



The Christian East

*A Quarterly Review devoted to the
Study of the Eastern Churches*

EDITED BY THE

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CONTENTS

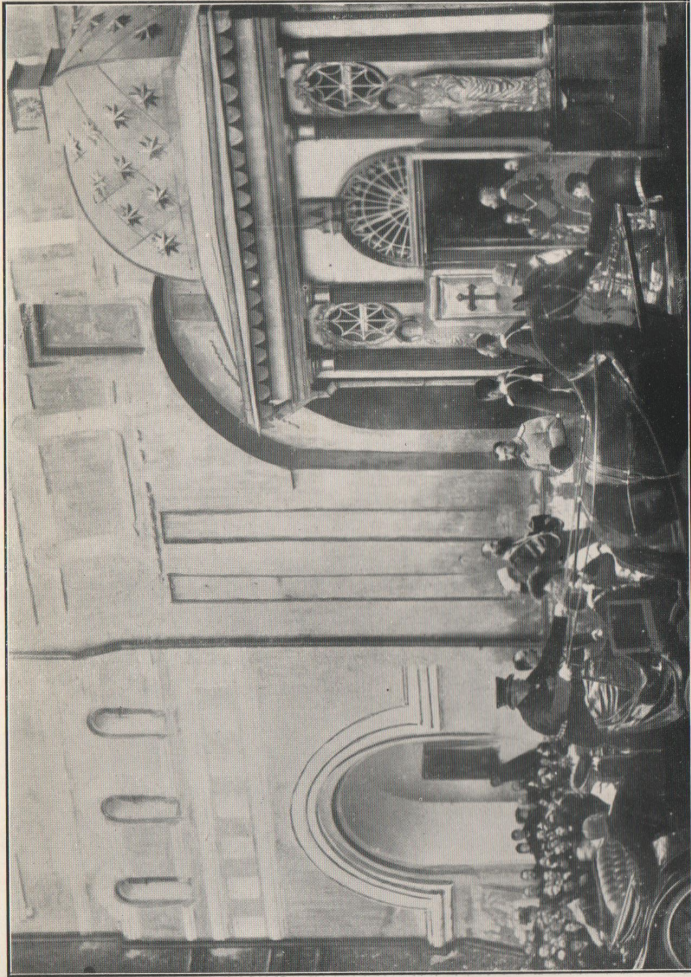
| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| No. 1. | |
| OUR FRONTISPIECE | 1 |
| THE PATRIARCH DMITRI.. .. . | 1 |
| THE RÔLE OF THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE IN HISTORY.—By THE MOST REVD. THE METROPOLITAN OF THYATIRA | 2 |
| THE GRAND DUCHESS ELISABETH.—By ARCHBISHOP ANASTASY | 20 |
| CHRISTIAN EAST MEETS CHRISTIAN WEST.—By DR. D. A. LOWRIE | 31 |
| MISSIONARY WORK OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.—By THE REVD. N. BEHR | 36 |
| THE STORY OF THE RED WAR UPON RELIGION.—By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, Ph.D. | 41 |
| FORBIDDEN BELLS | 46 |
| A. AND E.C.A. NOTES | 47 |
| No. 2. | |
| THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION TO THE LAMBETH CON- FERENCE OF 1930.—By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, Ph.D. .. | 49 |
| LAMBETH CONFERENCE, 1930 | 64 |
| PREVIOUS LAMBETH CONFERENCES AND THE ORTHO- DOX EAST | 73 |
| PROTESTANTISM.—By THE REVD. HUBERT S. BOX, B.D. .. | 85 |
| THE NEW LAW OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.— By PROF. D. S. MARITCH.. .. . | 88 |
| OUR BOOKSHELF | 89 |

| No. 3. | PAGE |
|---|------|
| THE PURPORT OF THE RECENT ORTHODOX DELEGATION.—By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D. | 97 |
| THE GENERAL POSITION OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES AT THE PRESENT TIME.—By DR. STEFAN ZANKOV | 127 |
| THE FUNERAL OF THE SERBIAN PATRIARCH, DMITRI | 131 |
| RUSSIANS CONFER ON CHRISTIAN CULTURE.—By DR. DONALD A. LOWRIE | 134 |
| THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE AND NATIONALITIES.—By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D. | 140 |

| No. 4. | |
|---|-----|
| THE LIMITS OF AGREEMENTS REACHED BY THE ORTHODOX DELEGATES TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE. By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D. | 145 |
| THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS ON THE DELEGATION'S VISIT.—TRANSLATED BY CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D. | 181 |

| | |
|--|----|
| THE HISTORY OF THE MOST REVEREND THE METROPOLITAN OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF CHERCASIA.—By ANTHONY LOWRIE | 20 |
| CHRISTIAN EAST MEETS CHRISTIAN WEST.—By DR. D. A. LOWRIE | 31 |
| MISSIONARY WORK OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.—By REV. N. BURN | 38 |
| THE STORY OF THE RED WAR UPON RELIGION.—By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D. | 41 |
| FORBIDDEN BILLS | 46 |
| A AND E.C.A. NOTES | 47 |

| No. 5. | |
|--|----|
| THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF 1880.—By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D. | 49 |
| LAMBETH CONFERENCE 1880 | 64 |
| PREVIOUS LAMBETH CONFERENCES AND THE ORTHODOX EAST | 73 |
| PROTESTANTISM.—By the Revd. Henry S. Holt, B.D. | 85 |
| THE NEW LAW OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.—By Prof. D. S. MARITCH | 88 |
| OUR BOOKSHELF | 89 |



“ THE IVERSKY SHRINE ”
With acknowledgments to *The Morning Post*.

The Christian East

OUR FRONTISPIECE.

OUR frontispiece is a photograph of the late Tsar Nicholas II. returning to his carriage after visiting the Iversky Shrine.

A striking instance both of Bolshevik anti-religious frightfulness and of Bolshevik vandalism is to be found in the recent destruction of this beautiful little building which stood by the gate of the Red Square outside the Kremlin at Moscow.

Iveria is the old Greco-Russian name for Georgia and the Shrine had its name because it housed an extremely ancient ikon, reputed to have been the work of St. Luke, which was once the peculiar treasure of the Georgian Nation and was brought to Russia for the Georgian Monastery at Mt. Athos in 1648.

The Iversky Shrine to which the Iversky ikon was brought with great ceremony by the Tsar Alexis and the Patriarch Nikon in 1669 and which was reconstructed by Alexander I. in 1791, was dear for its associations to the whole Russian Nation. Devout or otherwise, no Russian from the Tsar to the peasant would pass it without saluting it as we salute the Whitehall Cenotaph. Many recent visitors to Moscow have noted how though the Soviet had placed near it the inscription, Religion is the opiate of the people, that practice had continued to be observed even by soldiers of the Red Army.

THE PATRIARCH DMITRI.

IN the person of the aged Patriarch of Serbia, another of the great figures who witnessed and helped to guide the transition from Old Serbia to Yugo-Slavia has passed away. Through all the distresses, perplexities and triumphs which accompanied that change, he retained his place in the affections of his people, and died as he had lived, one of the most popular men in Serbia. And if they loved him, he on his side never lost touch and sympathy with the labouring peasantry from whom he was himself sprung. In the course of his ministerial life of sixty years he was Bishop of Skoplye and from 1905 Archbishop of Belgrad. It was, therefore, during his occupancy of the archiepiscopal throne of Belgrad that the Serbian Theological Students were sent to England and trained at Oxford. He himself visited this country in 1919. The political amalgamation which formed the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, was followed in 1922 by a corresponding achievement of ecclesiastical unity, and Archbishop Dmitri became Patriarch of the restored Serbian Patriarchate. The late Patriarch regarded the Anglican Church with real friendship, and the many Anglicans who knew him will learn of his death with deep regret.—R.I.P.

THE RÔLE OF THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE IN HISTORY.

By THE MOST REVEREND THE METROPOLITAN OF THYATIRA.

MOST of the present-day works on Byzantium, its history, its art, its philology, and in general, its civilization successfully refute the disparaging view of Byzantium and the Byzantines so long held in the West. They emphasize the importance of a State, which was, for a whole millennium, the champion of Christian civilization in the East, and the West's first line of defence against the inroads of Asiatic barbarism.

But while this is true as regards the Byzantine State, it cannot, as yet, be maintained that full justice has been done to the rôle played by the Orthodox Church as a civilizing agent in the Byzantine State itself, and as a force which ever radiated the light of the Christian Faith. There are exceptions, exceptions worthy of the highest praise—and, in this connection, I wish especially to mention the recent works of Professor Baynes and Mr. Robert Byron—the unbiassed researches of some historians are now beginning to assess at its true value the unbroken link of collaboration between the Byzantine State and the Church of Constantinople and especially the latter's missionary task. There are many reasons which have contributed to the overlooking of this fact. First, the bitterness which, since the Schism, has prevailed between East and West, and the contempt for the Eastern Church, and especially its head, the Patriarch of Constantinople, since the Patriarchate was the chief opponent of Rome's tendencies towards Re-union, or, more strictly, absorption. Secondly, the ignorance of Eastern Orthodox affairs manifested, especially by Continental Protestantism, which, while turning its attention to the investigation of the beginnings of Christianity, to which it wished to link the Reformation, neglected to study the essential nature of the Orthodox Church, regarding it as a withered branch of Christianity, bereft of life and power. To this erroneous conception of the Orthodox Church, there was another contributory factor. Whereas the Roman Church, the Anglican, and Protestantism show rivalry in their endeavours to gain for Christ the peoples of the earth, by the organization and continued support of missionaries in all parts of the world, the Orthodox East can now show no similar activity. For this reason it is wrongly concluded that the Orthodox Church in principle does not approve of the missionary movement. On the one hand, the dire circumstances in which it finds itself are not taken into account, nor, on the other, are the services it rendered in the past to the Christianization of the world. But, besides the missionary work of the Orthodox Church, and, especially, the Church of Constantinople, we do not consider that

sufficient praise has been given for the struggle, as honourable as it was arduous, which the Patriarchate of Constantinople maintained in keeping intact the Christianity of the peoples who suffered the cataclysm of the Asiatic invasion. National antipathies among the Balkan races which regained their freedom from the earlier half of the past century have often been instrumental in arming hand and pen against that Church, which, like a Mother, watched over and cared for them in the most critical hours of their history, and this prejudice was supported by many people in the West. It has become necessary to remove the obscurity that envelops the activities of the Church of Constantinople during the period after the Capture.

We must pass beyond the region of human omissions and human imperfections which beset every organization, in order to perceive the glory of the Orthodox Church, which, by its steadfastness and untiring energy preserved the Christian faith and Christian civilization of the nations beneath its sway, and led them to the fulfilment of their historic destinies. It is to these two spheres of activity in the Church of Constantinople that I wish to direct attention. First, however, I should like to say a few words about the evolution and development of the Patriarchate of Constantinople as the principal agent of Christianity and civilization in the East.

