lot of children do that there, even if their parents forbid it." No doubt such cases of sturdy independence are not altogether rare. A child's mind is plastic and impressionable, but not indefinitely so; and he will sometimes hold on to a fundamental idea with a simple-minded tenacity which surprises us. The Soviet educationalist has to reckon with this, as well as with the influence of countless devout Russian homes, not to mention villages and districts here and there where his writ does not run, or runs but haltingly. It seems but little to pit against the organized force of the Soviet administration. Yet how shall we measure the relative powers of good and evil in a particular case except by taking them as part of the great conflict on a vastly larger scale in time and space than even that in which the Russian tragedy is staged? That truth is great and will prevail is not only a pious hope; it is also the verdict of human experience.

What has been written above concerns the Russian child within the borders of Russia. But there are hundreds of thousands more whom the new *diaspora* has scattered over Europe like leaves before the wind. Some came with their families, some as isolated waifs, some bear the marks of the Soviet *régime*, others escaped before that dire calamity befell them. They present a problem which needs an article in itself to describe. But it may be summarized in a few words. How are these children to be settled happily and prosperously in their new environment so that at the same time their national and religious consciousness may be preserved intact? Two little Russian girls were placed in an excellent institution in England. A visitor saw them soon after, and brought back the report that "they were miserable, they could hardly speak a word of English." Twelve months or so later the same visitor reported that the children "were radiantly happy, and they could hardly speak a word of Russian." There is the problem in a nutshell. In numberless cases such children have been settled in schools and homes, or are living with their parents and attending schools, and entering into the life of their temporarily adopted country, under circumstances of great benefit to them in many ways, in an environment which elicits the gratitude

of Russians. Yet the irony and pathos of the situation lies in the fact that the more that is true, the greater the difficulty of keeping them really Russian in mind and heart. While the practical task which the Russian Church in its comparatively few centres in Western Europe has to face in providing spiritual ministration for these scattered children of its flock must seem at times almost insuperable. Members of the Russian colonies in Europe do much to cope with the situation. The children are brought together for instruction. Sunday Schools are started, and summer camps are organized. In these latter an attempt is made, once in the year at least, to provide a Russian atmosphere for the children in a combination of school and holiday. They are for these few weeks taught and looked after by Russians only, they are instructed in the Russian Orthodox Faith, in Russian literature, history and geography, and all takes place in the Russian language. The difficulty, of course, is finance. But no one can doubt that the effort is worth making and supporting. All who know what the Russian spirit has to give to the world will sympathize with such endeavours to keep these Russian children Russian in mind and soul. They are but a few compared with the numbers of their small brothers and sisters in Russia itself, but to them also the world looks for their share in the building of the Russia that is to be.

ORTHODOX PRELATES AND THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC CONGRESS OF 1927

I.—LETTERS OF GREETING.

From HIS ALL HOLINESS, BASIL III., Œcumenical Patriarch and Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome.

To the Reverend Canon Douglas.

I HAVE learnt with very special interest from our beloved Metropolitan of Thyatira, Mgr. Germanos, of the Great Eucharistic Congress which is shortly to be held in the Albert Hall and in which some thousands of the faithful children of the venerable Anglican Church will take part, and you yourself whom I know and value will assist. Having always had a great appreciation of that deep Christian consciousness which marks your noble and devout English Nation and which is illustrated so finely in its observance of the Lord's Day, I find great happiness in the Lord in the fact that, as the convention of your Eucharistic Con-

gress shows, the heart and mind of the devout children of your Church are inspired by that principle of grounding themselves upon the firm basis of the Faith and Practice of the One Undivided Church which will guide them into a sure path towards the achievement of the General Reunion of the Church.

Accordingly, I send you my heartfelt congratulation and good wishes in Christ for the occasion of the Convention of the Congress and pray that it may be prospered.

May our Lord who founded his One Holy Church and purchased it with his own Blood bless and strengthen every undertaking consecrated to the restoration of Christian Unity. And may his Grace and boundless mercy be with your beloved self and with all who are zealous to promote the Glory of his Holy Name by labouring for the Union and Brotherhood of all Christians.

With fervent prayer for you to God.

✠ BASIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

9th February (O.S.), 1927.

From HIS BEATITUDE, MELETIOS II., Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and Ecumenical Judge.

To the Reverend Canon Douglas.

Ardently desiring unity of the Churches, we rejoice to greet the Eucharistic Congress. An exact definition of Anglican doctrine concerning the Holy Eucharist would undoubtedly be a serious step towards unity. We invoke on the Congress the enlightening grace of the Holy Spirit.

✠ PATRIARCH MELETIOS.

From HIS BEATITUDE, MIRON CHRISTEA, Patriarch of Ungro-Vlachia (Rumania) and Archbishop of Bucharest.

To the President of the Eucharistic Congress in the Great Albert Hall, London.

The news that the venerated Anglican Church will hold an important Eucharistic Congress in London fills us with great joy, for this important gathering takes place in a Church of such broad friendship and sympathy with our Holy Orthodox Church.

We are confident that the results of this Congress will serve not only to deepen the faith of the Anglican Church in itself, but will

also strengthen its friendly relations with the old Eastern Church. The practice of the Holy Communion lies at the root of our entire worship, and those who partake of it in the true old spirit of Christianity find themselves in living communion with all brothers who share it in the same spirit.

May God richly bless the labours of this venerable Assembly, to whom we send our wishes of success and our warmest greetings.

✠ THE PATRIARCH OF RUMANIA.

From HIS HOLINESS CYRIL, Archbishop of Justiniane and of all Cyprus.

To the Most Reverend Brethren and Beloved Children of the Anglican Church who are to assemble in the Great Albert Hall of London.

In view of the deep significance of the Eucharistic Congress shortly to assemble in the Great Albert Hall, and to consider theses of great importance which touch upon that most excellent Sacrament of the Eucharist in which the faithful are made partakers of the supernatural being of our Lord, I may be permitted to send you from this Island of Cyprus which has so great a place in history, the sisterly greeting of the famous Church of the Apostle Barnabas and my own humble salutation.

I am touched to the heart with joy at the assembly of so great a body of representatives of the Anglican Church, and I find the greatest pleasure and delight in gratification at the thought that Congresses such as your own call up to the mind of every faithful Christian those celebrated Ecumenical and topical Councils of the Ancient Undivided Church, in which the problems of Faith and Order that were then raised and discussed and solved. For, in fact, the investigations and discussions that take place in conferences and congresses such as your own, about which I write to you, as in that which was recently held on Life and Work, or as that which is now in preparation, are plainly having as their result the softening away of difficulties in the attempt at achieving that general "Reunion of all" for which the Orthodox Church prays without ceasing.

Accordingly, in addressing my humble prayers to the fountain of all wisdom that He will pour forth his Holy Spirit upon the hearts and minds of those who shall take part in your Congress in the path of truth, I ask you to believe that I invoke God's fullest blessings on all who shall take part therein for its full success, and remain zealous with you in intercession to God.

✠ ARCHBISHOP CYRIL OF CYPRUS.

1st February, 1927.

From HIS HOLINESS CHRYSOSTOM, Archbishop of Athens and Metropolitan of Greece.

To the Reverend Canon Douglas.

It is with exceptional pleasure that we learn from your last letter that a Congress of six days will shortly be held in London devoted to the question of the Holy Eucharist. This event, while in every way of the greatest importance to the internal life of the Church of England, is, besides, of even greater importance on account of the relations existing between the Churches; for the reason that on a true conception of the nature and saving purpose of the mystery of the Eucharist pre-eminently depends the *rapprochement* and the desirable reunion of the Churches.

For the Holy Eucharist is the eternal Mystery of the New Testament, in which our Lord Jesus Christ, who instituted it, is well pleased to be present himself. In the other Mysteries he is present through his divine power, but in the Holy Eucharist there is present the Incarnate Saviour continuing, and in some way extending the supernatural mystery of the Incarnation and the Redemption through his sacrifice on the Cross, and immediately through his presence effecting the redemption of each one of the faithful who are united to him by communion.

Our Lord not only appears in the bread, which is changed into his Body, and in the wine, which is changed into his Blood through the descent of the Holy Spirit, but dwells also undivided and the same in them and in every particle of the Eucharist.

Therefore the Holy Eucharist is worthy of worship at its every celebration and in its reserved particles; a worship such as our Lord and Saviour, God and Man, who is essentially present in it, is worthy of. The worship of the Holy Eucharist is germane to the true meaning of this Mystery and is an expression of a true and real faith in it and of a profound apprehension of that meaning.

For this reason it was with emotion that we followed the latest movement concerning this question in England. And, indeed, the Congress, which is to meet, must, we feel, be the fruit of this movement. Therefore it is with pleasure that we greet it and pray that our Lord, who said that he is to be found in the midst of those who come together in his name, may be present among those who are to meet in this Congress and may enlighten them and lead them to the true faith and understanding of this mystery.

✙ CHRYSOSTOMOS,
Archbishop of Athens and all Greece.

From THE BISHOP OF OCHRIDA, SERBIA.

The Holy Eastern Church is looking with great interest and sympathy to the Anglican Christian Community, praying always to our Blessed Lord that we all may be one—one in spirit and one in action.

The Christian nations are still in a great distress. The lesson of the War has not been learnt. . . . Who can kill the war-microbe? Nobody among mortal men; nothing of all the political arts and crafts—but Christ God alone. Unless nations humble themselves before Christ and recognize Christ as the only Peacemaker, wars will follow wars and revolutions revolutions. . . . But, in bearing this heavenly message to the world, we Christians ought to fortify ourselves every day with the spirit of Christ the Lord, in order to make ourselves the worthy bearers of such a world-important message.

✙ NICHOLAI VELIMIROVIC.

II.—SPEECH AT THE ALBERT HALL BY ✙ GERMANOS, METROPOLITAN OF THYATIRA.

I wish first of all to express my warmest thanks to the Committee of the Anglo-Catholic Congress both for the kind invitation which it has sent me and for the friendly reception which has been accorded me in your midst. It was with great eagerness that I accepted the invitation to be present at this meeting inasmuch as the work of this Congress is the source of the greatest interest to me. While I have no desire to take any part in the discussions taking place within your Church, which discussions in one form or another are never absent in any Church, yet I cannot but express my feeling that the school of thought which, going back to the ancient and undivided Church, attempts to conform the teaching and practice of the Anglican Church of to-day to those of the ancient Church, without a doubt invites the greatest interest on the part of every Orthodox observer.

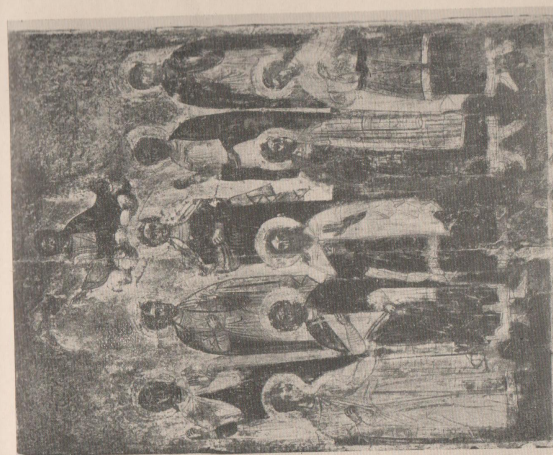
As far as I have been able to follow the work of your Congress in the Press, I venture to say that the lines of thought followed in the examination of this Mystery are, generally speaking, the very lines which the Orthodox Church favours. I do not, however, wish to conceal from you the fact that, whilst the Orthodox Church does not refuse the honour and adoration due to the Body and Blood of our Lord, nor, when occasion demands, fails to manifest this adoration, it has not made the Holy Eucharist an object of *ad hoc* adora-

tion; hence in the practice of the Orthodox Church you will not find all those services and devotions, which have as their immediate purpose this adoration, and which we so often find elsewhere. Certainly, the Body and Blood of Christ are, in the Orthodox Church, reserved for the Communion of the sick and are honoured and adored. But these—the Body and Blood of Christ—are neither presented by the Church to the faithful for the purpose of adoration, nor do the faithful make the Holy Sacrament a subject of special adoration. Is this view, I wonder, a consequence of the conservative spirit which inspires the Orthodox Church and does not permit a deviation from the ancient traditions? Is this view due to the fact that no external cause has arisen for a similar evolution? It is not for me to consider these questions at the moment. All those, however, who are concerned to see that the principle of Vincent of Lerins, "*id teneamus quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est*," shall prevail in the Church, would do well to keep in mind this view of the Orthodox Church.

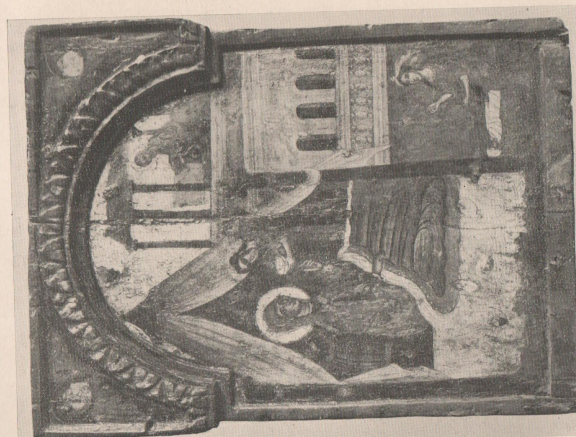
The Anglo-Catholic Congress, in fixing as a subject for discussion for this year the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, had in view an internal purpose. It desired, as far as possible, to shed light on the group of doctrines which constitute this supernatural mystery, and to further religious knowledge among its members and generally among the faithful of the Anglican Church. Simultaneously, it desired, by emphasizing its wondrous effects on the souls of men, to stimulate reverence for this Sacrament, which does not merely constitute a reproduction of the work of redemption, but also the assurance of the complete union of the faithful with their God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. But whilst seeking this internal purpose, the Congress has, by the choice of this subject, undoubtedly contributed to the achievement of another external aim; and this aim is the furthering of the work of understanding and reunion of our Churches.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

IT must have been with great pleasure that members of the Association heard of the appointment of the Vicar of Brighton to the bishopric of Gibraltar. Canon Hicks is well known for many reasons, and not the least for his sympathy with the Orthodox Church, and for his quiet but effective support during many years to the movement for fostering closer relations with Eastern Christendom. This appointment has been made from our very midst as it were, for Dr. Hicks is a member of the General Committee of A. and E.C.A., and it is safe to say that opportunities of closer



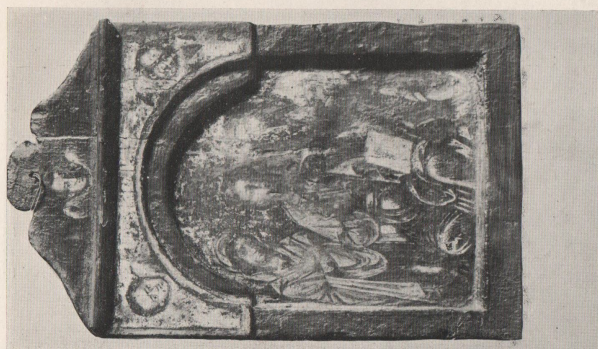
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contact with the Orthodox Church will be among the aspects of his new work which he will most value. The importance of the diocese of Gibraltar from the special point of view of the A. and E.C.A. is steadily increasing, and the prayers and good wishes of the Association will be with Dr. Hicks at his consecration on St. Luke's Day.