A.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Orthodox Church, while steadfastly believing that the three orders, of Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon, derive their origin from Our Lord and the Apostles, that is, that they exist by Divine Ordinance, holds that the administrative system of the Church is a product of historical evolution, that is, that it exists by ecclesiastical Law. As is well known from early times, a certain supremacy of the Bishops of capitals of Provinces over the other Bishops of the See was recognized, the former being also called Primi or Metropolitans. Again, among these, with the lapse of time, the Bishops of important centres acquired a pre-eminent position, such being Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, especially from the time when Constantine the Great divided the Roman Empire into divisions, and these divisions into Provinces and Departments. These Archbishops, called Exarchs or Primi, were the first to have the authority to ratify the election of, and to consecrate the Metropolitans of the Provinces, and to preside at their Synods. The rights of these Exarchs were confirmed by the 1st Œcumenical Synod in its 6th Canon; the same Synod elevated especially the Exarchs of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. Following in the footsteps of the 1st Synod, the 2nd Œcumenical Synod, in its 3rd Canon, promoted the Bishop of Byzantium, who till then was subject to the Exarch of Heráclea, to be an Exarch, and granted him the priority of honour after the Bishop of Rome in that Constantinople is "New Rome." The rights of the

Exarchs were thus consecrated, and ecclesiastical custom began to grant them the titles of Patriarch in the East, and "Pope" in the West, although the Patriarch of Alexandria was called, as he is still called, "Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria." But the position of the Patriarch of Constantinople as Bishop of the new capital of the Empire did not merely release him from subservience to the Exarch of Heraclea, but also gradually contributed to the extension of his authority over the neighbouring dioceses of Pontus, Asia and Thrace. This extension advanced so rapidly that the 4th Synod, of Chalcedon, confirming his Episcopal Honours as equal to those of Rome, subjected to the Throne of New Rome the aforementioned Dioceses, as also the Bishops of barbarian countries, and granted him judicial authority over their Metropolitans. Thus, at the end of the sixth century the Throne of Constantinople included the Province of Pontus with 13 Metropolies and 67 Bishops, the Province of Asia with 13 Metropolies and 262 Bishops, the Province of Thrace with 5 Metropolies and 36 Bishops, and the barbarian lands of the Alani, the Goths, the Colchi and the Avazgi with their Bishops.

What was the relation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to the Patriarchates of the East, and the only Patriarchate of the West, Rome? The interval of 200 years between the first recognition of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the 4th Œcumenical Synod, consolidated the position of the Patriarch of Constantinople as the first Patriarch of the East. The remaining Eastern Patriarchates lost their former power and authority very early because extensive portions of their dioceses were lost to them through theological dissensions. They saw their power still further diminished from the time when the countries over which their authority extended came under the sway of the Arabs. But in spite of this internal supremacy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the polity of the Orthodox Church remained constitutional; the Patriarch of Constantinople was considered merely *primus inter pares*, in contradistinction to the tendency of the Popes of Rome to concentrate into their hands supremacy over the whole Church. The Pope of Rome, both in previous periods, and especially from the time of the 4th Œcumenical Synod at every opportunity, by word and deed, claimed not merely a supremacy in dignity, "priority of honour," but also administrative and judicial authority over all the Bishops, not even, of course, excepting Constantinople. It was, therefore, inevitable that he should meet with opposition to his claims, from the Patriarch of Constantinople. The latter, relying on the decisions of the 2nd, and, especially, of the 4th Œcumenical Synod, insisted on his title to equality in rank and honour with the Bishops of Old Rome, holding that the latter had not jurisdiction over the whole Church, merely having a titular position and entitled to priority of honour. This title of "Œcumenical" which Justinian had, in 587, accorded to

John Nistefes, and which Rome opposed with such insistence, with its *servus servorum dei*, signifies, as is well known, nothing else than that the Bishop of New Rome, as the capital of the "*Oikoumene*," is also "Œcumenical" Bishop. But besides this dissension as to the significance of the primacy, the East and the West were divided as to its source and origin. While, that is, according to the commonly prevailing principles in the East, the authority and order in rank of the Bishops are fixed by the position and political greatness of the various cities, and it frequently happens that when a city increases in political importance, its ecclesiastical importance increases simultaneously, *e.g.*, from an Episcopate to a Metropolis, in Rome the idea was prevalent that only the apostolic origin of a Church can bestow on it supremacy over the others. The position occupied by the Pope of Rome in Christendom was, of course, for many reasons exceptional. Not only was Rome the capital of the Roman Empire during the first centuries A.D., but also its Bishops were at a great advantage in comparison with those of Constantinople. For whereas, on account of his close relations with the Byzantine Court, the Patriarch of Constantinople was sometimes a prey to, and the instrument of, its arbitrary methods, the Bishop of Rome, by reason of the geographical distance, rarely came under its influence, especially after the secession of the Western Empire, and its subsequent dissolution. Whereas the East was disturbed by various heresies, in the West under the leadership of Rome, complete unity of faith prevailed. For this reason, those who were at strife with the East, turned towards Rome asking it to decide in their favour, and those who were pursued by the East fled to Rome's protection. And, as was inevitable, those who looked to Rome for redemption, vied with one another in extolling the apostolic nature and authority of Rome's Bishops, and fortuitously encouraged the tendencies of the Popes to Monarchy in the Church. Finally, whereas in the East, more than one Church could boast of its apostolic origin, in the West, Rome was the only Apostolic Church, its origin, indeed, being traced back to the chief apostles, Peter and Paul. And since the Bishop of Rome is the successor of Peter, it is obvious that the Pope of Rome is the head of the Bishops and the whole Church!

From the moment when the Exarch of Rome extended his primacy as a primacy of jurisdiction over the whole of the West, and claimed the power of imposing this jurisdiction over the East also, the clash between Rome and Constantinople was inevitable. Already the differing spiritual evolution of the two great sections of Christianity, the result of their geographical separation, was bringing about their gradual alienation, which was aided also by the difference of language. This opposition of the Church of Rome to that of Constantinople, which arose from the above causes, manifested itself for many centuries, and became especially bitter in the ninth century. The

struggle between Pope Nicholas and the Patriarch Photius, in spite of dogmatic differences and idiosyncrasies, utilized as arguments, was chiefly a contest centering round this question : Whether the all-embracing monarchy of the Popes in the West was to prevail in the East also, or whether the two Churches should, distinct and divided from one another, follow separate courses in the fulfilment of their mission in the world. And this contest was decided in favour of the second alternative, in the ninth century already, although the interruption of all inter-communion of the two Churches was not complete till 1054 A.D., when the relative excommunications were made by both sides. The resultant division still further showed the Patriarchate of Constantinople as the main ecclesiastical centre in the East. But before this, even, the Church of Constantinople had proved itself the power which not only brought to Christ the barbarian peoples living inside the Byzantine Empire, but spread the Christian faith among the hordes which surrounded the Byzantine State on East, North and West, and helped them to take their place among the community of civilized nations. How this was brought about will be seen by a brief review of the missionary work of the Church of Constantinople.

B.—THE MISSIONARY WORK OF THE CHURCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

1. *Within the Byzantine Empire.* Whoever studies the ethnological composition of the Eastern Empire after its secession from the Western, cannot but admit that, in spite of the wide prevalence of the Christian Faith in it, there was need for missionary work. The effacing of the last traces of idolatry on the one hand, and the proselytizing of the barbarians recently settled in its Western provinces on the other, constituted the main concern of the Church of Constantinople. The Slav incursions not only disturbed the other phases of internal life of that section of the Byzantine Empire, but also upset the existing ecclesiastical organization and order to such a degree that for two centuries the Church in those parts was fighting for its existence and in doing so showed an unparalleled strength and activity. The Church of Constantinople, notwithstanding the wounds it received from these incursions, was able, by a long and laborious endeavour, not only to re-establish that section ecclesiastically on the basis of the Episcopates then remaining, but also to undertake missionary work and spread the Christian faith among the newcomers with an unshakable zeal. Although we cannot follow, step by step, the historical processes of this work ; yet we know that among the measures taken were the consolidation of the remaining Episcopates, which, with the surviving local populations, formed hopeful oases in those parts. The foreign names of the Episcopates which we meet with in the still surviving " Catalogues of Episcopates " demonstrate the intelligence and broadness of outlook

which the Church of Constantinople showed in the work undertaken, and in overcoming the crisis that had arisen. Wherever the existing Episcopates were not numerous enough for the religious needs of the Christianized peoples, new ones were established, which, be it noted, were quite free from national prejudices or preconceptions. And while it is obvious that, by these new establishments, the jurisdiction of the old existing ones was circumscribed, the holders of these made no protests nor opposition, but obediently accepted whatever contributed to the promotion of the interests of the whole flock and the fulfilment of the Church's purpose on earth. Therefore, it is in no way paradoxical that the Slavs of the Byzantine Empire, enjoying full religious and linguistic freedom, had no desire to exchange the Byzantine yoke for any other, even that of a kindred race. " All that the Byzantine Empire and the Church of Constantinople did," says a modern historian, " to bring these barbarians to Christ, and to give them civilization, constitutes one of the most beautiful chapters of its history."

2. *Outside the Byzantine Empire.* But, much more important than the successes which attended the missionary efforts of the Church of Constantinople within the boundaries of the Empire, were its successes beyond these. To the East, Armenia, although it originally received Christianity from Cæsarea in Cappadocia through Gregory Photistis, owing to its proximity to the Byzantine Empire necessarily came under the spiritual influence of the Church of Constantinople. How profitable was this influence, is shown by the great ecclesiastical position, paralleled by its rich literary production, which it maintained from the fourth to the seventh century. Its lapse into Monophysitism, however much it curtailed the inter-communion of the two Churches, never removed the deep sentiment of kinship and sympathy between them. The wars attempted against the Persians in the times of the Byzantine Emperors, which resulted in the liberation of the Armenians, are admitted to be due to the recommendations of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, who were eager to preserve Christianity in that country. And just as it was from Constantinople that the apostle of India and Southern Arabia, Theophilus, started, so to Constantinople is due the Christianization of the Huns and Goths towards the North by Ulfilas, who set out from Cappadocia, but was ordained Bishop in Constantinople. Learning their language, and translating into it the Holy Gospel, he was able to christianize all the Goths beyond the Ister. Their lapse into Arianism was the occasion for St. Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, to make every effort to bring them back to the fold by means of preachers, chosen from the Goths themselves, and trained by himself. To the Goths he himself often preached through interpreters. And, although for long they remained faithful to Arianism and even attracted to it other peoples of the West, yet to the

persecutions and martyrdoms of to-day is clear proof that that Church is worthy of having inherited not only the faith, but also the sufferings of the much-tried Church of Constantinople.

Such, in brief, was the missionary work of the Church of Constantinople. Behind it was a long and glorious tradition of struggle on behalf of the Christian Faith; it was allied to an Empire which formed a mighty bulwark of civilization round it, and was established in a city, in which flourished Letters and Science and where there were unbounded means for activity. In such surroundings, the Church of Constantinople was, in effect, the power which guided those who had returned to the path of Christian civilization. No one, of course, will deny that the Byzantine State also promoted the spread of Christianity both among those within its boundaries, and among the neighbouring races, in so far as this Christianization contributed to the consolidation of the Empire internally, and, externally, to an easier *rapprochement* with the peoples surrounding and threatening it. But, as Dr. Dvornik says, "it is an error, and an error that is committed even at the present day, to imagine the Church of Byzantium as, in principle, indifferent to all external activity." On the contrary, we have to discern in it at all times a living organism, which at times shows amazing industry and which never ceases to radiate its influence on the races that border on the Empire. And, in this it succeeded, thanks to the liberal spirit which influenced its dealings with foreign peoples. The Church of Constantinople converted into an inalienable right the principle that peoples which have gained their political emancipation, are entitled to independence of ecclesiastical administration, as long as the Christian Faith is not thereby imperilled. Likewise, the Church of Constantinople, in maintaining Greek as the liturgical language, that is the language of its people, at the same time permitted its missionaries not only to translate the Gospels and the Ecclesiastical writings into the language of the peoples with whom they consorted, but also, when, as often happened, they had invented the alphabet of their language, to become the founders of the national philology. "The Church of Byzantium," says Charles Diehl, "showed itself tolerant and liberal-minded; it realized that it must respect both persons and nations."

C.—THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE THE LEGAL DEFENDER OF THE ENSLAVED CHRISTIANS.

But, if it is to the Church of Constantinople that we owe the spread of Christianity among the peoples of the East, it is to its strength and activity that we owe the preservation of their Christianity at the time when the flood of Asiatic barbarism overran the Byzantine

lands and carried along in its wake the Balkan races which in the meantime had evolved into political independence. Just as, in other matters, the Patriarchate of Constantinople was indissolubly bound up with the Byzantine Empire, so, too, its jurisdiction was increased or decreased in proportion to the expansion or contraction of this Empire, that is, it followed the fortunes of the Empire. Although, in the beginning, the Arabic conquests subjected only the other Patriarchates in the East, in the few centuries before the Capture, the evil spread to the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire, when very many of the Metropolies were removed from the catalogue of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, after their populations had either been destroyed or had turned to Islam. And, even when they were preserved, as in the case of a few Christian communities in the East, the bond of union with the centre became, if not impossible, very difficult to maintain, owing to a lack of immediate communication. And the evil was transferred to Europe when the Turks crossed the Hellespont, and the strongholds of Byzantium began to fall one after the other until the fatal day when Constantinople itself fell. The fall of Constantinople, which for a thousand years had been the Acropolis of Christian civilization in the East, did not mean to the Patriarchate the secession of this or that section, but the complete enslavement of its whole area beneath a foreign and un-Christian yoke. The condition of the Orthodox Church, during this period, bears a great similarity to that of the Church during the first centuries. But just as the early church, in spite of all persecutions, succeeded in preserving the flame of Christianity, and at the proper time in spreading it further, so, too, the Church of Constantinople in the midst of unheard-of sufferings, and bloodshed, contrived to maintain intact the faith of its children, and to contribute to their spiritual and national regeneration. We do not turn a blind eye to the dark spots of its history, unfortunate concomitants of adverse circumstances and human imperfections, but neither are we justified in disregarding the shining light which, radiating from this Church, pierced the dark horizon of slavery. The Orthodox Church of Constantinople thus proved to be the stronghold of Eastern Christendom. How this came about is the other point I wish to deal with.

Although discussion about the reasons which moved the Conqueror to recognize a kind of autonomy among the subjected Christians, in granting them special privileges, has not yet ended, it is certain that the so-called privileges were nothing new, that is, they do not appear for the first time after the fall of Constantinople. These privileges in relation to the religion and religious head of the subjected peoples, were conceded at various periods, though not in so official a form, by the Arab invaders, to the Christians of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt. This concession was due to the

liberal spirit of the Church of Constantinople are due the establishment of an independent Gothic language, to meet the religious needs of the novices, and the other gifts of Christian civilization, which, when they themselves had received them, they passed on to the peoples of the West.

On a scale similar to these activities was the later Christianization of the Chazari, who were settled in the South of modern Russia between the Volga and the Sea of Azov, and of the barbarian peoples around the Euxine. Three different civilizations represented by three religions, Islam, Judaism and Christianity, were there vying with one another for supremacy. The Hassan of the Chazari, who was on friendly terms with Byzantium, sent, in 861, a mission to request that someone capable of expounding the Christian Faith and defending it against the Jews and Saracens, should come to them as envoy. Such a one, on the recommendation of the Patriarch Photius, was chosen, the philosopher of Salonica, Constantine, who had formerly distinguished himself in a like mission to the Arabs, and who combined in his person great theological culture with a singular power of philosophical dialectic. Accompanied by his brother, Methodius, and a numerous following, he learnt the language of the Chazari in Cherson, the neighbouring Byzantine town, before arriving in the country of the Chazari. There he championed the Christian Faith at the appointed conference with such acuteness and such persuasiveness that the leader of the Chazari granted permission to all those of his subjects who wished to be baptized, and in a letter to the Emperor which the philosopher Constantine brought back with him on his return, he expressed the desire to be baptized himself. After the auspicious event of this mission the work of further Christianizing the Chazari was entrusted to the Bishop of Cherson by the Church of Constantinople.

This Christianization, however (which acquired importance on account of the influence which this people exercised on the Slav populations around, when it had helped to shake off the yoke of the Avars) forms one part only of a great scheme for bringing back to Christ all the barbarian peoples living round the Euxine. The Patriarch Photius, to whom belongs the honour of initiating this scheme, sent envoys to many of the districts bordering on the Euxine, and was successful in spreading the Christian Faith. Thus, in a letter to Bishop Antonius, of Sarmatia, he points out that the former "Inhospitable See" had, by the dissemination of the Gospel, become hospitable and pious; while at the great Synod of Constantinople of 879, there were present two Bishops from the Euxine, Luke, Bishop of the Bosphorus, and Paul, Bishop of Cherson. The pupil of Photius, Nicholas the Mystic, on becoming Patriarch, continued the policy of his master, and undertook to restore to Christ

the neighbouring races of the Chazari, the Avazgi and Alani. Certainly, the return of the mass of the Russian people came later. But already, at that period, the Patriarch Photius, writing to the Patriarchs of the East, recalls with pleasure the fact which he considered his greatest success, that those of the Russians who had been christianized, sought and received their Bishop from Constantinople.

From the proximate North, the attention of Constantinople was soon turned to the North-West, to Moravia. There the first seeds of Christianity had been sown by Germany, at the time when Moravia was under the dominion of Charlemagne, as is witnessed by the existence there of communities belonging to the Bishoprics of Salzburg and Passau. But, in the main, the Christianization of the Moravians is due to the endeavours of Constantinople.

In 862 a delegation was sent by the chief of the Moravians, Ratislav, to Constantinople to ask for missionaries who would have a knowledge of the people's language.

What was the reason for this preference? In the first place, Byzantium, at that time, was to the eyes of the still barbaric West, a great representative of Christian civilization and faith.

Next, Ratislav, after organizing the political machinery of his country, wished to organize it ecclesiastically also, with the aid of a Bishop knowing the language and thus able to catechize the people. Finally, by this move, perhaps, he sought to free his country from the political intrigues to which the missionaries from Germany, coming at the head of legions, resorted.

The choice again fell on the two brothers from Salonica, who, knowing the Slav language (for they had invented its alphabet and already translated into it some evangelical lessons) had experience of missionary work from their previous missions. Intelligent, energetic, initiated not only in the language but also in the mentality of the people among whom they worked, it was not long before they overcame the opposition of the clergy, Latins and Franks, who surrounded Ratislav, already a Christian. This opposition was directed first of all towards the Slavonic language, into which the new missionaries translated the Holy Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical writings. The anonymous biographer of Constantine picturesquely describes his struggle. "He strove with them like David with the Gentiles. He overcame them with the words of Holy Writ, calling the champions of the three languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, in which alone, according to their convention, God should be praised, disciples of Pilate, since Pilate ordered the inscription on the Cross to be in those three languages." But the opposition was directed also towards not only the language, but also its content, since the missionaries of the Slav, while following the Latin form of Liturgy, to which the Moravians were used, translated the Prayer Book and

the other Ecclesiastical Books from the Greek originals. It would take too long to dwell upon further details of this mission (the brothers' journey to Rome for the discussions that took place there about the language of the Liturgy, upon their victory, and upon the recognition, after Constantine's death, of Methodius as Archbishop, not only of Moravia but also of Pannonia which likewise was christianized by them). What interests us is this, that in the same way as the Moravians, the Pannonians, the Bohemians, the Hungarians and the Poles, received the light of the Gospel from Constantinople and from missionaries sent from there. But the subsequent German domination, and the inroad of Rome into these countries, effaced every trace of Eastern worship and Slavonic liturgical language.

But more immediate still was the interest of the Church of Constantinople in the christianization of the Bulgars, their close neighbours. Having settled down in Mysia and Thrace, and mingled with the Slavs, already established there, they formed a strong kingdom. Undoubtedly, the first seeds of Christianity were sown among them by the prisoners they brought from Byzantium, among whom were numbered Bishops and Priests. But the systematic christianization of the Bulgars dates from 863, when their leader Boris, defeated by the Byzantine armies, and judging that the christianization of his people was necessary, applied to Constantinople for missionaries. The Patriarch Photius sent these immediately, and soon after Bulgaria, following the example of its leader, received the Christian faith.

But, while Boris easily quelled a revolt of the party which inclined to idolatry, at the same time he turned towards Rome, wishing to rid himself of Byzantine influence. This move, which had the result of making even more tense the relations between Rome and Constantinople, was brought to nothing the moment Boris, deluded in his expectations from Rome, turned again to Constantinople. It is easily intelligible that this orientation of the Church in Bulgaria towards Constantinople was final. The charm of the Byzantine Liturgy, the magnificence of its ecclesiastical ceremonies, the beauty of the wonderful Byzantine Churches exercised such an influence over the novices that the Bulgars could not bring themselves to break away.

But, besides this, all Bulgaria came under the radiation of Byzantine civilization. Byzantium sent to Bulgaria not only Bishops and Priests but also teachers and artists and architects, and in Byzantium many of the young Bulgarians completed their studies.

From the time especially when the pupils of Methodius, expelled from Moravia after his death, entered Bulgaria by way of Constantinople, and introduced the Slavonic translation of Holy Writ, the Divine Liturgy and the other ecclesiastical books, the Bulgarian

Church continued to be a spiritual offspring of the Church of Constantinople, even after acquiring its independence.

And not this alone, but also, as Dr. Dvornik says, "Bulgaria, Slav in language and Byzantine in spirit was to serve in the dissemination of the Byzantine spirit among the other Slavs, the Serbs and the Russians."

Above all the preceding endeavours of the Church of Constantinople, is the christianization of the Russians. However early the seeds of Christianity had been sown in Southern Russia (for Leo the Wise calls Russia the diocese of the Throne of Constantinople), the christianization of the mass of the Russian people took place under Vladimir in 987. Vladimir had heard of Christianity from his grandmother Olga, who was baptized in Constantinople. While, however, he was wavering between the different religions which sought to proselytize him, he sent ten Boyars who, after visiting various religious centres, came to Constantinople. Entering the Cathedral of Saint Sophia at the moment when the Patriarch was celebrating the Divine Liturgy in the presence of the Emperor, they were so amazed by the beauty of the Holy Service that on returning home they persuaded Vladimir to accept his religion from Constantinople.