His appointment will go far to console us for the loss of Dr. Greig from Gibraltar, who has been a tower of strength to our work. Indeed it is a gain all round, for Dr. Greig, as Bishop of Guildford, adds one more enthusiastic sharer in the ideals of the Association to the bench of English diocesan bishops.

* * *

The full programme for the Anniversary on Wednesday, October 12th, is as follows :—

- 11 a.m. The Divine Liturgy at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Moscow Road, Bayswater. The Metropolitan of Thyatira will officiate.
- 5.30 p.m. Public Meeting at Sion College. The Bishop of London in the chair. The Bishop of Guildford. The Rev. Dr. Waggett, S.S.J.E.

Tea will be obtainable before the Meeting and there will, as last year, be a small sale of Ikons, etc. Notice of the Business Meeting at 5 o'clock has been sent to all members of the Association.

We look for at least as good and well-attended a meeting as we had last year.

* * *

In response to numerous enquiries we announce that copies of the frontispiece of the last issue of *The Christian East* (June, 1927) may be obtained from 34, Richmond Road, S.W.5., at the price of 6d. each.

* * *

In the present issue we reproduce photographs of four ancient Ikons, and much credit is due both to the photographer and the block-maker for the care and skill which have produced such excellent prints.

No. 1. is a wooden panel with carved top, 17 in. by 12½ in., and represents the Birth of Our Lady. It is an early 18th-century Ikon of the School of the Monasteries.

No. 2. is a wooden panel, 12½ in. by 10 in. It is an 18th-century Ikon of the Cretan School of peculiarly rich colouring and represents Ten Cretan Martyrs.

No. 3. is a Deisis of 18th-century Village School. It is a wooden panel with carved top, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. A "deisis" (literally "intercession"), as applied to an Ikon, means a representation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, with Our Lady on one side and St. John the Evangelist on the other.

No. 4. belongs to a 19th-century School of Copyists. It is a wooden panel, $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $10\frac{1}{2}$ in., and its colour is bright reds and blues with delicate ornament in gold on the Saint's robe. The Saint represented is the Martyr Tryphon (February 1st).

The original Ikons, and one or two others, are for sale for the benefit of the printing fund of A. and E.C.A. The first two of those described above have already been purchased. Enquiries about the others may be addressed to the General Secretary of the Association.

* * *

We have received a copy of "The Akathist Hymn and Little Compline," the Greek Text, with a rendering in English, published by Williams and Norgate. This is the sixth volume in an admirable series which ought to be widely known, and which has included already the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, The Services for Holy Week and Easter, The Sacrament of Holy Unction, The Services for Epiphany and Pentecost, and the Liturgy of the Presanctified. The books are of handy "prayer-book" size, well-printed with rubrics in red, the Greek and the English on opposite pages. The translator has adopted the device of printing those parts of the Liturgy which are inaudible to the congregation in smaller type, which adds considerably to the practical usefulness of the book in Church. The translation seems to be well done, the English is dignified, though technical terms in forms of prayer always present a difficulty, perhaps an impossibility for the translator. We have no hesitation in recommending these little books, which are not expensive (they range from 2s. 6d. to 5s. 6d.). But it should be noted that they are translations of the services strictly according to the use of Greek Church in London, which occasionally represents slight modification of Greek Orthodox use elsewhere.

The same translator (we believe) has made a useful version on similar lines of the Service for the Burial of the Dead (Pepler). The paper print and format have all the beauty of workmanship that one associates with the publications of Mr. Douglas Pepler.



+ Bishop Nikolai of Okhrida.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE frontispiece of this issue of *The Christian East* is a new portrait of an old friend. When, about six months ago, the Bishop of Okhrida sent by the hand of Dr. Wigram, who had been his guest, a candle to be lit in his name in the Cathedral of St. Albans during the jubilee solemnities—"as a mark of his regard for the Church of England and his personal respect for the Archbishop of Canterbury"—it was little thought that this kindly gesture would be followed so soon by a personal visit. Indeed, it was only on the boat, hurrying back from America to his diocese, that Bishop Nikolai was persuaded to linger a few days in England. No Orthodox prelate is more revered in this country and none has a wider circle of friends who regard him with warm affection. His presence recalled the time when Fr. Nikolai Velimirovitch preached and lectured all over the country. In those dark war days when his own land was overwhelmed by disaster, and anxiety hung like a cloud over all, he never lost his hopeful serenity of soul and his words left a deep impression on the minds of thousands. Those were the days, too, when the Serbian Theological Students were educated for some years at Oxford under the care of the present Bishop of Truro and later of the Revd. R. M. French, and many who gave their interest and support to the enterprise were glad to hear again Bishop Nikolai's emphatic conviction that it was abundantly justified by its results, and to know that those men are now serving their Church and country well, either as priests or as University professors. Thus the Bishop of Okhrida's visit was the occasion of renewing friendships in many circles.

During his short stay in London, the Bishop was entertained to dinner at the Holborn Restaurant by the Nicæan Club. The Dean of Canterbury presided over a gathering of some thirty people, including the Bishops of Southwark and Gibraltar, Dr. Frodsham, Canon Lacey, Mr. Stephen Graham and,—the function will always be memorable to us because it was the last time he was with us—the late Dean of Salisbury, Dr. Burn. The Anglican and East-

ern Churches Association also organised a meeting at King's College, when the chair was taken by the Bishop of Woolwich. Despite the inevitable shortness of notice nearly one hundred and fifty people assembled to hear the Bishop's lecture on "The Possibilities of World Peace." The audience listened with deep attention as he traced the conflict of the Spirit of the Wolf and the Spirit of the Lamb in history and in the individual life, and insisted that war must be regarded as a sin and not merely as a disaster before world peace would be possible. The Bishop of Gloucester expressed the thanks of the meeting in a singularly happy speech of reminiscence of his own visit to Ochrida as the Bishop's guest.

Professor Arseniev has also visited this country recently, and he too lectured at King's College. He gave a course of three lectures in October on "The Orthodox Church and the Essence of Christianity." Dr. Arseniev now teaches in the University of Königsberg, but in the past has endured his share of Bolshevik tyranny and when he referred to the Soviet *régime* and its oppression of religion, it was evident that his judgments were based upon personal experience. The lectures were delivered in English and were full of interest. Those of his hearers who had already read Dr. Arseniev's writings were prepared for the emphasis he laid upon the fact of the Resurrection and the life and joy which spring from it as the centre of Orthodox life and teaching.

Telegrams appeared in the Daily Telegraph and other London journals on December 27th, to the effect that on St. Stephen's Day the Patriarch Dmitri had himself administered the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord to British American members of the Anglican Church resident in Belgrad. No Anglican priest being resident in Serbia, and the Anglicans in Belgrad being thus in destitution at Christmas, the authorities of the Serbian Church were considering supplying their necessity as far back as last November. If as appears probable such an act of Christian love took place, it was of Economy, of course, and must not be taken as being more. To estimate the significance of whatever happened upon the relations of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches would be altogether unwise until we have the full facts before us. None the less, if a modern precedent has been set—a mediæval precedent was quoted by Professor Komnenos in his famous brochure on Anglican Ordinations—it is precisely in Serbia that its setting might have been expected.

When in April, 1926, the Patriarch Meletios who, after his abdication of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1923, had lived in retirement at Kephissia was elected to the Throne of Alexandria, his innumerable friends throughout the world rejoiced both that a way had been found for his return to active work and that a worthy successor to the Patriarch Photios has been designated. His election, indeed, appeared to have been accepted by the Egyptian Government, which on his opting for Egyptian nationality, actually sent a gunboat to the Piræos to bring him to Alexandria, where in due course he was enthroned in the famous fourth-century Church of St. Sabbas. In fact, however, several influences were at work to take away with the left hand that which had been conceded with the right hand. As a friend of England and the English Church, his Beatitude was no *persona grata* to the ultra-Egyptian nationalists of the Wafd. The Egyptian Turkophiles naturally disliked him. And certain ecclesiastical circles which unlike Cardinal Mercier have a great dread of an Orthodox-Anglican approach were in consternation at the thought of his occupying the second Throne in Eastern Christendom. As it is well known in all Turkish Moslem lands, a Patriarch is not only the spiritual chief pastor of his flock but is also *millet bashi*, the temporal head of his people, and before he could exercise his temporal function in regard to the *statuts personnels*, the educational system and so forth of the Orthodox in Egypt, his Beatitude needed to receive the *berat* of the King of Egypt. Just as in 1900, the Patriarch Photios, Egypt then being a Khedivate of the Ottoman Empire, received his *berat* from Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid. That *berat* was withheld on the excuse that the Egyptian Arabophone Syrians who form about 10 per cent. of the Egyptian Orthodox, were dissatisfied with the existing régime of the Patriarchate. For seventeen months, therefore, the new Patriarch found himself in the precarious and hampered position that at any moment he might be deported—and the Zaghlulists and the others were working for his deportation—on the ground of his not having received his *berat* and that he could take no initiative to reform the Patriarchate or make any fresh departure. It was well known that Lord Lloyd was doing his best to relieve him from that dangerous and humiliating insecurity of tenure, but it was known also that the secular and ecclesiastical intrigues against him were sustained. At times it seemed, indeed, that they were on the point of success. Most happily, however, the Patriarch Meletios is a wise and courageous statesman. The full demands of the Arabophones of Egypt were as impossible of concession on canonical grounds as are those of the Arabophones of Palestine, but he decided to meet them to the limit of possibility. That is to say, he offered to consecrate an Arabophone as bishop of Axum in

Abyssinia which is in the Patriarchate, and to give him a seat on his Synod. By doing so he cut away the ground from under the intrigues against him and, the moment being propitious, King Fuad yielded to the advice given him and issued the necessary *berat* at the beginning of last month. Accordingly, the long and injurious deadlock which has precluded him taking action of any kind for nearly two years is at last over and he is free to use his great office for the good of his people and of the whole Church. That fact must cause his friends great satisfaction and will give us all great hope.

The full jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Alexandria under the Canon of Chalcedon includes the whole of Africa, and at the same time that he has revived the Orthodox Metropolitan See of Axum—the Coptic succession has, of course, never been interrupted, its occupant being styled the Abuna—the Patriarch Meletios has instituted a Bishopric of Johannesburg, an act which will be peculiarly welcome to Anglicans in South Africa, who will now have an Orthodox bishop resident among them and able to move about and to promote comity and amity with them as does the Metropolitan of Thyatira among us in England. The first Bishop of the Orthodox Bishopric of Johannesburg will be Father Isidoros Georgiades who has been at Pretoria since 1924. The consecrand for the revived See of Axum is the Archimandrite Nickolaos Theodoulou, a relatively young man who was born at Nazareth in 1890, and after being educated in Jerusalem at the now closed Theological College of the Holy Cross, and having studied in Constantinople at Halki for four years, went to Syria, where, prior to his ordination, he worked under the Patriarch Gregory, serving as secretary to the Greek Consul General at Beyrut and as an ecclesiastical journalist. He is said to be a man of great ability and besides Greek, Arabic and Turkish, speaks English and French fluently. We could wish that the mistakes of the Governmental Commission on the similar Arabophone controversy in Palestine could be rectified, and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem be left free to solve that problem canonically in the fashion in which the Egyptian Arabophone question has been settled.

The situation in Russia and the new phase ushered in by the *Concordat* between the Metropolitan Sergius and the Soviet Government call for much more extended comment than a paragraph in *Chronicle and Cause*. And this we hope soon to put before the readers of *The Christian East*. The position is one of great complexity, and even, as regards many of the facts themselves, of some uncertainty. It seems clear that the compact represents a con-

fession of the failure of the policy of persecution. The Russian Church as an organization has been vulnerable, but as the living faith of the people it emerges indestructible and to that extent triumphant. But the compact implies no change of attitude on the part of the Bolsheviki towards religion. According to at least one Soviet newspaper, the Government is interested only in the political aspects of the *Concordat*, and therefore presumably the observance of the agreement from the Government side depends upon the political situation at the moment. The letter which the Metropolitan Sergius wrote on this subject is of such importance that we print in full:

LETTER OF THE METROPOLITAN SERGIUS.

The humble Sergius, by the grace of God Metropolitan of Nizhninogorod, *locum-tenens* of the Guardian of the Patriarchal throne and of the temporary Patriarchal Sacred Synod, to the Most Reverend Archpastors, the beloved Pastors, the Religious, and all faithful children of the Holy All-Russian Orthodox Church, rejoice in the Lord.

One of the cares of our late holy father, the Patriarch Tikhon, before his death, was the placing of our Orthodox Russian Church in correct relationship to the Soviet Government, and thus to give to the church the possibility of entirely legal and peaceful existence. In dying the Patriarch said: "I ought to have lived three years more." And, naturally, if his unexpected death had not ended his episcopal labours, he would have brought the work to a close.

Unfortunately, various circumstances, and chiefly the action of desperate enemies of the Soviet Government, among whom were not only ordinary members of our church, but also their leaders, naturally and justly arousing the distrust of the Government towards Churchmen in general, hindered the efforts of the Patriarch, and it was not granted him in his lifetime to see them crowned with success.

Now, the lot of being temporary *locum-tenens* of the chief prelate of our church has again fallen to me, the unworthy Metropolitan Sergius, and together with this fate there has come to me the duty of continuing the work of the late Patriarch and of striving in every way for the peaceful settlement of our church affairs. My efforts in this direction, shared by the Orthodox chief pastors, appear not to remain unfruitful: with the establishment under me of the temporary Patriarchal Sacred Synod, the hope is strengthened of bringing all our church government into due order and the assurance is gained of the possibility of our peaceful life and activity within the limits of the law.

Now, when we are almost at the goal of our efforts, the work of

desperate enemies does not cease. Murders, arson, attacks, explosions and similar phenomena of the secret war, are evident to all. All this destroys the peaceful course of life, creating an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion. All the more necessary for our church and the more obligatory for us all, to whom her interests are dear, who desire to bring her out into the way of lawful and peaceful existence; all the more obligatory for us now to show that we, the church workers, are not with the enemies of the Soviet State, and do not use the senseless weapons of their intrigues, but are with our people and our government.

To witness to this is the first object of our (my own and the Sacred Synod's) present epistle. Moreover, we announce to you that in May of this year, on my invitation, and with the consent of the authorities, there was organized a temporary Sacred Synod under the *locum-tenens* of the Patriarch, consisting of the undersigned. There are absent the Most Reverent Metropolitan Arsenius of Novgorod, who has not yet arrived, and Archbishop Sebastian, of Kostroma, who is ill. Our petition for the Synod to be allowed to begin its work of governing the Orthodox All-Russian Church was crowned with success. Now our Orthodox Church has not only a canonical, but also, according to civil law, a fully legal central management within the Union; and we hope that the legalization will gradually spread to our lower church managements, diocesan, district, and so forth. It is scarcely necessary to explain the importance and all the consequences of the changes which have occurred in this way in the position of our Orthodox Church, her clergy, all church workers and institutions. Let us offer our thanksgiving to the Lord for the favour shown to our holy church. Let us, as a people, express gratitude to the Soviet Government for such attention to the spiritual needs of the Orthodox population, and let us also assure the Government that we will not abuse the confidence shown us.