Innumerable clergy from Constantinople, accompanying the sister of the Emperor, Anna, consort of Vladimir, baptized the multitude in the streams of the River Boristhenes, after Vladimir had himself set the example.

From Kiev (which is justly regarded as the Jerusalem of Russia), Christianity was rapidly spread throughout Russia. Churches and schools were established everywhere on the pattern of their Byzantine counterparts; and the Slavonic translation of the Holy Gospel, Divine Liturgy and Ecclesiastical Books formed the basis not only of the ecclesiastical but also of the national culture of the Russians. In their conversion the Church of Constantinople performed its greatest achievement; it bestowed on a new people the treasures of its religious spirit and life, and thus facilitated the further spread of Christianity among many other peoples in the East.

For many centuries after this the Church of Constantinople continued to guide the newly-formed Church through the medium of the Metropolitans of Kiev, who were sent there from Constantinople. When the faith had been established in Russia and the internal administration consolidated, the Church of Russia gained its autonomy, and later its complete independence, but the bonds existing between the Mother Church of Constantinople and the great Daughter Church have remained close and unbroken down to present times.

The steadfastness in Faith, shown by the Church of Russia in the

theocratic character of the Moslem State and to the principle of the Koran, according to which the peoples which recognized the Bible, that is, Jews and Christians, must not be interfered with in the practice of their religion. And the Conqueror, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, applied the same rules to his new subjects, as were in use from the first appearance of Islam, with this difference, that for reasons of political expediency he gave them an official and solemn character. These privileges were, as is known, conferred on the first Patriarch after the Fall, Gennadius, after his election and presentation to the Sultan, according to the custom prevalent in Byzantine times. By these privileges the Patriarch is recognized as the spiritual head of clergy, laity, churches and monasteries and the administrator of their estates, which were declared exempt from taxation.

Simultaneously, the Patriarch acquired also a political status, being regarded as the ethnarch of the subjected Christians, and their official representative before the political authorities. And so, by a gradual process, there evolved a special *status quo* for the Christian peoples in Turkey, by which the Bishops in the provinces had a relation to the local authorities analogous to that of the Patriarch in Constantinople. And under the ægis of the Church, there was established the system of communities by which the leaders of each community constituted the Council of the Elders, which, with the local Bishops, were recognized by the political authorities as bodies representative of the Christians.

But this protection, willingly accorded by the Œcumenical Patriarchate, was brought into effect only after great struggles and sacrifices, of which the first victims were its clergy. Violence and arbitrariness often moved those in power to disregard their undertakings, while respect for freedom of conscience proved an empty word. The history of the years after the Capture, is a long and sustained series of outrages and humiliations upon the representatives of the Church, who were striving to prevent and thwart wholesale Islamization of the Christians. A writer of the seventeenth century describing this danger states that it threatened to erase the Christian name from Turkey in Europe.

The privileges of the Patriarchate, which had been so solemnly recognized by the Conqueror, came to be so disregarded that fifty Patriarchs were elevated and removed from the Throne within eighty years, and a long succession of other Patriarchs suffered all manner of violence. In this desperate struggle there are not lacking, perhaps, Patriarchs and Metropolitans who acted unwisely, who showed weakness and lack of steadfastness, who forgot their mission and became instruments of intrigue and material interests. But what do these few exceptions signify in the face of multitudes of

Bishops and clergy who, like good shepherds, offered even their lives on behalf of their flocks? And it is precisely owing to the self-sacrifice of its ministers that the Church succeeded while struggling with innumerable obstacles, in keeping alight the flame of Christianity in the hearts of the people. And not only this; it was the Church which worked so profitably for their spiritual culture, and led the peoples under its sway to a new autonomous political life.

Owing to the general spiritual decadence which followed the capture of Constantinople, the Church did not, during this period, produce theologians comparable to those who made its name famous in earlier periods of its history. In spite of this, no one can deny that the Church did produce men capable of preserving the special character of Eastern Christianity against the attempts made from outside to alienate this character. If one excepts certain Orthodox countries which were not reached, for reasons of a political nature, by the influence of the ecclesiastical centre in Constantinople, or, in which, if this influence was present, it had to face the weapons of propaganda employed by the political authorities, the Church of Constantinople can boast that only an insignificant number of those originally Orthodox migrated to the Roman Church, and a still more insignificant number to Protestantism. How vigorous was this struggle against foreign propaganda is testified by the history of the centuries subsequent to the Capture, and by the multitude of polemical and "apologetic" works which appeared during that period. The Church of Constantinople, a vigilant guardian of its trust, defended it stoutly by the publication of writings, by the calling of Synods, by Declarations of Faith, by Encyclicals directed against heresies and errors, and, above all, by the self-sacrifice of its shepherds. Only thus was it able, in spite of all the intervening difficulties, to preserve intact the Christian Faith and to hand it over to the Daughter Churches, which evolved their national independence after a servitude of many centuries.

The storm which broke over the East upon the capture of Constantinople was not confined only to the destruction of the political life of the peoples, but also brought the same destruction to their cultural achievement. Already one century after the Capture, education is described as being in a wretched state, inasmuch as, on the one hand, the Conqueror, through ignorance, destroyed all literary treasures, and the people were totally deprived of means for their development and education. This condition is noticed not only among those peoples whose civilization had taken place only a few centuries previously, but also among the Greek people, which had behind it, in addition to the ancient classical development, a long spiritual development combined with several renaissances at various

periods of the Byzantine State. Zygomalas in a letter to Crusius says: "I perceive that all good things have migrated from Hellenic parts to you . . . wisdom, the sciences, the finest arts, education and the remainder of the Graces' chorus; and the glory of the Hellenic Graces has been destroyed by a cruel age."

In the midst of this darkest Middle Age of the East, the Church, bringing security like a lighthouse, alone shone; since it was the Church alone which devoted itself to the cultivation of Letters. To this cultivation there contributed first of all the desire for the preservation of the Faith, which the Church regarded as indissolubly linked with the origins of Christianity, which, in its turn, it regarded as linked with the Greek language, in which Christianity had formulated its Doctrine and Worship. But the Church devoted itself to the study of its ancestral treasures, and for the additional reason that only by this study could it withstand the propagandists who came armed with all the intellectual weapons liberally provided for them by the previous Renaissance of Letters in the West. It is absolutely natural that this cultural development was, in its main part, Greek, since Greek was always the language of the Church of Constantinople, and the language prevalent in the East, to such an extent, indeed, that it was used even by the Conquerors in their diplomatic relations, which were carried on with foreigners through the medium of Greeks. And although this education was for the most part necessarily ecclesiastical and theological, yet it did not neglect the general studies and sciences, which were taught in the schools established in various towns of the Ottoman Empire. What must not, above all, be forgotten is this: that the principal and most generous source of help for purposes of education was the Church, which set aside for this work not only the revenue of its ecclesiastical estates, but even the subscriptions of its members which were specifically earmarked for the support of the clergy. When one examines the list of Higher Schools which were at that time in existence, one finds that the teachers are for the most part clergy while, for the so-called common schools, use was made of the narthex of each church, and the teacher was the incumbent of the parish. Moreover, just as it was the Church which, in times of crisis, thus preserved Letters among the subjected peoples, so it was this Church, which, in easier times, promoted their renaissance.

D.—THE CHURCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BALKAN NATIONS.

Although the primary purpose of the Church of Constantinople, as of every Church on earth, was always to bring about the regeneration of individuals and nations, and to lead them to a higher life, having

to do with the perfection of man, yet it did not neglect any means which might bring all Christians to a life of individual and national freedom.

Those who assume that it was possible for the Church of Constantinople to organize, from the beginning, a programme of activity, tending to the political emancipation of the Christian races, are proved to be ignorant of the circumstances in which this Church found itself, and the conditions of its every activity. The decentralization prevailing at that time in the Ottoman Empire was in many ways fatal to the interests of the Church; while the continuous disturbances in the Empire rendered it difficult if not impossible for the central government of the Church to be in close touch with the distant provinces.

Consequently, the only arrangement possible was this, that the local representatives of the Œcumenical Patriarchate should fulfil their duties conscientiously under every given circumstance. But did they do so, in the right spirit of impartiality? In our view, those who charge the Church of Constantinople with having shown a bias towards one nationality, that is, the Greek, are unmindful of many things; first of all, that the idea of nationalism which from the beginning of the nineteenth century assumes such importance in the life of the different peoples, had not, in the first three centuries after the Capture, yet replaced the idea of Christianity, or, since we are talking of the East, of Orthodoxy. Secondly, that the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which succeeded to the Byzantine Empire, however much it may have been called "Roman" by the Turks, and its component members "Romaioi," was in essence Greek, and its clergy for the most part Greeks, who carried on the Byzantine Traditions. Thirdly, that the other Balkan nationalities which, at a later date, were included in the Ottoman Empire, and still later even, within the realm of the Church of Constantinople, had, for approximately three centuries led an independent ecclesiastical life under their own Bishops or Patriarchs, and were only admitted within the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople when they realized that their isolation threatened their complete downfall. Finally, if some of the Church's representatives abused the advantage of their position, and, under pressure from their political superiors, exerted pressure on their flocks, this occurred not only in non-Greek parts, but also in Greek. "The isolated happenings must not be regarded as general," says Professor Sokolov, "besides, if we take into account the corrupting influence of the Turkish yoke, many of these happenings were not only intelligible, but also pardonable. The Œcumenical Patriarchate evokes admiration in that it bore with much self-sacrifice, the weary cross imposed on it by the inscrutable will of God." Another Russian writer says, "The privileges granted

by the Conqueror combined with the undoubted intellectual superiority of the Greeks over the neighbouring races of the Hæmus, who were inferior in education, contributed to the consolidation of the exceptional position of the Greeks. . . . The strength is amazing of this people who, by itself, was able to withstand the force of barbarism for so many centuries, and which, in the midst of its trials, was enabled, not only itself to be saved, but, for itself and the other Orthodox peoples, to preserve intact and immaculate the Faith which had been entrusted to its keeping." But what, perhaps more than anything else, tends to refute the charges brought against the Patriarchate on this point are the hostile criticisms made in opposition to the former point of view by a Greek historian, who condemns the Patriarchate for not having taken full advantage of the exceptional position of the Œcumenical Throne in order to Hellenize the Balkan peoples. "However much the Patriarch's status was restricted, and the privileges granted to him circumscribed, yet he was always the ecclesiastical and political leader of all the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire—Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs and Albanians. The duty of the Patriarchate was the strengthening of Hellenism by the dissemination of the language among those different races, that is, by their Hellenization. And the Patriarchate failed in its duty."

What is here considered a dereliction of duty, is in our opinion a proof that the Patriarchate in its guidance of the peoples within its dominion made no distinction between the different nationalities, although, in truth, it was, by origin and tradition, Hellenic.