On beginning our synodal work, with the blessing of God, we clearly admit all the greatness of the task before us, and before all the representatives of the Church. We must show, not in words, but in deeds, that true citizens of the Soviet Union, loyal to the Soviet authority can be not only people indifferent to Orthodoxy, not only those unfaithful to it, but also its most zealous adherents, to whom it is dear as truth and life, with all its dogmas and traditions, with all its canonical and devotional organization. We desire to be Orthodox and at the same time to recognize the Soviet Union of our civil native land, whose joys and successes are our joys and successes, and its reverses our reverses. Every stroke directed against the Union, whether war or boycott, any social disaster, or simply treacherous murder, as in Warsaw, will be recognized by us as directed against ourselves. Remaining Orthodox, we remem-

ber our duty to the citizens of the Union, "not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake," as the Apostle taught us (Rom. xiii, 5.) And we hope that with God's help, with your common help and support, we shall be able to solve this problem. Only that can hinder us which during the first years of the Soviet power hindered the management of church life on the principles of loyalty. That is insufficient recognition of all the seriousness of what has occurred in our land. The establishment of a Soviet power appeared to many to be a sort of misunderstanding, accidental and therefore not lasting. People forgot that for the Christian nothing is accidental, and that in what happened with us, as everywhere and always the finger of God moves firmly, leading each nation to its appointed end. To such people, not desiring to understand the signs of the times, it may appear that the former régime, and even monarchy cannot be broken without breaking with Orthodoxy. This disposition of certain church circles, expressing itself both in words and deeds, and attracting the suspicion of the Soviet authorities, hindered the efforts of the Holy Patriarch to establish the peaceful relations of the Orthodox Church with the Soviet Government. Not in vain the Apostle teaches us that we can lead "a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness" only by submitting to lawful authority (I Tim., ii, 2), or we must forsake the society of men. Only visionaries can think that such a vast society as our Orthodox Church, with all its organization, can exist in a State, quietly hiding from the authorities. Now when our Patriarchate, fulfilling the will of our deceased Patriarch, stands decisively and incidentally on the path of loyalty, people of the disposition indicated will have either to change and, leaving their political sympathies at home, only bring their faith into the Church and work with us only in the name of faith; or, if they cannot change at once, at least not hinder us, retiring for a time from activity. We are sure that they will again, and very soon, return to work with us, becoming convinced that only the relations to authority are altered and that the faith and Orthodox Church life remain unchanged.

Of special importance under present circumstances is the question of the clergy who have gone abroad with the emigrants. The violent anti-Soviet conduct of some of our Archpastors and Pastors caused, as is known, our deceased Patriarch to close the Synod abroad (April 22/May 5th, 1922). But the Synod still continues to exist unchanged politically, and lately, by its claims to authority, has separated church people abroad into two camps. In order to put an end to this we have demanded from the clergy abroad a written engagement to give complete loyalty to the Soviet Government in all its social activity. Those not giving such engagement, or breaking it, will be excluded from the list of clergy subordinate to the Moscow Patriarchate. We think that by this

delimitation we shall be secure from all surprises from abroad. On the other hand, our regulation will, perhaps, lead many to think, is it not time for them also to review the question of their relations to Soviet authority in order not to break with their native Church and land.

A no less important task we consider the preparation for the calling, and the calling itself, of our second local council, which will elect for us not a temporary but a permanent central church management, and will also decide about all "usurpers of Church authority," rending the "robe of Christ." The order and time of the calling of the Council and the subject occupying it and other details will be worked out later. We now only express our firm conviction that our coming council, in deciding many painful questions of our internal church life, will, by its conciliar wisdom and voice, give final approval to the work undertaken by us, of establishing the regular relations of our Church to the Soviet Government.

In conclusion, we earnestly ask you all, Most Reverent Arch-pastors and Pastors, brethren and sisters, help us each one in his estate by your sympathy and co-operation in our task, by your zeal in the work of God, by your devotion and service to holy church, but especially by your prayers to the Lord for us, that He would grant us successfully and as pleasing to him to accomplish the work laid upon us to the glory of His Holy Name, for the good of our Holy Orthodox Church and for our common salvation.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. Amen. (16/29 July, 1927, Moscow).

For the Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne,

SERGIUS, Metropolitan of Nizhninogorod,
and seven members of the Patriarchal Sacred Synod.

The Metropolitan Eulogius replied as follows:—

30th August/12th Sept, 1927.

MOST GRACIOUS ARCHSHEPHERD,

I have received the decrees of the Temporary Patriarchal Synod, No. 97, of May 27th, dealing with the establishment of this Synod; No. 95 of 1/14th July, dealing with the question of the clergy in emigration, as well as the accompanying letter from Your Grace, No. 96 of the same date.

It was of great importance to me to hear the voice of the All-Russian Church Authority, and I hope that in the near future with even greater force and authority we shall hear the voice of the Russian Church resounding at the All-Russian Local Council with the participation of all the hierarchs, confessors, clergy and the whole of the Russian people who belong to the Church.

As regards the question put in Decree No. 95 dealing with the priesthood in emigration, I have the honour of making it known to Your Grace and to the Temporary Patriarchal Synod that from the very beginning of my ecclesiastical-social activities in Western Europe I have founded them on two guiding principles: First, the closest and unbreakable unity with our Mother—the Patriarchal Russian Church which was headed by His Holiness the Patriarch Tikhon and which is headed at the present time by his lawful successors; and second, the concentration of ecclesiastical-social activities exclusively and only on the religious and moral education of my flock, without letting the Church take any part in political life; and the last was attained by me by means of a long and difficult struggle and at the cost of great suffering.

This is the principle which I have always supported and which I will, without fail, continue to support in the future.

As regards our attitude towards the Soviet authorities, I must say that we, Russian emigrants, are not citizens of the Union of S.S.R., while the Soviet Government itself does not consider us as such, as has been proclaimed in a special decree. As regards the Soviet authority, we are in a position similar to that of the Orthodox citizens of Latvia, Lithuania, America, China and Japan, who, as we do, belong to the one United Russian Orthodox Church.

According to the very true remark of Your Grace, the Church authority has no right to enforce political programmes, which in any way hinder the freedom of anyone's political convictions, and the difference of being subjects of different countries cannot hinder us from being in the bosom of our Mother Church. On the other hand our belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church cannot serve as a foundation to demand from us emigrants "loyalty," that is, legal obedience in relation to the Soviet authority, in the same way as this request is applied to Soviet subjects or persons resident in Soviet territory.

However, while remaining free and independent in political relations, the priesthood abroad has its duty of safe-guarding its native, suffering Mother Church in Russia, and in its activities very carefully abstain from anything which could harm it. The Church is the Christian conscience of life, and only a strictly religious, moral, and purely Christian interpretation of life's events is the aim of priesthood.

And therefore, knowing my duty to my Mother Church, in the name of my boundless love for her, I resolutely bind myself to stand by the state of things already established with us in accordance with the testament of His Holiness the Patriarch Tikhon, viz., the condition of not involving the Church in political life and not allowing the pulpits in churches under my jurisdiction to be turned into political tribunes.

I would be endlessly happy, if this, my declaration, would be considered sufficient for you and the Synod existing under your direction, because, I repeat, to us canonical unity with the Russian Mother Church is inexpressibly dear. It is because of this that I venture, in concluding, fervently to beg of Your Grace not to cast us out of the bosom of our native Russian Church, with whom our whole life is connected both in the present and in the past.

But if, in spite of our hopes, you will not consider this my declaration sufficient, and will be forced to exclude me and the priesthood entrusted to my care out of the clergy of the Russian Church, then what else can we do but receive this new and most heavy trial with meekness? And then will you give us your blessing, in accordance with your former directions expressed some time ago for our temporary independent (autonomous) existence in non-Orthodox countries, and obedience to the local Orthodox Church in Orthodox countries?

In accordance with all that has been expressed above, and in fulfilment of §3 of the Decree of the Synod No. 95, I have the honour to inform you that on receiving your answer to this, my communication, I intend to call a Church Council abroad to establish the further organization of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad.

Begging for your holy prayers, with deep respect and brotherly love in Christ, I have the honour of remaining Your Grace's humble servant,

METROPOLITAN EULOGIUS.

TO HIS GRACE, THE MOST GRACIOUS SERGIUS,

Metropolitan of Nizhni-Novgorod,

The Guardian of the Moscow Patriarchal Throne.

The Metropolitan Anthony and the Synod of Karlovtsi have addressed the following encyclical on the subject to the Russian Church abroad.

WE address you, beloved children, concerning the last most important event in the life of our holy Russian Church. In July of the current year, the Substitute for the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, the Metropolitan of Nizhni-Novgorod Sergius, and the acting Patriarchal Synod issued a special encyclical on the state of the Church in Russia and on relations with her and with the flock of the Soviet Government abroad. This encyclical is remarkable; what are we to say about it? Our sacred and responsible duty, as shepherds of the Church and our Christian conscience bid us speak as follows concerning this action. The encyclical of the Metropolitan Sergius and the members of the Holy Synod was drawn up not freely but under severe pressure from the persecutors

of our holy Church and the tormentors of the Russian people,—the Bolsheviks—since no bishop, free from pressure and captivity at the hands of these most wicked enemies of Christ can recognise their power as lawful, nor believe in their peaceful relations with the Holy Church, nor hope that normal relations can be restored between them and the Church. For ten years the persecution continues against Christ and against His Holy Church in long-suffering Russia, a persecution which reminds us of the first centuries of Christianity. How can anyone express public gratitude towards such a power? How can anyone speak of its interest in the religious needs of the Orthodox people? How can anyone rejoice at its joy or be distressed at its misfortune? No! it was not the goodwill of our bishops, but the evil will of the enemies of Christ which drew up that encyclical. The encyclical pursues an unattainable object; to set up an unheard-of connection between this atheistical power and the Holy Orthodox Church, but we must say in the words of the Apostle:— “What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?” (II. Cor. 14. 15.) The joy of the Soviet Power is in the failure of faith and piety, the increase of lawlessness, the corruption of mankind, the overthrow of the Church, the sufferings of the faithful children of God, the shedding of the blood of the righteous, the setting up on earth of the kingdom of the devil. The encyclical of the Metropolitan Sergius is not a pastoral or ecclesiastical but a political encyclical, and therefore cannot have any ecclesiastical and canonical force and is not binding on us who are free from the constraint of and are not in captivity to this power which fights against God. The Bolsheviks under the pretence of a peaceful attitude towards the Church allow the Metropolitan Sergius to organise a Synod, but have compelled him and the other bishops to declare that the Soviet power is lawful, that it is necessary to obey it—as instituted by God—that its interests coincide with the interests of the Church and that every resistance to it is blameworthy and should be punished with ecclesiastical penalties. In this way the encyclical of the bishops has become one of the means of propaganda of the Soviet Power and of the introduction of its atheistical politics into the life of the Church. The bishops give their benediction to the anti-Christian politics of the enemies of all religion. The situation is entirely alien to the Church, destructive and perilous, capable of creating new and terrible disorder in the Church and giving occasion to fear for the purity of Orthodoxy in Russia. The Church cannot bless anti-Christian, much less atheistical, politics. In affirming this we do not mean to say that the Church ought to be entirely estranged from the political life of the State. The Church ought to be above political

passions and parties and yet it should not only bless the political life of the Christian State, but also struggle against anti-Christian and still more against atheistical powers. What shall we say further? Can we recognise the Soviet Power as lawful? Can we give a written undertaking of submission to this Power? We cannot and ought not to do this. We regard the Soviet Power not as lawful and divinely instituted, but as existing by divine permission on account of our sins and for our discipline. We pray our Lord that He may deliver our Church from this oppression and from being held captive by this Power. Can anyone regard as lawful the decree of the acting Patriarchal Synod concerning the suspension from their duties and exclusion from the list of clergy of the Patriarchate of Moscow, of those bishops and priests who shall refuse to give a written undertaking of submission to the Soviet Power? Such decree of the Synod cannot be recognised as lawful and canonical. It must be regarded as an over-stepping of authority and as opposed, not only to the Holy Canons of the Church and the encyclical addressed to the Soviet Power by the bishops imprisoned in the Solovetsky monastery, but also to the encyclical of the Metropolitan Sergius himself, which he issued on June 10, 1926, in which the impossibility is recognised of imposing ecclesiastical penalties on the clergy abroad for their non-submission to the Soviet Power. Having carefully considered the encyclical of the substitute for the Patriarchal Locum Tenens and of the acting Patriarchal Synod and taking into consideration that the highest ecclesiastical authority in Russia is held in terrible captivity by the enemies of the Church and that it is impossible to continue in normal relations with her, the Holy Synod of the bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad has taken the following decisions:—

(1) The Russian Church abroad from now onwards must break off administrative relations with the ecclesiastical authority in Moscow, on account of the impossibility of holding normal relations with her owing to her enslavement to the atheistical Soviet Power which deprives her of freedom in the canonical administration of the Church. (2) It acquits our hierarchy in Russia from liability for the non-recognition of the Soviet Power by that part of our Church which is abroad, until the restoration of normal relations with Russia and until our Church is freed from the persecution of the atheistical Soviet Power. Our Church abroad must be self-governing in accordance with the holy Canons and the decisions of the holy local Synod of the Orthodox Russian Church held in 1917-18, of the most Holy Patriarch Tikhon and of the supreme Ecclesiastical Council held from 7-20 November, 1920, with the assistance of the Archiepiscopal Synod and the Synod of bishops under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Kiev,

Anthony. The Russian Church abroad regards herself as an inseparable and united branch of the great Russian Church. She is not separated from her Mother Church and does not regard herself as autocephalous; as before, she regards as her head the Patriarchal Locum Tenens Peter, and commemorates his name in the sacred services. (3) If there should follow a decree of the Metropolitan Sergius and his Synod excluding the bishops and clergy abroad who do not desire to sign an act of submission to the Soviet Government, from membership in the clergy of the Patriarchate of Moscow, such a decree would be anti-canonical. (4) It rejects absolutely the proposal of the Metropolitan and his Synod for a signed declaration of submission to the Soviet Power as uncanonical and destructive for the Church both in Russia and abroad. In declaring this our decision to all the faithful children of our Holy Church we hope that our great Chief Shepherd Jesus Christ will guide her into all good peace and joy and will put to shame all her enemies.

"Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered."—(Ps. 67.2.)
Amen.

In the person of Dr. Burn (late Dean of Salisbury) who died suddenly during the last days of November, there has passed to his rest a great student and lover of the historic faith of Christendom. In addition to much that has been so justly written in appreciation of his many gifts and of the man himself, it is natural that we should emphasise here Dr. Burn's keen interest in the problems of Reunion. To an ardent zeal for Christian unity he added a specialist's knowledge of the history of the Creeds and an intimate acquaintance with the Fathers. His interest in Orthodoxy was keen and lasting. He was Chairman of the Eastern Churches Committee of Convocation, and as a member of A. and E.C.A. and of the Nicene Society, he was always ready to give his support in any way to the movement for increasing sympathy and understanding between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. Of particular value were Dr. Burn's services as a link between the Orthodox Church and the Old Catholic. Indeed, we believe that he had looked forward to visiting Utrecht in the coming year to discuss anew with Orthodox friends matters dealt with at the Bonn Conferences. By his sudden death the cause of Reunion in general and of the Anglo-Orthodox *rapprochement* in particular, suffers a severe loss. R.I.P.

In our last issue we printed as a footnote to Mr. Luke's article on Albania a quotation from *The Times* stating that the Phanar had recognised the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in

Albania. It had since transpired that the information in the quoted paragraph was incorrect, and we take this opportunity of saying that no such recognition has been given.

The last Sunday in October was the occasion of an impressive ceremony at St. Luke's Church, Camberwell, when the Sacrament House and Chapel of Unity were dedicated as a Parish War Memorial, in the presence of a truly symbolic gathering. The Metropolitan of Thyatira, and the clergy of the Greek, Russian and Armenian Churches and the Swedish Bishop of Harnosand in London were present, vested, in the choir, and elsewhere in the Church were representatives from the Rumanian, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian and Swedish Legations. The Mayor of Camberwell and the Chairman of the London University Convocation also attended. A unique character was given to the event by the fact that a number of gifts of eikons had been sent for the Chapel of Unity by the Chief Hierarchs of the Orthodox world, and gifts from the West were there also.

In a brief speech, the Metropolitan of Thyatira referred to the services to the cause of Reunion which had been rendered by the Vicar of the Parish, the Rev. Canon Douglas, and continued:—

I rejoice, therefore, to-night to speak on behalf of the Orthodox Churches of the East, who have ever been the guardians of the One Faith, at the dedication by you, my Lord Bishop, of the remarkable collection of sacred pictures presented by those Churches to hang in the Chapel of Unity at St. Luke's, Camberwell. This Chapel, as its parish priest has explained, has been fitted as a Sacrament House, entered through a Screen after the model of the eikonostasis in our Churches. For the beautifying of this Screen the Ecumenical Patriarch has sent an eikon of the Mother of our Lord—the Patriarch of Jerusalem an eikon of the Forerunner, St. John the Baptist—the Metropolitan of Greece (in whose country St. Luke was martyred) an eikon of the patron of this Church—and an eikon of St. George is on the way from the Patriarch of Alexandria. To these four principal eikons the Churches of Jugo-Slavia, Rumania and Bulgaria add each an eikon of its national patron. The Archbishop of Cyprus has sent an eikon of St. Barnabas, the Founder of his Church, and the Hegoumen of the Monastery of the Apocalypse at Patmos an eikon of St. John the Divine, to whom in that island the veil was drawn aside, and the Metropolitan Evlogie an old eikon of the Theotokos from Mount Athos.

These gifts from the East are met by equally symbolic objects from the West—a portrait of St. Edward, drawn by the Dean of Westminster himself, a Swedish Crucifix from the Archbishop of

Upsala, and a pair of candlesticks from the Old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht. Other gifts, I understand, will be received at a later date, including an Artophorion pix.

We are glad to honour the House of God which the Canon Douglas serves with what will be of use and value to his flock as well as encouragement and joy to him. May God grant that this Chapel of Unity will give inspiration to many and remain in the years to come a lasting witness to the One Faith, One Hope, One Love which all Christians share, to whatever office and ministry they may be called.

Dr. Gore then formally received and blessed the gifts, and then proceeded to the Chapel of Unity for its dedication and the consecration of the Sacrament House. Preaching from the text, "He hath made both one," Dr. Gore gathered up the various aspects of the whole service in a striking sermon on Reconciliation.

A periodical called *The Orthodox Catholic Review*, published in America, is occasionally to be seen in this country. Anglicans are not so foolish as to suppose that the Orthodox are all of one mind about them and the advisability of developing closer relations between the churches. There are opponents as well as friends of both communions in each of them, and it is wise to recognize the fact. Nevertheless, considering the tone of some of the references to the Anglican Church in *The Orthodox Catholic Review*, we think it well to publish the following letter without further comment:—

June 29th, 1927.

REV. THOMAS BURGESS, D.D., Secretary, Foreign-Born Americans Division, 281, Fourth Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

Dear Father,

Referring to your letter of June 23rd, 1927, I express my deep regret over the articles already published in *The Orthodox Catholic Review* concerning the Episcopal Church.

I wish to inform you that those articles do not represent the views of our Orthodox Eastern Catholic Church as a whole and that the responsibility therefore should rest on the editorial staff of *The Review*.

The fact that they have published such articles is sufficient to deprive the above publication of any right to the official standing in our Church.

Very sincerely yours,

METROPOLITAN PLATON.

NEW GREEK BISHOP IN SAN FRANCISCO.

The Archimandrite Kallistos Papageorgopoulos has been elected Greek Bishop in San Francisco by the clergy and laity of the Greek communities in that district. He was for many years parish priest of the Greek Church in Los Angeles.

ORTHODOX CHURCHES OF FINLAND AND ESTHONIA.

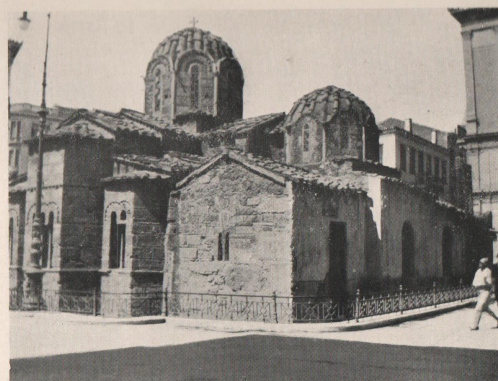
"At the beginning of July there arrived at Reval in Esthonia, the Most Holy Archbishop of Finland, Germanos, accompanied by twenty-four representatives of the Orthodox clergy of Finland. His Holiness was met by a very large deputation of the clergy of the Orthodox Church of Esthonia and of high officials. On the first day of his arrival the Archbishop Germanos visited the Primate of the Orthodox Church of Esthonia, the most Holy Metropolitan of Reval and all Esthonia, and the next day the two Primates celebrated the liturgy together in the Church of Peter and Paul at Reval, being assisted by a large number of the Finnish and Esthonian clergy. The liturgy was celebrated in the ecclesiastical Slavonic tongue. Before the commencement of the Liturgy the most holy hiero-monk Isaac from the monastery of St. Balaam presented the Metropolitan of Esthonia, Alexander, with an Ikon of SS. Sergius and Germanos, as a blessing from his monastery, and the Metropolitan Alexander presented the Archbishop Germanos with the insignia of the Order of Platon, of the First Class. This Order was founded specially in Esthonia by the Government and the Orthodox Church in memory of the Archbishop of Reval, Platon, who was martyred under the Bolsheviks, to be awarded to persons who have worked for the organization of the Esthonian Orthodox Church. From information in the daily Press, the object of the arrival of the Archbishop Germanos of Finland and the numerous deputation of the clergy of the Finnish Church at Reval, is to study the organization and the parochial life of the Orthodox Church of Esthonia."

(Pantainos, August 12th).

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE AND THE ORTHODOX EASTERN CHURCH.

By The Right Reverend The LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

THE Autumn number of *The Christian East* contains various references to the Lausanne Conference and public statements and papers made by members of the Orthodox Eastern Church. I propose very shortly, in the present article, to discuss the position of the Orthodox Church and the Conference from a somewhat different point of view, from an attitude a little more critical.



PANAGIA KAPNIKAREA.



BYZANTINE CHAPEL OF THE SAVIOUR.

Let me speak of the Conference as a whole. I do not think that anyone who was present at it would doubt that it was, in its way and for its purpose, really successful. If there were any who went with hopes that the differences which have prevailed for many centuries would be done away with by a few weeks, or even years of goodwill, they would be disappointed. But I do not suppose that any intelligent person had such ideas. But the Conference did accomplish a great deal.

The spirit of religious unity was remarkable. Anyone who reads Canon Douglas's paper in the last number of *The Christian East* will be able to realize that. Here were members of the Orthodox, High Church, Anglican, and many other Churches, uniting together in worship which had none of the characteristics to which they were accustomed, and yet feeling the real religious unity which animated the whole body.

Then, secondly, this religious unity was made apparent and was the result of the feeling that on the most fundamental and important questions the whole Conference was at one. I would allude particularly to the report on The Message of the Church to the World—the Gospel. Here was a document which put forth in dignified and solemn language the Christian Message. It was an expression of our belief in the Incarnation and the Atonement and the application of these to human life, and this document was put forth and accepted with enthusiasm by the whole Conference; whatever misgivings the Churches of the East may have had about other work that was done, they promptly accepted this. Now that only brings to light what has always been true but has often been obscured—that the fundamental Christian Message is believed and taught by all orthodox Churches throughout the world, and the hope of real unity will come when we have allowed this fundamental fact to have its proper weight. The points on which we agree are the points that matter. The points on which we differ, though not unimportant, are, compared with those on which we agree, very secondary. The exigencies of controversy, and many worldly considerations, have led to the over-emphasis of the secondary points. If we could once learn to deal sufficiently fully with the primary points, we should come very much nearer to one another. And this is just what happened at Lausanne.

Then, thirdly, we found ourselves able to discuss our differences with perfect frankness, but without controversial bitterness. Only once or twice was the surface of the Conference ruffled by controversial feeling, and in the groups and sections which prepared the reports, representatives of the different Churches worked together feeling real friendliness, striving to see points on which we could agree without shirking the points on which we differed.

The great drawback in connection with a Conference like this is

that the point of view which has impressed itself on the various representatives present and makes them much more inclined to take a wide outlook and to adjust their ecclesiastical polity to the realities of the existing world, is confined to themselves. The Churches they represent do not come under the same influence, and therefore it is difficult to translate into action what has been agreed upon at the Conference. There will be much education necessary, and the education will be difficult.

Now, let me turn to the Eastern representation.

It was large and contained a considerable number of the best-known and ablest bishops and theologians of the Churches of the Orthodox East. It was extremely friendly. The great majority stayed in the same hotel as the Lutherans from Sweden, and fraternized most amicably. There was much personal and private intercourse besides more public hospitality. There were representatives of Churches which had recently suffered, or were still suffering, persecution and the sympathies of the Conference were fully realized and expressed. And in all the work of the Conference they took their full part. Most of them knew English or German well, some both, and that made them quite at home in the work that was done. They put forward their own view, if occasionally with narrowness, always with ability, and were very helpful in correcting the balance of theological opinion. If, as many of us believe, the Church of the future must be built up on the double basis of Christian tradition and spiritual freedom, it is important that the side of historical tradition should be as strongly asserted as the side of spiritual freedom, and in the somewhat disorganized Christianity of America the firm and clear statement of an opposite point of view may stimulate healthy enquiry.

And now as to the formal declaration which they read to the Conference.

I cannot take quite the same view either of its importance or significance as some other correspondents have done.

In the first place, I do not think that it had in the slightest degree any serious influence on the Conference as a whole. We went on after it just as we went on before. It is quite untrue to say that we were in danger of attempting to arrive at agreement on a basis of unreal compromise, and that we were rescued from that unhealthy position by the Orthodox statement. Nor did the somewhat mild Anglo-Catholic protest which followed perceptibly move the Conference. Throughout our methods were the same, both in the early days and in the latter days. We attempted, first of all, to make statements which summed up the points of agreement, and then laid down the points of disagreement. The only notable exception to that was in a report which was drafted at the end of the Conference and which was not accepted because it did not follow the traditional line. Speaking for myself, I never concealed my opinion on any

particular point, nor did I find that other people were slow to express their opinions, but it was possible to find out, by careful discussion and enquiry, how far two bodies of people can go together, and that is what we did, and that is what the representatives of the Orthodox Church were quite ready to do and did. They also, like other bodies, put in statements which showed the limitations of agreement.

Then next, it must not be imagined that the declaration represented a united attitude. If we are to judge by personal conversation with different members of the Orthodox Church, there were strong divisions among them. I heard very severe criticism of the actions and statements of some of the Greek representatives by Orthodox theologians of a different school. But like most of the other Churches, except the Anglican, it was always thought necessary to present a united front, and it was essential that the Orthodox Church should preserve itself from misjudgment at home. While many of the clergy, especially the higher clergy of the Eastern Church at the present time, are educated and well-read theologians who quite understand the modern outlook and the modern point of view, the great body of the laity at home are very much behind them in broadness of outlook. At the present time the people of Greece are in continuous conflict with their clergy, who appear to them to compromise the Orthodox faith. Under those circumstances it was quite necessary that the Eastern delegates, unless they were to be repudiated at home, should make it clear that they were not going to sacrifice any fundamental principles. The need for the declaration, therefore, was quite comprehensible, and was, I think, recognized by the Conference. At any rate, it made no difference either in the relations of the Conference to the Easterns or of the Easterns to the Conference. We went on in just as friendly and just as pleasant a way afterwards as before.

But, of course, the attitude of the declaration was fundamentally wrong for such a Conference, and, if persisted in, would make any sort of Christian reunion impossible. The statement by the Orthodox Church was: "This is what we believe, what we always have believed, what we always will believe and we will make no change." Now, if every religious body present was to make the same declaration and adopt the same attitude, it would, of course, make any Conference futile and any reunion impossible. Nor is it really the attitude which could be defended as having any element of truth in it. The Orthodox Church, according to this declaration, says: We are the Church; what we believe is true; no one else belongs to the Church and we cannot unite with anyone unless they believe what we believe. The Roman Church says exactly the same thing. The Anglo-Catholics tried to say it, though in a somewhat halting way. The English Baptists apparently said it, and like the Roman Catholics, kept out of the Conference. Once or twice some of the Lutherans

seemed to attach the same sacred position to the Confession of Augsburg. Now, it is quite obvious that all but one of these must be wrong, and almost certain that all of them must be wrong, and that, at any rate, none of these bodies could join together so long as they persisted in that attitude. Therefore, some other mental attitude is necessary if a Conference like that of Lausanne is to have any effect. And really, so far as I could see, the other attitude was that, not only of most other representatives at the Conference, but of a good many of the Orthodox representatives also, and that attitude is not: "I am right and everyone must agree with me," but "How far am I right, and how far are other people right, and what is really necessary for us to believe as fundamental?"

No one, for example, would for a moment doubt the fundamental statement of the Orthodox in their declaration that there cannot be any union in religion unless there be a common basis of faith. But it is not at all the same thing to think that that unity in faith must necessarily include all the extremely unimportant points on which the Orthodox and other Churches differ. For example, "the Orthodox Church recognizes and accepts as an Ecumenical symbol only the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople." That, of course, is true, and their position is a strong one. What right, then, have they to say that many other things are necessary for faith besides that Creed? If they will study the Exposition of the Faith of the Council of Chalcedon, they will see that those are anathematized who add anything to that Creed as necessary for belief. That would suggest that further definitions of faith not contained in the Creed cannot be put forward as essential and cannot, therefore, be considered necessary as a basis of Christian unity. The Orthodox Church represents a certain aspect of the Christian faith, but on the authority of the very Councils to which they appeal, they have no right to consider that aspect as on the same level as the Ecumenical Creed. They state, "While the full freedom so accorded in the Report to each Church to use its own Confession of Faith would make those Confessions of indifferent value to themselves, on the other hand, nothing but confusion as to the one common conception of the Faith of the so-united single Church could arise." That is a confusion of theological exposition with the fundamental faith. The fundamental faith is the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Atonement which they were prepared to put forward as the Gospel, and which is taught in the one Ecumenical Creed. The theological exposition is the adaptation of that faith to thoughts and needs of a particular generation or branch of Christianity. There are grave differences between St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, but both are orthodox. There is no reason why the Lutheran Church should not accept the full faith and preserve its own confession as much as the Eastern Church preserves its own exposition.