Such then were the services which, for fifteen consecutive centuries, the Œcumenical Patriarchate rendered to the cause of Christianity in that sphere where it was appointed to work by God's providence. As the centre of a vigorous religious life and activity, not only did its spirit inform the various peoples, who were incorporated in the Byzantine Empire, but also it freely scattered the seed of the Gospel and gained millions of souls for Christ. Concentrating in itself great spiritual forces, it became the leader of Eastern Christendom in championing and proclaiming the Christian Faith. It was the Œcumenical Patriarchate which first developed and applied the principle, that every nation, as long as it preserves its unity with the whole Church in Faith and Order, is entitled to acquire ecclesiastical liberty and self-administration. Never exacting absolute supremacy over the whole Church, it always exerted the influence derived from its position on behalf of the Sister Churches which found themselves in unfavourable circumstances. By its liberal spirit it became the founder of countless Churches, and thus laid the foundations of the ecclesiastical, spiritual, philological and national development of the peoples of the East. And when, by the inscrutable will of God,

it fell to its lot to champion the Christian Faith and its children against the danger of Islam, it did so with devotion and self-sacrifice, and itself was the first to suffer persecution and outrage. It was the Patriarchate which was the Pole Star to which its children turned when seeking the direction of their steps; which kept alight the flame of spiritual and secular education; which was the loving Mother who nurtured her children with the hope of national emancipation. And when the nations, one after another, threw off the yoke of slavery and achieved a life of independence, the Patriarchate of Constantinople ungrudgingly submitted to every curtailment of its power; for with satisfaction it saw the daughter Churches, which it had begotten in the faith, rising up again like the Phoenix from its ashes. "He must increase, but I must decrease." (John, 3, 30.)

But the historical mission of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was not ended. After justifying, by means of life-long struggles, the spiritual and moral supremacy over the other Churches of the East (which had been assured to it by successive Synods), the Œcumenical Patriarchate to this day remains the spiritual head to which these Churches turn when seeking guidance and support.

And although it has suffered the greatest of trials, condemned to a new Babylonian Captivity, and by this has lost a large part of its position as the leader of the religious life and movement of the Churches of the East, it does not give in, but continues to wait in prayer and hope. The vigilant guardian of historical traditions, it hopes that once again it will lead Orthodoxy, which is now struggling for the adaptation of its administrative system to new historical conditions, and newly-arisen needs. Closely following the new spirit, which prevails throughout the post-war world, tending towards understanding and re-union, it hopes that it will be vouchsafed to it to guide the Orthodox peoples in this high purpose. Forming the meeting-point of two worlds, the East and the West, its hope is that to it will fall the lot to bring, a second time, the torch of the Gospel to the East, where, for two thousand years, it shed its light profusely. That is the reason why Christendom should retain undiminished its interest in the fortunes of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which is now humbled, but faces the future with every hope.

THE GRAND DUCHESS ELISABETH.

By ARCHBISHOP ANASTASY.

IT is not in the lifetime of every generation that such a blessing of heaven is vouchsafed to it as was the Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna to her epoch.* Her personality presented that rare blending of a lofty christian soul, nobility of character and tenderness of heart with a singularly refined and cultured mind. Hers was an extraordinarily delicate and many-sided spiritual organism. Her very outward appearance reflected the beauty and sublimity of her spirit; upon her brow lay the impress of inborn lofty dignity which set her far above her environment. Being extremely modest she would endeavour sometimes to pass unobserved, but this was impossible, for wherever she went the question could be applied to her: "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun?" (Song of Solomon, 6. 10.) It seemed as though she exhaled the pure fragrance of the lily. White was the colour she loved—was it not because it reflected the purity of her soul? Hers was a perfectly balanced nature in which no quality held unique preponderance over the other. Femininity was allied to strength of character; kindness did not degenerate into weakness and blind credulity; the gift of discrimination, so highly esteemed by ascetics, never forsook her even in the most spontaneous impulses of her heart. Perhaps these traits were in a measure due to her English education under the surveillance of her grandmother Queen Victoria. Her tastes and habits were distinctly English, just as English came more readily to her lips than her native German.

According to her own testimony, the Grand Duchess's spiritual development was strongly influenced by the example of St. Elisabeth of Thuringia or Hungary, who through her daughter, Sophia, became one of the founders of the House of Hesse. A contemporary of the Crusades, this wonderful woman was imbued with the spirit of her epoch. In her, deep piety was united to a self-sacrificing love towards her fellow-men. Her husband resented her charities as reckless spending and frequently ill-treated her. Left early a widow she led a wandering life of hardship and privation. Later when she was once more in a position to relieve the sick and suffering she devoted herself entirely to deeds of mercy. The profound veneration in which this saintly Princess was held by her contemporaries prompted the Roman Catholic Church to canonize her in the XIII century. The pure radiant image of this ancestress left a deep impression on the sensitive

* Before her marriage, Princess Elisabeth Louise Alexandra Alice, daughter of the Grand Duke of Hesse Ludwig IV, born 20th October, 1864.

childish soul of the little Princess Elisabeth and remained with her for life.

Her many natural gifts were enhanced by an excellent education which not only provided for her intellectual and artistic tastes, but added the practical knowledge so essential to women in the home. "The Empress (Alexandra Feodorovna, her younger sister) and I were taught everything as children," she said once in reply to a question as to how she came to be so proficient in housewifery.

Chosen to become the consort of the Grand Duke Sergius Alexandrovitch, the Grand Duchess arrived in Russia at a time when that country under the firm rule of Alexander III, imbued with a purely national spirit, had attained to the height of her power and prestige. With her customary thirst for knowledge and sensitive delicacy of feeling the youthful Grand Duchess set herself to study the national peculiarities of the Russian people, particularly their religion which has given such a profound impress to our national character and culture. She was soon subjugated by the beauty and inner spiritual richness of Orthodoxy, which she frequently contrasted with the hollow poverty of Protestantism. ("And yet they are so self-satisfied," she would add.)*

Moved by her own inner conviction the Grand Duchess resolved to join the Orthodox Church. When she told her husband of her decision, "tears involuntarily sprang to his eyes," recalled a member of their household. The Emperor Alexander III was also deeply moved, and after the ceremony of the holy Chrism blessed his sister-in-law with a precious ikon of the Saviour "*not made with hands*," (a copy of the miraculous ikon in the chapel of the Saviour in Petrograd) and which the Grand Duchess venerated all her life. Having thus entered into communion with our faith and through it with all that went to make the soul of the Russian, the Grand Duchess was truly entitled to address her husband in the words of Ruth the Moabite: "Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." (Ruth 1. 16.) The Grand Duke's long sojourn in Moscow where he occupied the post of Governor-General, and where he and his consort were in constant touch with our ancient holy places and traditions could not fail to draw the Grand Duchess still closer to her new country.

* Of her meetings with representatives of the Roman Church the Grand Duchess would sometimes recall her visit to Rome with the late Grand Duke shortly after the jubilee of Pope Leo XIII. The latter was well aware of Sergius Alexandrovitch's staunch Orthodox principles, but nevertheless held him personally in high esteem, having made his acquaintance during the Grand Duke's sojourn in Rome in his boyhood. Owing to such long-standing acquaintance the two were able to converse freely; they even started an argument as to the exact number of Popes who bore the name of Sergius. Neither of the exalted controversialists wished to give in, and the Pope finally resorted to the library for reference. He returned somewhat abashed.

"Pardon me," said Leo XIII with a smile, "though the Pope is considered to be infallible, this time he was mistaken."

Already she devoted much time to public charities, but this was looked upon as part of the duties of her high calling and no particular merit was attached to it.

The Grand Duchess had to pay the price of her position and take part in the social life of the capital, but even then she felt the burden of its vanities. The tragic death of the Grand Duke Sergius Alexandrovitch, torn to pieces by the explosion of a bomb thrown in the middle of the sacred Kremlin (near the Nicholas Palace where the Grand Duke had taken up his residence after resigning the post of Governor-General) produced a decisive change of heart in his consort and she retired completely from the world. The sublime spirit with which she bore this trial commanded universal admiration. She even found the moral courage to visit her husband's assassin, Kaliaiev, in prison, hoping to soften and regenerate his heart by her gentleness and forgiveness. The same christian sentiment was expressed as though in the name of the martyred Grand Duke in the touching inscription from the Gospel engraved upon the memorial cross erected on the spot where he met his death: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"

Not all, however, were capable of understanding and valuing the change worked in the Grand Duchess at its true worth. Only those who themselves had passed through such an overwhelming tragedy could realize the insecurity and delusion of wealth, fame and other earthly goods as taught us for centuries by the Gospel. The Grand Duchess's decision to dismiss her court and devote herself to the service of God and the poor appeared in the eyes of contemporary society as a rash and insane step. Waiving aside both the tears of her friends and the gossip and mockery of society, she bravely entered upon her chosen path. Though from the very outset she had mapped out for herself the perfect way, *i.e.*, the way of asceticism, her wisdom prompted her to begin the ascent of the ladder of Christian virtues by degrees.

She was no stranger to the rules of the founders of asceticism which laid down that beginners in Christian practices should learn the ways of life from others in order "not to be one's own teacher, and not to walk unguided in paths untrodden before, so as not to swerve from the right direction, to walk neither more nor less than needed, not to tire from quick running nor to fall asleep when at rest." (Hieronimus, *Letter to the monk Rusticus*.)

So she endeavoured to undertake nothing without the advice of "startsy" (aged monks of great spiritual experience) versed in spiritual matters, especially the "startsy" of the Zosima hermitage under whose guidance she implicitly placed herself. As her heavenly protectors she chose St. Sergius and St. Alexis;* to

* She also had great veneration for St. Seraphim of Sarov at whose canonisation festival she was present with the other members of the Imperial Family.

their special patronage she commended her departed consort, having interred his remains in a crypt of the Tchudov monastery (founded by St. Alexis) designed in the style of the early Roman catacombs. Her prolonged mourning for the Grand Duke when she retired as it were into the inner sanctuary of her soul and remained almost perpetually in church was the first natural barrier which separated her from her former surroundings. Her departure from the palace to the house she bought in Ordynka Street and where she reserved only two small rooms for her own personal use, signified a complete break with the past and the beginning of a new life.

Henceforward her chief care lay in the organization of a community in which the service of God would be indissolubly united with active service to the poor and needy in the name of Christ. To us, Russians, this represented quite a novel departure in organized church-charity, and therefore, attracted general attention. It was founded on the profound and irrefutable principle that no man can give to others more than he possesses himself. All we hold is of God, therefore, in Him only can we truly love our neighbours. So-called natural affection and philanthropy rapidly evaporate and pall, giving place to coldness and disillusion. Whereas he who lives in Christ is capable of rising to the summit of complete self-abnegation and of laying down his life for his friends. The Grand Duchess desired not only to imbue our social charities with the spirit of the Gospel, but to place them under the shelter of the Church and thereby gradually to attract the upper classes of society to Her. Of deep significance was the name which the Grand Duchess gave the newly-founded house—the Community of Martha and Mary—as though determining its mission in the world. The community was intended to become as it were the house of Lazarus where our Saviour so often dwelt. The sisters were called upon to unite the high lot of Mary hearkening to the eternal words of life with the service of Martha in so far as they offered hospitality to Christ in the guise of the least of His brethren. In explaining and justifying her idea, the ever-to-be-remembered foundress of the community used to say that the Saviour could not pass judgment on Martha for her hospitality which was but a tribute of her love for Him. He merely warned Martha and in her person all women against excessive fussing and cares which would divert them from the higher call of the spirit.