Nor, again, are they consistent in their theory. Their Church is the Church of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, but immediately afterwards they tell us that we must accept the particular number of Sacraments which they hold at present. "We judge," they say, "there to be no practical value in an agreed formula as to the necessity of Sacraments in the Church, when there is a fundamental difference between the Churches not only in regard to their number, but also as to their general significance, as to their particular essential nature, and as to their particular effects." But the Eastern Church only at a very late date adopted the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments, and then did it in imitation of Rome. The Seven Sacraments are not part of the teaching of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, nor do the Russian and Greek branches of the Church agree on points connected with the sacraments.

Again, they say, "Thus, for example, we cannot conceive how agreement can be made possible between two conceptions which agree that the existence of the ministry of the Church is by the will of Christ, but differ as to whether that ministry was instituted by Christ himself in its three degrees of Bishop, Priest and Deacon." The Orthodox Church are putting forward a proposition which is historically untenable and merely shows a certain amount of historical ignorance, nor is it in the least necessary for two churches to agree as to the exact historical process of the development of the Christian ministry. We may accept as the Anglican and Orthodox do, the rule of bishop, priest and deacon, without in the least troubling ourselves to solve the many doubtful questions as to the particular method in which the Ministry grew up. It is just as intelligent a proposition that Christ left the Church free to develop its ministry to suit its needs as that He laid down certain specific rules, which, as far as we can see, He did not do. The spiritual life and organization of the Church will not be injured by differences on these points.

But it is not necessary to discuss the theme any further. If the Orthodox attitude were their real attitude there would be no use in any Conference at all. But these formidable assertions of an unchangeable doctrinal attitude are really as much intended to conceal uncertainty as they are to assert agreement, and I do not think that the attitude of the Eastern Church need cause any real feeling of hopelessness as regards the situation, nor need we give it the enthusiastic admiration which some of their admirers think right.

AN ORTHODOX IMPRESSION OF THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE.

AN ADDRESS GIVEN BY THE RIGHT REVEREND NICHOLAS, ARCHBISHOP OF NUBIA (ALEXANDRIA), AT THE FELLOWSHIP OF UNITY AT CAIRO, 4TH NOVEMBER, 1927.

HAVING been invited by the autumn meeting of the Fellowship of Unity to report my impressions of the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, as a member of the Orthodox delegation, it is with pleasure that I take this opportunity of doing so.

With regard to the historical part of the work done, I do not consider it necessary to repeat it here, for the simple reason that it has already been published in the Press everywhere, and I will therefore confine myself to general lines, to the spirit which dominated the Conference during the discussions, and to certain general results.

The composition of the Conference, which consisted of about five hundred members belonging to more than eighty churches and denominations, differing from each other in both faith and order, can be divided into three large parties:

- 1st—That of the representatives of the Old-Churches, viz., Orthodox, Monophysites and Old-Catholics.
- 2nd—That of the Protestant group, including the Reformed Churches; and
- 3rd—That of the Anglican group.

Each of these parties, and even every subdivision, held different conceptions upon most of the questions under discussion, and although all the above-mentioned delegates were really inspired with the spirit of love, which one could feel both during the meetings and outside, and with zeal to co-operate and agree, nevertheless the facts, viz., the deep conviction of the truth of their own doctrine and the responsibilities which they held, obliged them to insist and persist frankly in their original ideas, without any compromise or ambiguity.

In general, the principles on which each of these large parties based themselves are the following:

The Old-Churches had as the basis of their discussion not only the Holy Scriptures but also reverence for the Old Tradition. They believed that the (generally accepted) clear and pure tradition which is included in the decisions of the Œcumenical Synods, is a completion and true explanation of God's written word, and that it has the same value.

Christianity is a historical fact, has its historical evolution, and the Church is its guardian, being obliged to keep this precious and traditional inheritance according to the commandments of the Apostle Paul, "Keep the ordinances as I delivered them to you" (I Corinth.,

xi, 2); "Stand fast and hold the traditions, which ye have been taught, whether by word or by our epistle" (II Thess., ii, 15).

Modernism in Faith does not lead us to the truth. Individualism in the Church breaks its unity and guides to anarchy and dissolution.

As the basis for the Unity of the Churches, according to the Orthodox Church, the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Tradition of the first eight centuries of the United Church must be maintained.

Each fundamental Dogma and Sacrament connected with the salvation of the human being is obligatory for every believer.

The delegates of the Protestant Churches thought and spoke contrary to the above principle.

Although there existed among Protestant branches some differences in their conceptions of faith, and although they expressed themselves with respect regarding the Old-Traditions and the Old-Churches, nevertheless with one stroke they struck out the Holy Tradition and the history of the Old-Church.

For the Protestant Churches the history of Christianity starts principally from the sixteenth century, viz., from the time of Luther and Calvin.

They consider the Holy Tradition and the Creeds an unbearable restriction, and put forward as the basis of the Unity of the Churches nothing else but the Holy Gospel, and some of them simply faith in the holy person of our Lord Jesus Christ. And as an indispensable condition, individual freedom and liberty of faith.

And specially the modern Protestant denominations give very little value to Dogma and think that the best principle on which the basis of Unity ought to be formed must be the love of Christ, and the example of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ.

There is no doubt that all these are necessary and indispensable, but not the only safe and firm basis, because it was precisely freedom in faith and individualism which evoked the multitude of Protestant denominations and the division into smaller sects.

Between these two parties stands the Anglican Church, holding in certain points the old tradition, but agreeing with Protestant ideas in others.

The representatives of the Anglican Church had, as a matter of fact, a very difficult task in the Conference. Through their weighty and learned representatives, although much fewer than the Protestant, they gave the tone to the discussions, withheld from exaggerations, and had the last word in the formation of the reports.

It was declared by the admirable Chairman, Dr. Brent, that ambiguous meanings and compromises should find no place in the reports, and this was carried out in the reports, in which the ideas of those who did not agree were noted. Nevertheless, the spirit of compromise and of indefiniteness is manifest in many parts of the reports, and facilitates different explanations and misunderstandings.

We must admit again that the Anglicans who undertook the initiative in this meeting had a most difficult task before them, but theological questions and problems can never be solved by compromise, but by the prevailing of the truth.

It was said that the Anglican Church, holding a middle position between the Orthodox and Protestant Churches, may be used as the basis and the connecting bridge between them.

The idea is no doubt good, but only on certain points can it be put in force. The principle which the Lambeth Conference of 1920 accepted, and which was well emphasized at Lausanne also, viz., Diversity in Unity and Unity in Diversity, can be applied only to secondary questions, and not to fundamental ones.

Out of the six questions, or call it seven questions, including the preamble of the Chairman, only this last and the first question, viz., "The Church's message to the world, the Gospel," were unanimously accepted, whilst all the other questions, which are: (2) the Nature of the Church; (3) the Church's common confession of faith, the Creeds; (4) the Church's ministry; (5) the Sacraments; and (6) the Unity of Christendom and the relationships of existing Churches, provoked much controversy. However, they were submitted to the Churches for further study and decision.

No doubt the reports show much that is common to all the Churches, but we are very much afraid that in practice and in explanation difficulties will arise. For instance, the necessity of the Creed was recognized, but will the Protestants make use of it? At the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, the Presence of the Lord was recognized as existing, but this Presence the Orthodox understand in quite a different way from the Protestants.

They all accepted Baptism, but will the American Baptists apply it to the infant?

The last report provoked much more reaction, because over and above all other difficulties it involved the idea of Intercommunion, which for the Old Churches is the final expression of Unity.

Now the question is naturally put forward by many, what are the results of this Conference?

The result is the reports themselves, which are by all means serious and inspired work, the product of study, of mutual love and of the good-will of the members.

As a start it is an admirable piece of work, but the eighteen days of the meetings were not enough for the detailed and exhaustive discussion of such great questions.

We must not forget that the principal aim of the Lausanne Conference was not to sign an agreement on the Unity of the Churches, nor to achieve Intercommunion, but, as our venerable President, Dr. Brent, declared in his preamble, simply to note the clear points on which we agree, and the outstanding serious points on which we

disagree, and to suggest certain lines which might in the future approach to a fuller measure of agreement. We met together to explore the ground and see what parts are held in common, and the nature and the extent of the disputed territory, and as far as this goes we succeeded at the Lausanne Conference.

Another pleasant point was also noted. In the gathering of such a large number of members of different convictions, different mentalities and different idiosyncrasies, the spirit of love, and tact and politeness, and eagerness to contribute to this God-sent work predominated, and one could clearly see that God's spirit was brooding over us and was helping our work.

We believe that the divine prayer, that "we shall all one day become one fold and one shepherd," will be fulfilled. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away" (St. Math., 24, 35).

No doubt gulfs which have been opened through centuries and centuries, need considerable time, much endeavour and many prayers, to become, with God's help, closed up again.

But we think that those who undertook the initiative in this movement for the Unity of the Churches would have succeeded in much less time with regard to the agreement of the Churches if they had based their work on the following programme and principles, viz.:

- (1) To unite the Churches on the principle of life and work, according to the Stockholm programme, 1925, and
- (2) To seek as the first stage unity amongst those groups of Churches which are closest to each other.

We wish to express our desire that our Lord will shorten as much as possible the time required for the Unity of the Churches, and thus unite all under the roof of one Church, keeping the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, that they may all be one, for the glory of our Father and of our Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.

AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE FOURTH ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE, 1927.

BY THE REV. G. NAPIER WHITTINGHAM, HON. SECRETARY.

"His Holiness desires to send to the Fourth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage his warmest greetings, best wishes and His Blessing."

SUCH was the message received from his All-Holiness Basil III., Archbishop of New Rome and Œcumenical Patriarch on the eve of our departure. Throughout the pilgrimage we received much courtesy at the hands of the other Patriarchs and Archbishops of

the great Orthodox Church of the East. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury also wrote:—"I was very glad to see your pamphlet about the August pilgrimage to the East, and I know the careful arrangements you have made. Of course, I always desire that the highest blessing may attend endeavours of this kind, the object of which is beyond praise. The arrangements are not without difficulty and have elements of possible controversy, but I know that it is your earnest wish to avoid everything that could be prejudicial to the 'unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'"

For the first time we had a contingent of American Catholics, including a Bishop and eight priests, and of these we made full use. The Lord Bishop of Lewes (Dr. Cook), greatly popular with all the pilgrims, was our President, and Dr. Ivins, Co-adjutor Bishop of Milwaukee, Vice-president. With us also there travelled, *incognito*, Mar Shimun, who was returning to his own people after his two and a half years in England.

At Alexandria our first business was to render homage to Meletios; Pope, Patriarch and Œcumenical Judge, and to receive his courteous welcome at the Liturgy celebrated in our honour. Other events in this city included a visit to the Armenian Church, and a special service at St. Mark's Anglican Church, at which the Orthodox Church was strongly represented. The Acting High Commissioner, Mr. Neville Henderson in state (representing Lord Lloyd) and General Sir Peter Strickland were also present.

IN SYRIA.

We stayed at Alexandria for twenty-four hours, and then went on to Beirût where Major Codrington, liaison officer, is now trying to build an English Church for the little British community, and wants all the assistance he can get and also a priest who will at one and the same time be willing to work up the community and be on friendly terms with the Orthodox clergy. Thence we motored up steep hills to Heliopolis, that ancient Greek city lying in a high valley surrounded by mountains, known to-day as Baalbec or the city of Baal, i.e. the city of the Sun. Baalbec takes your breath away. Can there be anything more beautiful, outside Athens, than the noble and glorious temples spread before one's eyes? Sunrise next morning with its roseate hues on the Temples and the amazing background of Lebanon was a sight not easily forgotten, but we had to hurry away to join the main body of pilgrims who had slept at Damascus.

"So old is Damascus," says an ancient writer, "that no man's writing this side of India fails to mention it." Damascus remains essentially Oriental, and even the calamities that it suffered in 1926 do not seem to have affected it in this respect. In fact the ordinary

tourist visiting the city for the first time would hardly discover any damage whatsoever. Still it is shrouded in mystery, shutters are closed veiling unseen lives, its gardens are dream-places, and the whole atmosphere is fatalistic and romantic. The ancient city is divided into three parts: the native quarter, the Jewish quarter, and the Christian quarter. The Jewish quarter is situated near the Street called Straight, the greater part of which is still intact in spite of last year's bombardments. There is no hushed or quiet repose in the crowded Bazaars, but a perpetual activity together with an amazing mixture of types and clothing. There are Druses, Circassians, men in European suits surmounted by the inevitable *tarbush*, and girls in yellow or red frocks the latter probably imported from Manchester.

Damascus is not exactly a city for the ordinary sightseer, for there are not many celebrated things that "you must see at all cost." The Omayyade Mosque is, architecturally, the most interesting feature—its spacious courtyard, the fountain for ablutions, and the Mosque itself, enormous and dignified, with a vast space of floor covered by a multitude of magnificent prayer carpets. In one part of the wall it is said that the head of John the Baptist lies. I wonder how many other religious edifices also claim this honour! In another part are Græco-Roman remains of a building which was once a heathen temple and later transformed into a Christian church under the patronage of St. John.

The Patriarch of Antioch—the Lord Gregorios, Patriarch of Antioch the Golden City of Asia and of Iberia, and Holder of the First Throne of St. Peter, to give to him his full title, has his seat in this city. Unfortunately, his Beatitude was lying in a sanatorium, so in his stead we were received by the Archbishop of Hauran, like the Patriarch a Syrian Orthodox. In the small and very simple church a short service of "Welcome to Pilgrims" was held, and after a short conversation with His Grace, and the distribution of photographs of the Patriarch, the Archbishop dismissed us with his blessing. This was the first occasion on which the whole body of pilgrims paid their respects to the well-beloved and greatly respected holder of the First Throne of St. Peter.

THE HOLY LAND.

The next day we set foot once again in Jaffa and on the landing-stage said an "Our Father" of gratitude for the privilege of entering the Holy Land: then we climbed the steep steps to the Greek Convent above and in the little Greek Church the local Archimandrite welcomed us with prayers of thanksgiving.

Many of our English friends, including the Reverends Charles Steer, Harold Buxton and C. Bridgeman, boarded the ship as soon

as she anchored off Jaffa, and drove with us in motor cars to the Holy City. Before entering Jerusalem, however, we drove to Mt. Scopus, near the great Military Cemetery; all our pilgrims alighted, and with eyes fixed on Jerusalem, the Gradual Psalms were recited and our great thanksgivings were made.

Naturally the first visit was to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where we were received by the Archbishop of the Jordan and Archimandrite Kyriakos who has now been appointed Guardian and Superior of the Holy Places. "Syon joyfully greets you," he said, "on this your fourth Pilgrimage. These pilgrimages serve more than anything else to bring closer together the two Sister Churches, the Orthodox and the Anglican." I might add *en passant* that these words were the key-note of every welcome offered to us on the occasion of our visits to the heads of the Eastern Churches.

As I have already been permitted to write full accounts in the *Christian East* of our doings in the Holy Land on the first three pilgrimages it is not necessary on this occasion to give more than a mere outline. Dr. MacInnes, Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, gave a reception in our honour on the first evening of our visit and we enjoyed the cool tranquillity of the delightful garden where Mrs. MacInnes, our hostess, made us feel very much at home. Fr. Buxton planned the days for us and we were delighted to fall in with his arrangements, Fr. Bridgeman, who was overjoyed at finding so many of his compatriots, acted as an excellent cicerone on many occasions, and Fr. Steer, as Chaplain of the Cathedral, was, as usual, anxious to make our visit a real success. Needless to say that the privilege of being able to say Mass in the Chapel of Abraham was taken advantage of every day.

We brought with us a "Fiery Cross" which was laid on the Holy Sepulchre, on Calvary, and on the Silver Star which marks the place where the Babe of Bethlehem was born. This Cross has since been sent to Australia where it will be used at the first Anglo-Catholic Congress held in that country. At Bethlehem we found the Archbishop (Mgr. Gregorios) very seriously ill, but I am glad to be able to state that he has since completely recovered. We were received with great cordiality by His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Mgr. Damianos, by the Armenian and Syrian Patriarchs, and at Ain Karim by Archbishop Anastassy, who entertained a number of pilgrims to tea and read a long address of welcome which showed that His Grace was an earnest student of religious affairs in England.

On the Sunday spent in Jerusalem High Mass was sung at the Cathedral by members of the Staff: all the pilgrims and many residents in the Holy City were present. The Bishops of Jerusalem, Lewes, and Milwaukee attended in cope and mitre, and a brilliant

sermon was preached by the Bishop of Milwaukee. Archbishop Anastassy with his chaplain and the Armenian Archimandrite Cyril were also in the Sanctuary. On the same afternoon, in blazing sunshine, the pilgrims attended a solemn service of prayers for the departed in the newly consecrated cemetery on Mt. Scopus, where lie thousands of soldiers of the British Empire who fell in the Great War. The Bishop of Lewes conducted the service, and the High Commissioner, Lord Plumer, was present with his aide-de-camp and other members of the British community in Jerusalem. The position of the cemetery is as beautiful as could possibly be found, at the back, behind the little chapel is the wonderful view of the Jordan, with the Dead Sea and the Mountains of Moab beyond: in front one looks across Kedron to the Holy City. On the same evening the pilgrims made the devotional walk from the House of the last Supper to the Garden of Gethsemane. It was full moon: a short chapter, a prayer and *O Salutaris* outside the Cenaculum and silently the pilgrims walked across the Kedron to the Garden where, after a chapter of Scripture had been read, Fr. Hughson gave a meditation and many knelt in prayer on the holy ground.

THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Before leaving Jerusalem I should like to draw attention to the deplorable condition of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, not owing to earthquakes, but to years of neglect. Probably there is no Church or Cathedral in Christendom of any importance that is so hopelessly shabby. The Church contains the most priceless relics of the Christian Religion, and yet because the three chief Religions concerned—Greek, Latin and Armenian—cannot agree, its walls are left to rot. It is a terrible scandal to the Holy City, and many pilgrims and visitors comment upon it. The most beautiful chapel of all, St. Helena, with its gorgeous fourth-century capitals, has a broken floor and its altars are in desolation; the same applies to many of the chapels. Thanks to that foolish relic of bitter quarrels, the *status quo*, renovation is, for the moment, an impossibility. There are thousands of Christians—Orthodox, Catholic, Anglican and Armenian, who would gladly help, were a lead given. England is the mandatory power, and England surely is strong enough to overcome even a *status quo* to put an end to such a deplorable scandal. Near by is the great Mohammedan Mosque, the Dome of the Rock. There is nothing squalid, no sign of decay in that building. In the Holy City Islam can present to-day its most sacred fane to all and sundry without fear of reproach. Christendom cannot—because Christendom takes it for granted, in obedience to this outward and visible sign of spiritual division, that nothing can be done for fear of disturbance between the three religions which reign supreme. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the most famous church in the whole world, enshrined within her the Holy

Tomb and Calvary, cries out in its desecration for help. Is there no Nehemiah in the Christian world to come to her assistance?

THE CHURCH AT SYCHAR.

Pilgrims visited Nazareth and Tiberias in groups, as time in the Holy Land was short, and there were visits to be paid to the ancient Christian sites in the near East. On the last day in Palestine the Pilgrimage Committee, with the two Bishops, motored to Nazareth, passing some of the most interesting places mentioned in the Bible on their way, and resting awhile at Jacob's Well, where our Lord talked with the woman of Samaria, one of the most certain sites in Palestine, for all Christian, Jewish and Moslem traditions support it. The mouth of the well is cut out of one stone (now horribly disfigured by an ugly iron contrivance for drawing up water,) and is probably the well mouth. The depth of the well is eighty feet and the diameter nine feet. Over the well a Basilica is partially erected; it was begun before the War, but there has been no movement since to finish it. Some of us discussed this matter very fully amongst ourselves, as also with a Greek Archbishop, and we hope that in the near future Anglican and American Episcopalians may join together in completing the Orthodox church at Sychar as a practical sign of our sympathy towards the Orthodox in their time of trouble and also as an earnest sign of our desire for the Unity of the Churches.

THE METROPOLITAN OF NAZARETH AND REUNION.

And so on through Nablus, the ancient Shechem, which has suffered so much from the earthquakes in July, across the plain of Esdraelon, with Nain on the right, and on the left the slopes of Little Hermon with Endor, where Saul consulted the witch. Behind the slope we pass close to Mt. Tabor, and on the height of it catch a glimpse of the Franciscan Monastery and the Greek Church, and so up the steep hill to Nazareth, 1602 feet above sea-level. Here we entertain to dinner our old and revered friend Mgr. Kleopas, Metropolitan of Nazareth and of all Galilee, who tells us of the progress he is making in his Archdiocese and speaks very hopefully of reunion between the Orthodox Greek Church and its sister Church of England. As an instalment of that unity, shortly after our departure from the Holy Land, the foundation stone was laid of a little Orthodox church at Beisan the ancient Canaanite city Beth-shan. To the wall of this city King Saul's body and those of his sons were nailed by the Philistines till the men of Jabesh Gilead came and bore them away. Important discoveries of Egyptian, Roman and other remains have recently been made here. The building of this church is of special interest to Anglicans

in that it is not only being built partly with money from England and America, but at Archbishop Kleopas' wish the church will be placed at the disposal of the little Anglican community at Beisan. This is, indeed, a new and a very hopeful step towards Unity. The following inscription was written in Greek on a fine piece of thousand-year-old vellum from Jerusalem, and laid in a cavity beneath the foundation stone:—

"In the Name of the Holy Trinity, 1927, under George V., King of England, Coolidge, President of the United States of America, Lord Plumer, High Commissioner in Jerusalem; the Emir Adbullah, ruler of Transjordan, Damianos I., Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Rennie MacInnes, Bishop of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem, the foundation stone of the church of Saint John, the forerunner, and the great martyr George in Beisan, was laid by the Metropolitan of Nazareth Kleopas Kikilides and the Anglican Priest W. H. Stewart, for the love of Christ and the mutual support of the two holy Churches of God, Eastern and Anglican. Lord help us and stablish this holy house for ever and ever! Lord, help the benefactors among the Greeks and among the Americans and the Fourth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage! Beisan (Scythopolis), August 22, 1927."

THE EARTHQUAKE OF JULY 11TH.

It may be of interest to give some first-hand information regarding the earthquake in July and the damage done to life and property. The American Colony's buildings in Ain Karim suffered badly, especially the clinic and the Child Welfare stations. The ridge of Mt. Scopus and the Mt. of Olives received severe shocks and practically all the buildings were damaged. That unsightly building on Mt. Scopus, built by the Ex-Kaiser as a hostel, and later used as the seat of the High Commissioner—for years the British Government has been paying a heavy rent for this terrible building—is so badly cracked that no one is allowed inside the grounds. Fortunately the High Commissioner and Lady Plumer were away at the time of the shock. Lord Plumer now has as his official residence a house on the Bethlehem Road. The Hebrew University is very badly damaged, and many private houses in its vicinity. The Russian Convent on the Mt. of Olives, the home of many Russian refugee nuns, has fared badly; at present the nuns are sleeping under the trees, fearing to return to their cracked homes. The Church of the Lord's Prayer and the Carmelite Convent have also been badly affected, while the Mosque and Minaret on the site of the Ascension fell, killing one man. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre has not suffered so much as was reported in the English Press, but the dome of the Greek Katholikon has been

condemned as unsafe and must be entirely rebuilt, and there are many lesser buildings connected with the Church which are undoubtedly unsafe. I hear that the government is undertaking the repairs of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. What an opportunity to repair, renovate and "make all things new" throughout that gloomy edifice which enshrines such priceless wonders? At Bethlehem it would seem that the damage done was not great, and no lives were lost.

Among the towns of Palestine, Nablus (the ancient Shechem), has suffered most of all. There the building material was of soft lime-stone, the mortar poor, and the houses slender and often four storeys high, so houses fell very easily. It is said that the debris was over twenty feet high, very many lives were lost, and bodies not discovered for weeks. Business was paralysed and the survivors were starving. From all parts of Palestine came succour in the way of food and help of every kind. Christians, Jews and Arabs vied with each other to play the part of the good Samaritan. Seventy-five people were killed in Nablus alone, and over two hundred and fifty wounded. Nablus is a dirty and unhealthy city with a great deal of tuberculosis; the people very fanatical and the women are still shut up in their houses, one woman who came to the relieving station had not been out of her house for forty years. At Ludd, the ancient Lydda, there were forty killed and one hundred and twenty wounded, while four hundred and eighty-three houses are in complete ruin. The ancient Church of St. George at Lydda, whose tomb has been venerated for centuries, is uninjured except the Dome which is badly cracked, and the Greek Convent presents a terrible spectacle of desolation. Ramleh, close to Ludd, has also suffered badly, and food was rushed into both towns almost immediately after the catastrophe. Generally speaking, the old houses, and those built with arches and domes, have suffered most.

There is considerable increase in disease in all the towns and villages affected by the earthquake. The dust of the debris, the crowding into tents where they now live, and the exposure, all help to spread it. The children suffer most and can be seen with red inflamed eyes, sitting in the dust on the side of the roads. That most excellent institution, the Ophthalmic Hospital of the Knights of St. John, is doing splendid work, but naturally the need of funds is very great.

The earthquake seemed to affect places in very different ways. In one village nearly every house collapsed and in another, close by, only a few were injured. Nazareth and Cana are almost untouched, as also Jaffa and Haifa. A central Committee has been organised and a local committee in every town to try and collect funds to help repair what homes can be repaired, and arrange for the accommodation of the people before the winter. A wonderful



*Top: ST. ELEUTHERIOS (THE OLD CATHEDRAL).
Bottom: ST. NICODEMUS (THE RUSSIAN CHURCH).*

work is going on regardless of creed or race, and good may eventually come out of evil by bringing the suffering people and their helpers together. But funds are very badly needed to bring about a reform in housing conditions and a chance to practise the first principles of cleanliness. One cannot close this short summary of disturbances caused by the earthquakes without a word of praise for the American Colony in Jerusalem. Their work and organisation in the way of relief, and attention to the sufferers has been untiring, and the members of the Colony have set an inspiring example of self-sacrifice and Christian charity, and in all probability hundreds of children and adults owe their lives and recovery to their unceasing efforts throughout that dreadful disaster.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

We arrived at Constantinople late on Saturday afternoon and left early the following Monday.

There is less commerce even than when we were here two years ago, and the great and sinister Gulf of Smyrna into which we sailed two days before was equally deserted. The sun was setting when we arrived and presently from the nearest Minaret the Muezzin in clear and beautiful tones sounded his cry to all and sundry: "There is only one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet." Even the Muezzin is likely to join the ranks of the unemployed before long, for the Angora Government is becoming more and more anti-religious and the famous Friday processions to the Mosques are now relegated to past memories. No longer by any stretch of imagination could one call the streets of Constantinople picturesque, for there is now a general air of what might be called shabby-genteel. The *tarbush* exists no longer, the wearing of it is a criminal offence; and the women no longer have their faces covered. Men were wearing the old-fashioned straw boating-hat and the women covered their hair with any oddment they could find. This change has not improved the appearance of the people—at no time exactly attractive. Constantinople is crumbling, its only interest is that of past history, its only beauty the splendid Mosques which guard the Bosphorus.

Mass was solemnly sung at 9.30 a.m. on Sunday morning at Christ Church (the Crimean Memorial Church) at the kind invitation of Canon Vallings (temporary chaplain) by the Bishop of Milwaukee. Archimandrite Dorotheos, chief Secretary of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the Bishop of the local Syrian church were present in the Chancel.

After Mass, while the majority of the pilgrims were taken to see the sights of Constantinople, the priest pilgrims, together with a few representatives of the laity, drove in their robes to the Phanar,

the residence and seat of the Patriarch. "Phanar" is the name of the district, the seat of the Patriarch having changed many times: it is situated in a poor and badly-paved quarter, round which a Greek Colony has grown, though sadly diminished since the troubles of the past years. The building is large and ugly, sorely in need of repair, and in appearance desolate and dreary. After the conquest of St. Sophia, its original home, the Patriarchate was removed to the Church of the Apostles, thence to St. Mary Pammakaristos, thence again to St. Mary Blanchernae, where once our Lady's Girdle was kept and venerated; thence again to St. Dimitri of the Phanar, and finally to its present habitation. We were welcomed by the Archimandrite Dorotheos and, after a short wait in the reception-room, were ushered into a small office-like room where His All-Holiness received us, for the Throne Room is now very rarely used.

The Patriarch, seated at his desk which was littered with papers and documents, received us very graciously, and at once the Bishop of Lewes read the official address from the pilgrims, to which His Holiness gave a kindly if somewhat cautious reply which was duly translated by Mr. Douglas Watson. He was very gratified by our visit and gave his blessing to the objects of the Pilgrimage, telling us also how thankful he was for the sympathy shown to him by the Churches of England and America, and above all for the continued support of the Primate of All England. Before we left he gave his blessing to each member of the deputation and to the Bishops a signed photograph of himself.

His All-Holiness Basil III. is a slight and wizened old man about 80 years old, but his mind is as clear as ever, his perception as keen, and his eyes seem to pierce right through you. We were not surprised to find him looking tired and worried, and we wondered how much longer it would be possible for him to retain the Œcumenical Throne in Constantinople. His last words to us were: "Pray for me."