To be not of this world, yet to live and work in the midst of it in order to reform it—such was the foundation on which she wished to establish her community.

Anxious to be an obedient daughter of the Orthodox Church in all things, the Grand Duchess did not wish to take advantage of her privileged position and refused any exemptions from submitting to the established rules or precepts of the church authorities. On the

contrary, she readily submitted to the least desires of the latter, even when these were opposed to her own inclinations. For instance, at one time she seriously contemplated restoring the ancient order of deaconesses, and in this was ardently supported by the Metropolitan of Moscow, Vladimir. This idea, however, was misunderstood and opposed by Bishop Hermogen of Saratov (later transferred to Tobolsk where he met a martyr's death). Without the slightest foundation he accused the Grand Duchess of Protestant leanings and compelled her to abandon her favourite scheme. (He repented of his mistake later.) Though misunderstood in her highest motives the Grand Duchess did not let disappointment quench her lofty spirit and devoted herself heart and soul to her beloved "nursling," the Community of Martha and Mary. No wonder it flourished rapidly and attracted numerous sisters both from among the aristocracy and from the humbler classes. In its inner mode of life it was almost monastic. Its outward activities consisted in ministering to the sick, both outdoor patients and those in the hospital attached to the community;* in material and spiritual aid to the poor; in housing homeless children and orphans of whom so many go to ruin in big cities. The Grand Duchess devoted special attention to the hapless children of the down-and-outs of the Khitrov market (one of the worst Moscow slums with doss-houses of low repute), born in that murky "underworld," branded with a curse for the sins of their fathers and doomed to wither before expanding. Many of these were placed in special homes where they soon revived both morally and physically; others were left merely under surveillance. The Grand Duchess's enterprising spirit and sensitive nature led her to seek new ways and forms of charity which sometimes reflected the westernizing influence of the country of her birth and early youth, more advanced than we were in organized social work and mutual aid on the principle of self-help. It was on this basis that she created an association of messenger boys who were lodged and fed in a well-appointed home of their own and taught the value of honest work; she opened hostels for girl students and so on. Not all these institutions were directly connected with the Community of Martha and Mary, but all were like rays radiating from the common centre of light and were focussed as it were in the person of its Sister-Superior who embraced them all in her loving care. Having chosen as her mission not only service to mankind in

* It should be mentioned here that the Grand Duchess had in view the training of special sisters as spiritual consolers to the dying. "Is it not strange," she would say, "that out of mistaken kindness we try to delude these sufferers into thinking they will recover? Should we not rather render them a greater service by preparing them a Christian passage into eternity?"

general, but also the spiritual reformation of our society,* the Grand Duchess wished to present her message to Russians in the more intelligible and familiar garb of church art and the beauty of the Orthodox rite. All the churches erected by her, especially the principal one of the Community of Martha and Mary built by the architect Shchussev and decorated by the artistic Nesterov in the antique Novgorod-Pskov style, were gems of architectural and artistic beauty in every detail of their outward and internal decoration. The chapel of the burial crypt underneath the latter created a profound impression on all who visited it by its atmosphere of mystic all-pervading peace. Public worship as conducted at the Community always maintained a high degree of perfection owing to the exceptional pastoral virtues of the father confessor chosen by the Foundress. From time to time she also invited hither for celebration or preaching renowned members of the clergy from Moscow and other places collecting like a busy bee the honey from every flower. A true Christian woman, she never "finished her training" to use Gogol's expression, but all her life long remained a pupil equally conscientious, docile and humble. The Community of Martha and Mary, both in its outward aspect and its inner life, like all things created by the Grand Duchess bore a stamp not only of spirituality, but of refinement and culture, not because she attached any value to these in themselves, but because such was the unconscious influence of her own creative spirit. While concentrating her activities on the community the Grand Duchess did not sever her ties with other charitable and religious and cultural institutions and organizations with which she had been connected since her early days in Moscow. Foremost among these was the Orthodox Palestine Society to which she was deeply attached, if only for the reason that it was founded by her consort, the Grand Duke Sergius Alexandrovitch, as a tribute from the profound piety of an Orthodox Russian for the Holy Land. Having succeeded him as chairman of the Society she followed in his footsteps in a holy zeal for Zion and in her tireless care for the needs of the Russian pilgrims to the Holy Land. Although she had already visited the Holy City with the late Grand Duke, it was her heart's desire to join them in their pilgrimage, but the

* The Grand Duchess could not fail to be struck by the profound difference between Russian and English mentality. In England there is no division between scientific learning and religiousness. The most enlightened persons are not ashamed to confess their faith in "Christ Crucified," or to fulfil their religious duties as do the simple folk. There Christianity still retains its sublime hold on the national life and all forms of social work are imbued with its spirit. It naturally follows that without any self-seeking on their part, the clergy in England are raised to the top of the social tree and enjoy an honoured position unequalled in any Christian country in the world. Perhaps the stability of British culture is due to this peculiarity of the British national character as well as its political power itself. Not for nothing was it said that Queen Victoria when questioned by an American wherein lay the secret of England's strength, pointed to the Bible and replied, "In this small Book."

increasing strain of her manifold duties rendered a prolonged absence from Russia impossible. Alas, no one at the time could foresee that she would come to Jerusalem after her death, there to find her last resting place. As her mind was always on a level with her heart, she exhibited in the administration of the Palestine Society not only her zeal and love for the Holy Land, but such a thorough knowledge of affairs as gave the impression that she had had personal experience in the management of its institutions. In the last years before the War she was preoccupied with a scheme for building a hostel and church of St. Nicholas worthy of Russia's name at Bari. A design and model of the building made in the old Russian style by Shchussev always stood in her reception room.

Reports and interviews, dealing with all manner of requests and petitions which poured in from all parts of Russia, and other tasks, took up the whole of her day, leaving her well-nigh exhausted. This, however, did not prevent her from spending the night at a sick bed or attending night vigils in the Kremlin or other Moscow churches and monasteries beloved by the Russian people. The spirit overcame the weakness of the worn-out flesh.* She concealed her exertions, and always appeared in public with a bright face and sweetly smiling lips. Only when alone or in the midst of intimate associates her countenance would relax and a look of worldful melancholy, the seal of higher souls pining in this prison world of ours, would steal into her eyes. Having renounced almost everything on earth, she seemed to shine like a beautiful light with the inner radiance of her soul shedding warmth and tenderness wherever she went. None knew how better or more tactfully to give pleasure to others, to minister to each according to his or her needs and spiritual character. She not only knew how to weep with them that weep, but what is much harder, to rejoice with them that rejoice. Without being a nun in the exact sense of the word, she fulfilled better than any nun the sublime precept of St. Nilus the Sinaite: "Blessed is the monk who next to God holds every man to be a god." To discover the best in every human creature and "invoke mercy to the fallen" was ever her heart's desire. Nor did her meekness prevent her from exhibiting righteous indignation in the face of injustice. She was all the more ready to accuse her own self for any lapse or even involuntary mistake. May I be permitted to cite one instance which testifies to that trait of her character and also to how far sincerity overcame her natural reserve and the strict claims of etiquette. When I was suffragan bishop in Moscow, she asked me once to preside at a meeting of a purely

* Her sole relaxation were pilgrimages to various holy places in Russia. Yet even then the people would not let her enjoy the solace of retirement. In her they venerated the double halo of her royal birth and lofty piety, and wherever she went she was enthusiastically welcomed, so that much against her will her progress everywhere assumed the character of a triumphant procession.

lay society, the activities of which had nothing to do with the Church. At a loss what to reply, I felt greatly disconcerted. She at once perceived my embarrassment. "Pardon me," she said decidedly, "I am talking nonsense," and thus settled my dilemma.

Numerous organizations as well as great numbers of private persons attracted by the Grand Duchess's exalted position and affability beset her with requests for assistance, patronage or intercession before the higher authorities in Moscow and Petrograd. All found a ready response except to petitions of a political nature; these she resolutely waived aside considering interference in political affairs to be incompatible with her new calling. All institutions connected with the Church, charities or culture and art enjoyed her special patronage. She was also keenly active for the preservation of the most precious ancient national traditions and customs in which her beloved Moscow was so rich.

The Jubilee celebrations of 1912 offered an unexpected opportunity for the manifestation of her zeal. The details of this affair are still known to a very limited few even from among those who took part in the proceedings. When drawing up the programme of the centenary celebrations of the War for the Fatherland (1812), animated discussions arose in the special commission in Moscow about how to mark the 30th August, the closing day of the celebrations in Moscow whither the Tsar was due to arrive from the field of the battle of Borodino. The representative of the Ministry of the Imperial Court proposed that the crowning event of the day should be the Emperor's visit to the Zemstvo Peasant Industries' Museum, which had absolutely no connection with the historical memories of 1812.

Others supported my proposal that this day, for centuries held sacred in Russia as the anniversary of St. Alexander Nevsky should be marked by a solemn Te Deum of thanksgiving in the Red square as a fitting climax to the celebrations commemorating the exploit of self-sacrifice achieved by the Russian people with the blessing of the Church a century ago. The Court department, however, refused to give in, shielding themselves behind "Imperial orders," which were, of course, impossible to verify. Nothing, therefore, remained for me as a representative of the ecclesiastical authorities, and my supporters but to submit to the inevitable. Meeting the Grand Duchess I told her of the incident.

She was greatly perturbed by my narrative and said: "I will try and write of this to the Tsar, for," she added with a slight smile, "to us women everything is allowed."

A week later she informed me that the Emperor had altered the programme in the desired manner.

The day of the 30th August subsequently presented a magnificent and supremely soul-stirring spectacle of a truly all-national religious

and withal patriotic manifestation, which those present will never forget, and for which Moscow was indebted to the Grand Duchess who on that occasion gave proof not only of her loyalty to the Church, but of a profound and purely Russian historical intuition.

After the outbreak of the War she devoted herself entirely to the care of the sick and wounded whom she visited both in the Moscow hospitals and at the front. Calumny did not spare her as it did not spare the late Empress, accusing them both of exaggerated solicitude for the German prisoners of war. The Grand Duchess bore this bitter and utterly undeserved affront with her usual magnanimity.

When the revolutionary tempest broke out, she met it with amazing fortitude and calm. It was as though she stood high upon an immutable rock and from thence, her spiritual gaze fixed upon eternal vistas, fearlessly faced the raging billows surging at her feet.