One used to hear of the "Prisoner of the Vatican." If ever there was a prisoner, it is the "Prisoner of the Phanar."

THE GLORY OF ATHENS.

A pleasant north wind drove us gently into the harbour of the Piræus, crowded with ships of all nations and teeming with commercial activity. We were late, and unfortunately the representatives of Mgr. Chrysostom, namely the Bishop of Stavropoulos, the Archimandrite Germanos, together with Mr. Stroud Read, Headmaster of Athens College, had been patiently waiting for over two hours on the quay. However, at long last they were able to board the ship, and, after the usual civilities, we crowded into

small boats as quickly as possible. We were late at the Cathedral and found the Liturgy in full progress, arriving at the moment of the Great Entrance. Truthfully I can say that never before in West or East have I witnessed a Liturgy celebrated with greater dignity and devotion and never before have I heard anywhere such glorious music, ethereal in its splendour and uplifting power, and rendered by the Rizareion Seminary choir—the Orthodox Solesmes. The Cathedral was already packed with Athenians, but place was given to the Pilgrims on their entrance. Mgr. Chrysostom, Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, was celebrant, and at the conclusion of the Liturgy he blessed the people with the *Sanctissimum*.

Before leaving the Cathedral the Bishop of Stavropoulos led us to the tomb of Gregory V., the saintly Patriarch who was murdered by the Turks on Easter Day, 1821, at the Phanar. After the crime the body was cast into the Bosphorus, where it was found later by some Jews who brought it to Athens. The Bishop told us that the canonization of this saint was the only official canonization by the Orthodox Church since the division of Eastern and Western Christendom.

After the magnificent ceremony at the Cathedral the pilgrims were taken to the Archbishop's Palace, where they were received by his Beatitude with much courtesy. In the evening, by the kindness of Sir Henry Lunn, the Bishop of Lewes acting as host, a dinner was given to His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostom at the Palace Hotel, at which twenty-six were present, Anglican and Orthodox. The Archbishop was supported by the Bishops of Lewes, Milwaukee, Naxos and Stavropoulos, six Archimandrites and other members of His Grace's clergy, Mr. Stroud Read (Headmaster of Athens College), General Carleton Jones and other representative members of the Pilgrimage. One of the Athenians who was present wrote as follows:—"The aim of these pilgrimages is to make the personal acquaintance of the leaders of the Eastern Church, in order to promote the Union of the Churches. At this dinner the importance of such union was emphasized by both parties. Particular interest was created by the toast of His Beatitude the Archbishop who, in drinking the health of the pilgrims, said that these pilgrimages were building the bridge which eventually would fill in the gap between Western and Eastern Christendom. The Archbishop reminded those present of their connection with Athens through Theodore of Tarsus, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury during the seventh century and thus inaugurated a succession of English Archbishops of the English Church, whereas Theodore's predecessors had been Romans, and His Beatitude pointed out that this ought to make the pilgrims feel quite at home while in Greece."

L'ENVOI.

The Bishop of Milwaukee sends me a cutting from "The Catholic Telegraph" of Cincinnati, a Roman Catholic paper, in which are published some remarks on this Pilgrimage by Monsignor Godric Kean, the English auxiliary Bishop to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem: "The demeanour of the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrims attracted our attention and demanded respect. They seemed to realize the sacredness and solemnity of the occasion. They showed an earnestness in prayer and gravity in the public worship of God which was edifying. This is the fourth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to Palestine. One of the objects of these Pilgrimages is to strive for Christian Re-union. This is praiseworthy." Another American R.C. paper, "The Sunday Visitor," in recording the stone-laying of the new Orthodox Church at Beisan, referred to in this article, says, "This event marks a new development of the comity between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches."

A feature of this Pilgrimage (as on former occasions) was the distribution of funds collected from the pilgrims to various good causes in the Holy Land amounting in all to £190, of which £51 was given to Archbishop Kleopas towards the building of the Church at Beisan. The total sum collected on the four pilgrimages amounts to £1,649 11s. 7d. viz. £699 9s. 0d. to the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem and the upkeep of the Holy Places, the Churches of Nazareth, Bethlehem and Damascus, £570 15s. 2d. to the Anglican Church in Jerusalem; £172 9s. 2d. to the Orthodox Russian Church for its upkeep and Refugees, £89 10s. 9d. to the Armenian Church and Refugees, besides many smaller sums and collections given to local Churches and Convents.

His Beatitude Mgr. Tourian, Armenian Patriarch in Jerusalem, in acknowledging the pilgrims' gift wrote as follows: "We would like to take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to the Anglo-Catholics for the sincere sympathy and friendship which they have always shown to our Church. Their annual pilgrimage to the Holy Land and their visit to us has been a source of spiritual comfort to us, filling as they do the place of those of our unhappy people. We have already prayed that these pilgrimages may be everlasting sources of Christian inspiration and redoubled zeal to everyone of the pilgrims to the glory of our Lord and His Kingdom. We feel greatly indebted likewise to know that many of your members are assisting the Armenian Relief Fund in London. May our Blessed Lord shower His bountiful blessings upon them all and protect them and their families from all earthly calamities! Through the mercy of God our health has greatly improved and we are now able to attend to our duties."

The Pilgrimage Association is indebted to Monsieur Dionis du Séjour of the Messageries Maritimes, who did everything in his power to make this pilgrimage successful: to Sir Henry Lunn for his personal and generous solicitude in helping to keep the Pilgrimage up to its usual high level: to Mr. D. N. Tadros for his care in arranging the preliminary details, to Mr. C. C. Silley, a most courteous and pleasant conductor: to the Bishop, the Rev. Harold Buxton and all friends in Jerusalem for their kindly hospitality and arrangements for our stay in the Holy City, and on the Orthodox side, to the Archbishop of the Jordan, the Archmandrite Kyriakos, now Guardian of the Holy Places, Archbishop Anastassy, and Mgr. Kleopas, Metropolitan of Nazareth and Galilee, also to many others "whose names are legion." The next Pilgrimage to the Holy Land will set sail (*Deo volente*) on April 9th, 1929 and will spend at least ten days in the Holy City.

OLD CHURCHES OF ATHENS.

By EUPHROSYNÉ KEPHALA.

ON the north side of the Acropolis and on the very slopes of the Rock itself stood the old city of Athens, the city as it was in classic, Byzantine, mediæval and Turkish times. And in that city, which is part only of the city of Athens to-day, are to be found most of the little old churches of which this article speaks.

The little churches here illustrated all belong to the three periods in the history of Athens I have mentioned above. In those days Athens was a tiny walled-in city with but few inhabitants. It was, however, the seat of a bishop, and it is well, therefore, to begin, perhaps, with the old Cathedral, now dedicated to St. Eleutherios which stands side by side with the new Cathedral of the modern capital of Greece.

This truly exquisite little building of pure Byzantine architecture dates from the 11th century. It was, during the middle ages, the Metropolis of Athens. It was also a parish church, and had a burial ground attached in which one of the noble families of Athens, the Benizelos, were all buried. In its creamy-coloured walls of marble, which the sunlight of Athens has mellowed into a delicate honey-like hue, are embedded some curious pieces of classic sculpture which were used—as so often the case—for Christian churches after the pagan temples had been deserted by their worshippers.

Some of the sculptures are quite heraldic in design; others again have purely classical designs, such as draped figures and vases, and the frieze above the principal entrance consists of an ancient Greek calendar of festivals, with crosses added afterwards by the Christians. The inside is very dark and on the arches of the narthex are the faint traces of some old paintings. The two oldest surviving pictures are those of the Pantocrator (Almighty) in the central dome, and the Platytera (Virgin and Child) in the dome of the altar. Both these have been restored; but the restoration to my mind only seems to emphasize the aspect of the antiquity of the paintings; for they are very, very old, and very sad with the weight of the centuries upon them. . . . The soft purples and reds toned down and mellowed by centuries are slowly blending into a faded piece of painting, with all the same a pathetic beauty that haunts us when we are once more in the bright sunshine outside.

Although I said that the church dated from the 11th century, it was built from material of a very old Christian church erected in the 5th century of our era, as recorded in an old chronicle which tells us of the "most beautiful church of the Koimesis (Assumption) of the Holy Mother of God which the early Christians had built out of fair ready-sculptured marbles of the ancient Greeks."

Most of the really old Eikons have long since disappeared and it is impossible to say what treasures there were among them; there are still two fairly good Eikons belonging to the year 1703, as witnessed to by the date on them, of St. Dionysius, the Athenian Areopagites, and of St. Philothé, standing respectively on the left and right of the entrance. Beside the church on the right is preserved a block of grey marble (7½ ft. long, 1 ft. high, 2 ft. broad) with an inscription on one end in late Greek characters, "This is the stone from Cana, of Galilee, where Jesus Christ, Our Lord, turned the water into wine." This stone, which was discovered in the ruins of a mediæval chapel at Elateia in Central Greece, is, perhaps, the actual stone seat seen by Antotinus of Piacenza at Cana.

This church, although known as the Church of St. Eleutherios since the days of the Greek revolution in 1821, was formally dedicated to the "Virgin who heard quickly" (*γρηγορητικός*) who granted quickly the prayers of the faithful, to those who asked a favour from Our Lady.

The next church of great antiquity is the little church situated at the bottom of Hermes Street, dedicated to the Virgin, and commonly called the Kapnikarea. It is built in the pure Byzantine style of the 11th century, and is one of the gems among the old churches of this period. The outside is unadorned except for a very

old painting of the Koimesis about the central door. The tiny chapel of St. Barbara which is joined on to the church is of later date, although in the same style of architecture.

The inside is a medley of arches, all showing the pictorial designs now somewhat faint in colour of the Byzantine artist; the stiff figures of saints and prophets stand out in relief when the eye gradually gets accustomed to the dim atmosphere. The dull gold of the aureoles round their head lights up the sombre shadows, which play in every corner of the building. The Eikonostasion is very dark, and the effect of the coloured lamps hanging in front of the Eikons is beyond description, symbolic of the whole character of the church with its austere mysticism and religious piety. The lights from the tiny wax candles make splashes of gold against its dark background of the Eikons. Tradition says that the church was built by the Empress Eudoxia in the 5th century, but the present building, at least, is not as old; it probably replaced the original church built by the pious Empress. The name Kapnikarea is thought to mean in now obsolete terms "The Grace-giver." Panagia Kapnikarea, and its festival is kept on November 21st, on the festival of the *Εἰσοδήματα τῆς Θεοτόκου* (Presentation of the Theotokos).

One of the most beautiful and, at the same time, one of the oldest churches of Athens is one now used by the Russians to worship in. It has been considerably restored, having at certain periods come in for more than its share of the vicissitudes of fortune. It remains outside the city walls, and during the later Byzantine periods, the Frankish domination in the middle ages and the years of Turkish domination before the year 1778, it was actually abandoned in time and after remaining without parishioners, fell into ruin.

It apparently came in for a certain amount of damage at the bombardment by the Venetian Morosini of Athens in 1687, and during the Greek revolution in 1822, when the dome was damaged. Finally, in 1847, what was little more than a ruin was handed over to the Russian Government, and it was restored with the greatest care, so that to-day it is one of the best examples of Byzantine architecture to be seen. Although known as St. Nicodemus, being a corruption of "Licodemus," the name of the parish, the church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and there survive in it some wonderful old frescoes and Eikons, carefully preserved. There is a harmony in the beautiful colours mellowed by age, which fills the dim interior with a wonderful sense of peace as we meet the glance of the Evangelists and Angels looking down on us from Eikonostasion, domes and arches. The singing there at a Sunday service is particularly beautiful; it seems to reach us at times as if proceeding from the very vault of heaven itself in its ecstatic purity

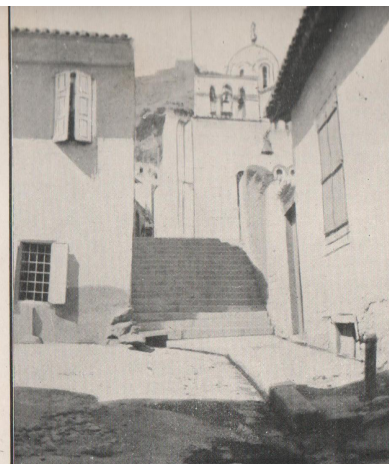
and sweetness, lingering among the vaulted arches and domes of the Sanctuary, like the song of the Angels in worship. . . .

One of the churches really built on the very rock itself of the Acropolis is that dedicated to St. Nicholas, and presumably built by one of the members of the *Rhangavas* family, as it is known—as are most of these little churches—by the surname of the builder of the church, St. Nicholas Rhangavas. The architecture of this church belongs to the 11th century, built on the ruins of an even earlier church.

Unfortunately, the church has been very much restored both outside and inside, and not by a good artist either. It has been whitewashed, and somewhat gaudily painted; but it is still a picturesque little building with a very interesting history, for it is undoubtedly connected with the Imperial family of Rhangavas, and there is a tradition that some branches of that family must have lived in the neighbourhood of the church—perhaps it was their private chapel—as the church apparently gave its name, St. Nicholas Rhangavas, to the whole adjoining parish. The steep cobbled stone flight of steps leading up to it were made many centuries ago; so were some of the houses and fragments of classical walls built in them. But what is, to my mind, the reward that awaits us after the steep climb is the most beautiful view in the world. The soft lines of “the billowy main” of the Attic mountains, blue and violet, and amethyst and grey; of the Sacred Way and the olive grove, all bathed in that imperishable light of Greece, of which there is no equal.

Situated on the northern to the southern side of the Acropolis in an open square not far from the elegant little monument of Lysicrates, is the Church of St. Katharine. It is a very old church and was originally dedicated to “St. Theodore at the Koundito,” the latter name being that of the parish, by which the church was commonly called. In 1767, the church was given as a gift by the Council of Elders (who in those days watched over the property of the Church) to the Great Monastery of Mount Sinai as a Priory for the residence in Athens of the Fathers of that Monastery, and the church was redecorated to the memory of St. Katharine of Alexandria, whose honoured remains repose at the Monastery on Mount Sinai. This priory acquired large property round the church and was a powerful religious community of the day.

Although a great deal of restoration, both inside and out, has been done, the Byzantine rhythm of the building has not been lost. The little dome is still intact; the tiny windows, the graceful arches decorated with some charming figures of the saints and angels supporting the dome, are evident with traces of some of the more ancient wall paintings, still visible, though somewhat discoloured



Top: ST. NICHOLAS, RHANGAVAS.
Bottom: ST. KATHARINE.

by age. There is an atmosphere of centuries and generations of devotion in the quiet seclusion of this beautiful church. And there is something else, too, in the serene peace and radiant joy almost that one experiences at the service of Vespers before the Saint festival, as the Eikon of the Virgin martyr of Alexandria, wreathed in flowers, seems to proclaim the triumph of the Faith which superseded the older beliefs. For do you notice the columns and broken fragments of architrave in the precincts of the church? of classical origin, surely, as testified by a large number of sculptured marbles of that period, used in the church, in addition to the inscription on the Holy Table itself, all of which takes us back to the days when another faith reigned supreme in Greece.

In conclusion, I would have liked to allude very briefly to the many, both old in years and beauty, historical churches of the old city of Athens, which are still interesting landmarks in her history, but space prevents me doing so now. The one whose photograph is given here is the tiny chapel known as "The Saviour" chapel is very old and dates from perhaps the sixth or seventh century. It is almost empty except for an old Eikon of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, which is all that is left of its former decoration. A few pious souls go in to pray and perchance to light a taper at the empty shrine. I doubt whether it is ever used for a service; but its quaint beauty and age make one stop and ponder over its history, and the magnificent view from up there. It is so old and brown and sad-looking, and it has been there for so long . . . in harmony with the ruins around it as being part of a great past.

Perhaps in some future number of this Magazine I will take up the thread of my narrative of the little old churches of Athens, and give to its readers a few moments more among those little gems of art.

ANGLICAN AND ORTHODOX IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES.

By S. C. Boys.

THIS article is an attempt to carry out the wishes of my husband, H. A. Boys, Chaplain at Patras from 1870 to 1875, and to put on record some account of the very friendly relations that existed between himself and the Bishops and Clergy of the Orthodox Church during those five years.

The materials for this are (1) a very carefully-kept Diary, which I read aloud to him during the last year of his life; (2) what I can remember of his comments as the various entries were read; (3) my own recollections of a two days' visit with him to Patras in 1906, and the welcome he received from the few who were left after 30 years.

Chief among these was his special friend Papa Costa, Priest at Patras from before 1870 till some years after 1906. He heard that my husband had come, and hastened to the hotel the first morning early. We got back from an early stroll round the town to be met by the landlord and told that Papa Costa was in our room. I shall never forget the hasty rush on the stairs, nor the sight of the two grey-bearded Priests hugging each other half-way up, the Englishman in his wide-awake, the Greek in his tall hat with the brim at the top, and the little plait of hair fastened up with a hairpin or two beneath it; nor the unintelligible (to me) conversation that followed, nor my husband's disgust at finding his Modern Greek so rusty that he could only understand, not express himself, at first. Papa Costa came to the station at 6 a.m. two days later to see us off, and still the two talked up to the very last minute, for my husband was becoming able to talk the language, and was eager to tell him about the beautiful Somerset church, of which he was then Rector.

There had not, I think, been an English Chaplain in Patras before, certainly not for a very long while. But there was in 1870 a growing colony of English Currant Merchants, several of them with young families growing up, who felt the need of their own Church, and who had asked Bishop Harris of Gibraltar to send them a Chaplain, they guaranteeing his salary, which was to be eked out by some paid teaching. He appointed my husband, a young man of 26 with delicate lungs, who went out in August, 1870, going by long sea, and stopping at Cephalonia and Zante, which were to be part of his parish. His first recorded meeting with the clergy of the Orthodox Church was the first morning at Patras, where he

found Bishop Harris staying with Mr. Wood, the leading Churchman of the English colony. Early on the morning after his arrival, the Archbishop of Patras, Papa Costa, and others of the Patras Clergy, came up to Aroi to pay their respects to the English Bishop, whom they already knew and loved, and to satisfy their curiosity about the new English Priest. They were delighted when he came into the room:—"He has a beard" passed from one to another; and friendly relations began from that moment.

There was then no English church or cemetery in Patras, and the English services were at first held at the "Syllogus," which was a sort of Club, Currant Exchange, and Hostel combined, run by the German Merchants. These were mostly Lutherans, and they intended to attend the English church; allowing their big room to be used, on Sundays only, for the services.

Only a month after his arrival Mr. Wood's son was killed by a fall out shooting, and his funeral service was held by the courtesy of the Archbishop in the Greek Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, the grave being also dug in that Churchyard. To quote the Diary:—"I was invited by the Greek Priest to robe behind the screen, and treated most kindly. Immense throng of Greeks. A lane made through them to admit the procession. As soon as I turned towards the church saying the sentences there was a rush and indescribable confusion; I was hustled, and had to push my way through the crowd all the way up the Nave. Stood at the reading desk. Coffin deposited in the midst of the Chancel. Church crammed full of people, who were very quiet, *for Greeks*. Had to scramble out of church again through the throng, and was hustled all the way to the grave. Service completed in comparative silence. Followed by three orations from friends, two in Greek, one in English."

A little later came another funeral; the child of an Englishman who had married a Greek. In this case by the mother's wish the Archbishop of Patras was asked to take a part in the service, and he most kindly consented. In the Diary we find:—"There was some difficulty about the coffin, and it finally went to St. Andrew's open. I was at the church very early, and saw the grave not yet ready. Received the corpse at the gate as before. Much less crowd than before, and at first more orderly. Service in church decent. Archbishop spoke very well from his throne. Disorder at grave afterwards most unseemly. They had been unable to find an entrance into the vault, and were hastily preparing a temporary grave, which was not completed when we got there. This was in a narrow space between a tomb and some wooden palings. Disgraceful struggling even to make room for coffin and myself; eight men rolled together into a hole at the end of the tomb. The tomb

itself was completely covered with staring boys. The coffin was covered at the grave and the service completed."

There was naturally no Font at the Syllagus, and both at Patras and Zante the great portable brass Fonts used by the Greek Church in their semi-private Baptism of infants, were most willingly lent to the English Chaplain. Later, when the English church had been built, with a font big enough for baptisms by immersion, the Archbishop of Patras and several of his clergy were present at a double baptism, one by immersion and one by aspersion, of the children of two Lutheran members of the English congregation, one of whom had married a Greek. To quote the Diary again:—"Easter Day, 1875. Morning Service. Church crammed; singing went well, but four of our people away through illness. 14 Communicants. Sundry Greek Priests present, whom I sat in the Chancel till Celebration, then in vestry. Service over, arranged church for Baptism, and went over Greek Service; got water put in at 3.15. Archbishop came and sundry Priests at 3; whom I put first in my house, and then took to church. Agostino (his servant) had made a frame for the Sedile, which he covered with red cloth which I had got, and so had a good seat for the Archbishop. Baptism party remained down by the Font all the time by mistake. Second Lesson over, and church being crammed with Greeks. I got water just right, 92°, and reading in Greek, took first Franz Hamburger's child, and dipped it right in; a fat plump child, which had cried all the time but remained quite quiet in the water till I had done. Then took Schweitzer's child, which I sprinkled; this, quiet all the rest of the time, cried lustily in my arms. Whole service finished only at 4.40. Walked Archbishop round church gardens, and so let him go. Remembered when too late that I ought to have asked him to bless us."

Again, in July, 1874, soon after the consecration of the English church, the Diary records great help from Papa Costa in preparing the English Marriage Service for use between a Lutheran and a Greek. "Sunday, July 19. At 5 marriage took place; I read the English Service in Greek; part in Modern Greek from Papa Costa's book; and all Scriptural extracts from the Scriptures. Got through very fairly; Germans sang one hymn in German."

But the English Colony very soon felt the need of an English Church, and plans were set on foot for acquiring a site, and collecting funds. The Chaplain was very much impressed by the frequent shocks of earthquakes on the shores of the Gulf of Corinth, and the damage done by them to buildings of the prevailing pseudo-Classical style, while the old Byzantine churches with their small round-arched openings and vaulted roofs mostly escaped unharmed, and he was very insistent accordingly that a proper

architect should be employed. It took time to work the congregation up to the pitch of such an extravagance, but early in 1872 the plans sent in by Mr George Vials, a young English architect, who had recently restored the church at Wing in Rutland, of which my husband's father was Rector, were accepted. These were for a little church, consisting of nave, chancel, and vestry, with a bell gable over the west end; early-English in style, with small lancet windows in the sides, a traceried window at the east end, and a rose window over three lancets at the west end. All the cut stone work was sent out from England, but the walls were built of local stone irregularly jointed, with neither horizontal nor vertical lines in the stonework, with the idea of stopping cracks due to earthquake shocks. I shall never forget his delight when in 1906 he found the little church intact, and that it had stood without a crack for 32 years, through several very bad earthquakes that had done serious damage to many other buildings.

Another difficulty was the Font. My husband was determined that all the points on which the Orthodox and Anglican Churches were at one should be emphasised, such as the eastward position, and the permissive use of Baptism by Immersion; but it was not quite easy to persuade the Church Committee to go to the expense of a Font large enough for this. However, with time and patience he carried his point, as is shown by the account of the two baptisms given above. The whole work of building the church aroused great interest among the Greek Clergy of Patras, and their congratulations were most cordial. The Diary gives the following account of its Consecration on May 10, 1874, by Bishop Sandford of Gibraltar, although it had been in use for Services from the previous Easter Day, April 5. Papa Costa and the Ierokomio were at that first service, as well as at the official Consecration. Indeed, it is noticeable throughout the whole Diary how the different Calendars in use by the two Churches made for mutual good feeling and understanding between their respective clergy; each was free on the great Festivals and Fasts to go to the other's Services.

"May 8, Friday. Service as usual, and then went up to Aroi (Mr. Wood's) to see Bishop. Took up Papa Costa with me. Stayed some time with Bishop, and then walked him down to the church, which he praised highly. We had a talk there about the eastward position. He did not order me to change, though he showed he wished it. We arranged to have the Confirmation on Saturday at 10.30, and Consecration on Sunday. He then went back to Aroi, and I home. In afternoon had Choir Practice and after service went up to Aroi for dinner. Whist afterwards, but Bishop did not play.

" May 9, Saturday. Arranged for Confirmation, which was at 10.30. Bishop stood in the Sanctuary all the time; I, in the reading desk, read the opening address, and there remained, and brought up the candidates. We had three hymns, and the Bishop gave two short addresses, one before, and one after, the "Laying on of Hands." There were not very many strangers and only one Greek Priest. After that I had the Bishop, Consul, Crowe, and Marshall all to lunch at 1, and was busy preparing "Petition of Consecration," etc., both on this and on previous day. Stayed at home after evening service, at which the Bishop was not present, as he had not been at any of the daily services.

" May 10, Sunday. Consecration Day. Up pretty early, got things all ready in church, and at 10 opened doors. Great numbers soon came in. Almost all of our own people were there, as also of Germans. Organist detained at the last moment, and a deputy played. Singing in consequence very poor. There was virtually neither bass nor tenor. Altos stronger than usual. Service opened with Bishop and self proceeding from Vestry door outside to porch, where we were met by Consul and Churchwardens and Mr. Wood. Consul read the Petition. Then Bishop and I walked up the church repeating alternately the verses of Psalm XXIV. Then I read the Bishop's answer, which he signed. Then Morning Prayer began. I had nailed red cloth round the Sedile, and put cushions, on which the Bishop sat. Of Greek Priests, the Ierokomio, the pro-Hegoumenoi of Takiarchi, and of another Monastery, and one other sat in chancel, some in nave at S.E. corner; others who came late in vestry, fourteen in all. I read the Service; we sang the Venite, Psalms, Te Deum, Jubilate, and three hymns. Bishop took Communion Service and preached. A good many Greeks stayed to witness the Communion, and all the Priests. Service over, the Ierokomio made a little speech to Bishop expressing his wish for Union and theirs. In afternoon prepared for Bishop certain papers and wrote to Hughes at Corfu. Bishop attended Evening Service. In evening dined at Wood's and came down at 9.30 to Crowe's, where we found steamer had come sooner than we expected, for there had been a heavy wind all day. I hurried up to my house and put a few things in a bag, and then down to Crowe's for tea, and at 10 Bishop, Crowe and I went off to steamer, which started at 11. Sat on deck till 12 talking with Bishop; it was, however, windy and ship was rolling. I had a second-class ticket; the steward, however, rigged me up a good bed on a sofa, and I slept well, though ship rolled very much off Cape Papas. Not so Bishop, who, in crowded first-class saloon, passed a wretched night."

There were the other parts of the Chaplaincy for the Bishop to visit and a Baptism, Confirmation, and First Communion were the reason for this Sunday-night start for Zante. There the Orthodox Bishop was quite as friendly as the Archbishop of Patras. So was the Archbishop of Athens, whither my husband was thrice summoned to take occasional duty in the absence of the Chaplain there on leave. The attitude of the whole Greek Church was then, as now, entirely cordial to the Anglican Communion; and I think they were pleasantly surprised at the affectionate respect shown by the young English Priest. This had been inspired by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln. Whenever the Diary records anything specially interesting there follows before long: "Wrote to the Bp. of Lincoln." There are from time to time notes of dealings with Father Antonio, the R.C. Priest; always entirely friendly and cordial, but with no suggestion of combination or co-operation in worship between either Roman and Orthodox, or Anglican and Roman.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES

On October 12th the Association celebrated its sixty-third Anniversary, and this year the Service was held at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Bayswater, the authorities of which made us welcome with all their usual kindness and courtesy. The Metropolitan of Thyatira celebrated the Divine Liturgy assisted by the Great Archimandrite and the other Greek clergy, and in the presence of the Metropolitan Evlogie who came over from Paris expressly for our Anniversary. Fr. Behr and the Proto-deacon Theokritov also took part in the Liturgy, the latter singing the Gospel in Slavonic from the pulpit. The admirable choir of St. Sophia's was at its best, and it is impossible to exaggerate the beauty of the Service which will remain in our minds as an inspiration, and be remembered with gratitude. After the Liturgy the Exarch addressed the people, in Greek, upon the ideals of Reunion.

A luncheon followed at the Coburg Court Hotel, at which Dr. Gore presided, and some thirty guests were present to entertain the Orthodox Prelates and clergy. Toasts were proposed and responded to, and all present were conscious of experiencing that sense of fellowship and unity about which the speeches were being made. The happy atmosphere was continued in the afternoon at Sion College, where tea was served and members of the Association

and their friends met and talked to each other and made purchases at the stall of Ikons and Crosses and other articles from Orthodox countries. At 5 o'clock the Annual business meeting took place, elections were held and the Secretary and Treasurer made their reports.

It was a crowded room which at 5.30 welcomed the Bishop of London, Anglican President of the Association, to preside over the Public Meeting. The respectful affection which the Bishop always inspires was the more evident from the fact that he had been indisposed and ran some risk to health by keeping his engagement that evening.

After the Chairman's opening words of welcome to the Greek and Russian Metropolitans, Dr. Waggett, S.S.J.E. addressed the meeting upon the strength of Orthodoxy and the glory of its rôle in history. He was followed by the Bishop of Guildford who struck a more sombre note and warned us that much work lay ahead before the goal of unity could be reached, the greatest difficulty being perhaps the diversities within the Anglican Community itself. The Metropolitan Germanos also made a brief speech and the Metropolitan Evlogie spoke some moving words upon the distressed condition of the Russian Church.

The Bishop of London moved the following resolution from the Chair :—

" That the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association desires to draw public attention to the persistent oppression of religion in Russia by the Soviet Government as evidenced by the retention of Article 121 of its Criminal Code, whereby the religious instruction of minors under 18 years of age is penalized as a criminal offence worthy of six months' hard labour; and by the continued imprisonment or internment in Siberia or elsewhere of Bishops and Clergy of the Russian Church.

The Association further expresses its warm admiration for the fidelity of the Russian clergy and laity to their Faith under cruel persecution and harsh repression and urges all English Christians to render them every moral and material support in their power."

The Resolution was carried unanimously, and the meeting was closed with the Bishop's blessing.