She felt not a shade of resentment towards the excesses of the frenzied mob. "The people are like children, they are not responsible for what is taking place. They are led astray by Russia's enemies," she would say gently. Nor was she distressed by the great sufferings and humiliations which fell to the lot of the Imperial Family, her nearest kith and kin. "They will become purified through this and drawn nearer to God," she remarked once, her whole countenance illuminated by a soft radiance. But she suffered acutely when insulting calumny spun its wicked web round that beloved Family, particularly during the War. To prevent any possibility of further gossip the Grand Duchess avoided any allusion to the subject, and when ill-bred curiosity nevertheless reverted to it, she immediately rebuked it by her expressive silence. Once only, on her return from Tsarskoe Selo she let fall the remark: "That dreadful man (*i.e.*, Rasputin) wanted to estrange me from them, but thank God he failed." Such was the winning grace of her personality that even the revolutionaries felt its spell when first they came to search the premises of the Community. One of them (apparently a student) even commended the life of the sisters by remarking that he saw no trace of luxury, but only cleanliness and order which were not blamable in themselves. The Grand Duchess seeing his obvious sincerity started a conversation with him on the peculiar traits of Christian and Socialist ideals. "Who knows," replied her unknown interlocutor, "perhaps we pursue the same goal—only by different ways." And with these words he left the Community.

"It seems we are still unworthy of a martyr's crown," the Sister-Superior replied when the sisters congratulated her on the happy ending of this, their first meeting with the Bolsheviks. But that crown was not far distant. To everyone's surprise during the last months of 1917 and the beginning of 1918 the Community of

Martha and Mary and its Sister-Superior were left to carry on their usual activities unmolested and even received a certain amount of assistance in the shape of food supplies. The blow when it fell at Easter in 1918 was, therefore, unexpected and all the more severe. The Grand Duchess was arrested and sent to Ekaterinburg. His Holiness the patriarch Tikhon tried to intervene on her behalf through various church organizations which at that early stage the Bolsheviks held in certain consideration, but in vain. At her first place of exile the Grand Duchess was surrounded with a certain degree of comfort. She was interned in a convent, where all the nuns did all they could for her; her greatest solace was being allowed to assist at all the church services. Far more stringent were the conditions of her second place of detention, Alopaevsk, whither she was transferred with sister Barbara, her faithful attendant, and confined with some of the Grand Dukes in one of the school buildings. Nevertheless her lofty courage never forsook her and from time to time she sent messages of cheer and comfort to the sorrowing sisters of her Community. This lasted until the fatal night of the 5/18 July. That night, she, together with the other royal captives and her brave fellow-sufferer, Sister Barbara, was suddenly seized, driven out of Alopaevsk in a motor-car and apparently thrown alive down a disused neighbouring shaft.* When later the bodies were exhumed it was revealed that to the last minute she had endeavoured to minister to the severely injured Grand Dukes. The neighbouring peasants who watched from afar the execution of these unknown strangers, could hear for a long time a sound of mysterious chanting proceeding from underground. It was she, the great martyr, who thus chanted the burial hymns over herself and the others until "the silver cord was loosed and the golden bowl broken." (Eccl. 12. 6.) Thus was the martyr's crown for which she yearned placed upon her brow and she was admitted to the host of those of whom John the Contemplator of Divine Mysteries says: "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues stood before the throne, and before the Lamb clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands. These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." (Rev. VII. 9. 14.) She passed through the world like a radiant vision leaving a shining trail. Together with all other martyrs for the Russian land she stands as an expiatory victim for the sins of the old Russia and as the foundation of the new, which will arise upon the ashes of these new martyrs. The meaning of such lives is perpetual; their names are inscribed on earth and in

* Only the Grand Duke Sergius Mikhailovitch was shot with a revolver during the drive.

heaven and endure throughout the ages. It was not in vain that popular opinion called her a saint already in her lifetime.* As though to reward her earthly service and especially her love for the Holy Land, her martyred remains (found in the mine in a state of incorruption according to the testimony of witnesses), are destined to rest near the very spot of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection. Her remains with those of the members of the Imperial Family who met their death with her (the Grand Duke Sergius Mikhailovitch, Princes John, Igor and Constantine Constantinovitch and the son of the Grand Duke Paul Alexandrovitch, Prince Palei) and sister Barbara were exhumed by order of Admiral Kolchak and brought first to Irkutsk and thence to Peking where they reposed for a long time in the cemetery chapel at the Russian Mission. Later, the Marchioness of Milford Haven, sister of the Grand Duchess to whom she was particularly attached, obtained permission to transfer the coffins with her remains and those of Sister Barbara to Palestine via Shanghai and the Suez Canal. On the 15th January, 1920, the remains of the two inseparable martyrs were solemnly brought to Jerusalem, where they were met by the British authorities, the Greek and Russian clergy, the numerous Russian colony and local population. A day later the interment took place conducted by the Venerable head of the Church of Zion, His Holiness the Patriarch Damianos, assisted by a host of clergy.

The crypt of the Russian church of St. Mary Magdalen was fittingly chosen to be her last resting place. The church itself, built in memory of the Empress Marie Alexandrovna by her august children, was not unknown to the Grand Duchess who was present at its consecration in 1888, together with the Grand Duke. It is the most beautiful and best designed of all our churches in Palestine. Situated on the picturesque slope of the Mount of Olives, its colourful and purely Russian outline meets the gaze from afar and carries one's thoughts to Russia so far off yet so near to the Holy Land. The departed martyr would not have chosen herself a more fitting resting place could she have foreseen that it would be her lot temporarily to rest outside her own beloved Community where she had already prepared herself a burial place.

Here everything harmonizes with her spirit: the golden cupolas of the church glinting in the sunshine amid the verdure of the olives and cypresses; its artistic internal decoration stamped with Verestchagine's genius, and the very character of the sacred pictures themselves as though penetrated through and through by

* It is significant that soon after the birth of the Grand Duchess, her mother, Princess Alice, a woman of lofty nature and gentleness of heart, wrote to Queen Victoria about the name given to the little Princess: "We like Elisabeth on account of St. Elisabeth of Hungary being the ancestress of the Hessian as well as the Saxon House." The late Grand Duchess kept the name after she joined the Orthodox Church, having chosen St. Elisabeth, mother of St. John the Baptist, as her patron saint. (September 5th.)

the radiance of our Lord's Resurrection. Still nearer and dearer to her heart is the aroma of holiness pervading and surrounding her last resting place. Beneath spreads the unique panorama of the Holy City with the imposing dome of the Holy Sepulchre dominating it. At the foot of the hill lies the garden of Gethsemane, the scene of our Lord's agony and bloody sweat; and beyond Gethsemane, the burial place of the Mother of our Lord. To the left, half concealed in a lap of the hill is Bethany, actual home of Martha and Mary, sisters of Lazarus whom here our Lord had summoned from the grave; while above, the church of St. Mary Magdalen crowns the joyful Mount of Olives whence our Saviour rose in glory to heaven and from there speaks to those who through tribulation have remained faithful to Him unto death: "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life. To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame and sit down with my Father in his throne." (Rev. III, 5, 21.)

CHRISTIAN EAST MEETS CHRISTIAN WEST.

By DR. D. A. LOWRIE.

WE hear frequently of new developments in the relationships among different branches of the Christian faith, but probably no event in recent times has had quite such special significance as the "Consultation" just closed in Athens, Greece. Influential leaders of most of the Eastern Orthodox Churches met with representatives of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, themselves representing five Western countries and at least as many Protestant denominations beside the Church of England, to discuss the best means for their co-operation. An outsider, watching the proceedings, would have been struck by the bizarre combination of types: alert, smooth-shaven laymen in business dress, together with venerable hierarchs from the Orthodox East, stately and impressive in their flowing robes, their high black caps with draped veils and their patriarchal beards.

This outward diversity was significant of the groups which had come together, trusted spokesmen for youth work in the two halves of the Christian world, East and West. There were men like Chrysostom, Archbishop of Athens and All Greece; Evlogie, Metropolitan of all Russian Churches in Western Europe; Simeonea, flashing-eyed vicar of the Patriarch of Roumania; or Nikolai, Bishop of Okhrida, the dark-faced mystic whose lectures in the United States and England two years ago attracted such marked attention. There were professors: Zankov, of Sofia, well-known

figure at Stockholm and Lausanne ; Zenkovsky, leading authority on religious education in the Russian Academy ; Parenta, Rector of the Theological Seminary in Yugo-Slavia, whose half-hour speech in Latin so astonished and delighted an international student conference held there three years ago. There were members of the World's Alliance : Stange of Germany, Koechlin from Switzerland, 't Hooft of Holland, and Dr. John R. Mott, President of the World's Committee of Y.M.C.A.s, convener of the gathering. Of the twelve representatives of the clergy present, four were Archbishops, four Bishops, two Arch-priests. The other twenty-eight were laymen from many walks of life, all closely related to the Y.M.C.A.s in their respective countries.

As has been noted, it was the Y.M.C.A. which precipitated the four-day discussion. Among the crowding new problems in the Eastern Churches arising from their sudden confrontation with the West after the War, none has been more actual than this organization with its new methods of approach to youth, its foreign representatives, its red triangle emblem which some believe to be the mark of the devil and others think is a secret symbol of freemasonry. This organization, at the same time, has claimed to be a friend of the Church. Friendly or not, it should be dealt with cautiously.

Some such attitude as this prevailed eight or ten years ago, in many of the countries where the Orthodox Eastern Church is predominant. But the past years have seen great developments in increasing sympathy and co-operation. The foreign representatives remained long enough to help train native leaders, then most of them returned to England or America whence they had come. One by one, Church leaders began to give their assistance. Boys' camps, friendship groups, games and schools and study-groups began to show results in an increasing number of young people in the Churches. Young men began to assist in the work of the Church, in hospital and prison visitation ; some decided to study for the priesthood.

There have been critics who claimed the Eastern Church was stiff and moribund, unable and unwilling to make any changes in our new age. Their theory explodes like a pricked balloon in view of the way the Orthodox Church accepted co-operation with this Western organization, once confidence was established. To-day high Churchmen are working on its committees in all the Balkan countries. The Archbishop of Athens and All Greece is honorary president of the national Y.M.C.A. Council of that country. In Roumania, the Bishop who is Vicar to the Patriarch is a member of the National Committee. These men and dozens of others have been giving not only their names, but much of their time and effort to the work of the Y.M.C.A.s in their respective lands.

More, they have helped to fight its battles against conservative suspicions, such as those mentioned above, and co-operation increased



A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT THE ATHENS "CONSULTATION"

as both parties came to understand each other better. Each year has seen closer sympathy and collaboration. Not that this was achieved without some difficulty: both in method and in spirit, the new movement had much to learn. So, it proved, had the Orthodox Church. To help clear up points of uncertainty, there was arranged, two years ago, in Sofia, a consultation similar to this just held in Athens. It was an unprecedented gathering: never before had a world-wide organization asked to have a conference with representatives, even if unofficial, of the Eastern Churches. After some hesitation, a few bishops finally came for a meeting which proved surprisingly productive. So useful were the results of that first gathering, that it was decided to hold similar meetings every two years, and the Athens Consultation, a far larger and more important assembly, was planned.

The Consultation in Athens met, then, to discuss better ways of co-operation between the Y.M.C.A. and the Orthodox Churches in the Balkan countries, basing its deliberations on the rich experiences of the past eight years. And the past nineteen centuries, for one chief element in the discussions was how work done might be true to the best of the magnificent tradition of the ancient Church. Here were modernity and age, the practical West and the devotional East spending time together to discover how best they together could serve the youth of to-day.

Some of the conclusions reached are nothing short of surprising. Students have always been keen to point out the vast differences between the Christianity of the East and that of the West. In Athens the group discovered that those differences were not so extensive as they had thought. In the first place, it was learned, the moral and religious problems of youth in our modern age are very much the same, whether that youth is American or Bulgarian, German or Greek. To use the classic phrase of Bishop Nikolai, it is a struggle for the loyalty of youth between the tent-maker and the gods; between St. Paul and the pagan culture his work in Athens helped to overthrow. Youth to-day all over the world is facing the question: self or service—satisfaction in *things* or in the Christian ideal? East met West in deep concern for the youth who should be in the Church and found that, all the world around, they faced the same problems.

Another point of agreement was this: youth everywhere does not respond well to the Church's appeal. Discussion at Athens brought out the belief that this was due to out-of-date methods in the Church's approach. Said one bishop: "Life is life, not a monastery, not a parochial school. Life is changing. Somehow we must find a balance between the Church and the Christian life on one side, and changing modern life on the other." "Our Church is still using old approaches; it must change, not its truth, but its vocabulary to

meet the needs of the present day," this Council in Athens decided. It sounds very much like a quotation from *Middletown* or the *Christian Century*. Are West and East so different after all?

And for the problems common to both East and West, at least one solution was found valid for the East which has proved useful in the West: an organization of laymen, loyal members of the Church, working in harmony with it, seeking humbly to serve it, but yet independent of Church authority. "Once the school, the family and the Church were sufficient," to quote one Orthodox speaker. "Now we need a new organization, one in which youth itself may be active, may help manage its own affairs." There is only one such laymen's organization which fits these specifications. The work of the Y.M.C.A. was declared to be as much needed in Eastern Church countries as in the West.

Once this was postulated, there remained the question of method. How could the programme of an association developed largely in an atmosphere entirely Protestant attain the desired results in the different *milieu* of Orthodoxy? The "findings" of the consultation, unanimously adopted as the conviction of those present, represent some answers to this question.

Article 4 of the "Findings" is typical of the conclusions just mentioned.

"The Y.M.C.A. should foster those ways and means which have been found to be most fruitful in deepening the religious interest of youth, in strengthening their faithfulness and attachment to the Church, and in having their lives dominated by the motive and spirit of Christian service. For example:

"The encouragement of youth in the formation, under the spiritual guidance of the Church, of groups and brotherhoods for fellowship; for the deepening of spiritual life; for mutual encouragement especially when necessary in suffering for Christ; and for giving expression to their religious convictions in service to others.

"Apologetic activities such as lectures, discussions and the production and circulation of literature.

"The formation of groups for the strengthening of Church consciousness by the study of the lives of the Holy Fathers and the Saints, of the Liturgy, of the Holy Scriptures and tradition, and also of Christianity as contrasted with other systems of thought and faith.

"The organization and conduct of retreats, conferences, camps and pilgrimages to holy places, where young men and boys will be brought into intimate contact with Christian personalities whose lives and messages are calculated to make the most helpful and abiding spiritual impression."

At first glance this appears very little different from a typical Y.M.C.A. religious work programme in England or America. Fundamentally there is little difference: the aims are the same, and the basic methods. There is merely to be an adaptation to the psychology and spirit of the people concerned. For instance: instead of a Protestant Sunday service in a boys' camp the priest who lives in the camp with the boys conducts the liturgy, with perhaps a choir of the boys themselves to assist. Each day opens and closes with the beautiful prayers of the Orthodox Church. But do not get the idea that the entire time in such a boys' camp is spent in specifically religious meditation. The day's programme of games, handcraft, hikes or swimming goes on, just as though it were Britain instead of Bulgaria. And the priest, as likely as not himself a younger man, takes part with the boys in most of their occupations.

There is a charming photograph of one of the most successful among such camp chaplains, serving as "Admiral" in a naval battle between two fleets of rafts in the river, at one summer camp. At Athens we heard of the disapproval expressed by some pious lady, when a young priest, coming home from camp reported that he had participated in the children's games. "That is conduct unbecoming the cloth," the critic said. But the young man's discomfiture was quickly relieved by the smiling remark of his senior bishop, a stately man of seventy: "When I last visited England and watched my host, the Archbishop, playing an excellent game of tennis, I was sorry I could not join him." The thought of His Grace, in wide black robes which touched the ground and high cap and veil, on the tennis court brought a smile which at once disarmed criticism and sanctioned the almost revolutionary action of the young cleric.

Not long ago a wise Church historian wrote that the Eastern Church was "petrified by long inactivity. She is as stiff and lifeless as the postures of her Byzantine saints." If he could observe the new life in these old Churches to-day, he would be forced to another opinion. Here are boys' and girls' camps, Boy Scout troops, young people's clubs, with athletics and social service a part of their programme. All with not merely the approval, but with the full collaboration of the Church. It may be revolutionary, but it is being done, and producing the desired results. Young people are living better lives, in better relationship with the Church of their fathers.

Considering the utter novelty of the problems faced (for what are a dozen years since the War compared with nearly twenty centuries?), the unanimity of opinion and constructive results of the Consultation are remarkable. This still more so, when it is realized that all these opinions and the deliberations about them had to be conducted in five languages. Most of those present understood one of three, French, English or German, but for a few, special inter-

pretation was needed, into Russian or Greek. A brief statement by the Chairman, for example, in his native American was immediately transferred by interpreters to four groups in different corners of the assembly-room, each giving the remarks just made in the language best understood by their special group, be it French, German, Russian or Greek. In meetings of the League of Nations, three languages are usually used: this gathering went the League two better.

There were diversities of opinion, as well as of tongues. While all agreed upon the desirability of a training school for Orthodox youth leaders, there were many suggestions as to the best place in which to organize it. They varied from Paris, at one extreme, to Mount Athos, at the other. As will be noted, the differences between Paris and Mount Athos are not merely geographical. The French capital was suggested, it should be explained, because that city shelters the Russian Theological academy, which, it was thought, might adapt special courses for training leaders.

The Consultation closed with a prayer service conducted by the Archbishop of Athens. The importance of the whole Conference is difficult to overestimate. It represents a new stage in the increasingly fruitful relationships between Eastern and Western Christianity, new achievements in the interchange of useful experience. Again and again throughout the proceedings, speakers from the West referred to the values in Orthodoxy which they, personally, and Western Christianity in general had received from new contacts with the spiritual treasures the Eastern Church has guarded so faithfully. And Christian work for the youth of Orthodox lands will progress ever more effectively in the immediate future than in the past few years, because of the work of this gathering. Not only the organizations represented, but all those interested in strengthening the bonds of friendship and co-operation among the Christian Churches of the world, may feel gratified at the results of the Athens Consultation.

MISSIONARY WORK OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

By THE REV. N. BEHR.

AFTER the citizens of Kiev were baptized in 988, Christianity began to spread throughout Russia, in the first instance all round Kiev and up the great water-way from Kiev to Novgorod. The further away from Kiev the less hold it had on the people. In many places such as Novgorod paganism was stronger than Christianity. After Vladimir's death, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Christian religion gradually penetrated to places where it had been unknown or but little known before. Its

progress was greatly furthered by the division of Russia into separate principdoms, because each prince strove to spread Christianity in his appanage. Each of the chief towns became a centre of Christianity whereas before Kiev was the only such centre for the whole of Russia. Non-Russian tribes that lived in Russia and on its borders received Christian instruction from the Russians. By great Divine favour Russia had been christianized by the Greek Orthodox Church which always treated with respect the principles and sentiments of its converts. The Greeks spread Christianity by preaching it and convincing people of its truth and they did so in the native tongue of the Slavs. The Orthodox mission to the Slavs in other countries than Russia had already prepared a Slavonic translation of the Bible and of the church services and had trained Slav priests and teachers. The Metropolitan See of Moscow under the patronage of the State showed remarkable activities. The holy faith spread in the north by the White Sea and the centre of it there was the Solovetzky monastery. At the end of the sixteenth century with the conquest of Siberia, Christianity found its way into that vast tract of country. Another wide field for missionary activity was provided by the Kazan district and the nearer Caucasus where Russia always defended the Orthodox against Persia and upheld the Georgian Church.

After Peter the Great, the work of Orthodox missions went on as usual, continuing even at periods when under the influence of Western philosophy the State gave way to the spirit of the times and became practically indifferent to questions of religion. The work of christianizing Siberia was carried on by separate individuals. Particularly renowned in this respect are Bishop Innokenty and the learned Archimandrite Macary Gluharev, who was a deeply religious man, wholeheartedly devoted to missionary work. His field of activity was the Altai, a district peopled by Tartars, Kalmucs and Aleuts. Macary went there in 1830 and journeyed unwearyingly all over the district preaching Christ. A kind and tender-hearted man, he was teacher, father, doctor and general benefactor to his spiritual children. After 14 years he retired on account of his health, but his mission remained a splendid example to others. Missionary work in the Russian east was conducted amid the serious difficulties of a cold climate, the absence of roads, a wild country and often a hostile heathen population. Bishop Innokenty's activities extended over an enormous tract of country, which included the Kamchatka, Yakutsk and Amur districts and in some years, *e.g.*, in 1856, his journeys covered as much as 6,000 miles.

In the nineteenth century the missionary work of the Orthodox Church extended beyond the Russian Empire to China, America and Japan. In 1865 all the Russian missions were united in the missionary society founded in Petersburg; it proved useful to them

in the material sense as well, and owing to the subsidies given by that society the work of the missions grew more extensive and energetic.

Sixty-eight years ago, a monk who was also a priest, set out to the land of the Rising Sun along the great Siberian tract, by road as everyone did in those days; it was the future Bishop Nicolas (as a layman called Ivan Kasatkin), the great apostle of Japan. He had to spend the winter at Nicolaevsk, and there a touching meeting took place between two great missionaries, one who had already laid down the burden of apostolic work and the other who had only just assumed it—Bishop Innokenty and the priest monk, Nicolas, the first head of the Orthodox mission in Japan. Like the prophet Elijah who passed on both his mantle and the double portion of his spirit to Elisha, Bishop Innokenty cut out with his own hands a cassock for Father Nicolas and put his bronze cross round his neck. On July 2nd, 1861, Father Nicolas entered Hakodate on the Island of Yeddo, among a strange Eastern people whose language is hard for a European. The son of the Russian Consul used to take lessons in fencing from a certain Savabe, a Buddhist priest who despised and hated all foreigners. And it was precisely this man whom God had chosen, like another Saul, to be a second Paul for Japan. He gave up his profession, was baptized and received the name of Paul. Soon like St. Andrew he brought his friend, a physician called Sakai, who was also baptized and received the name of John. Now our sower of the Lord's field was no longer alone; there were already two and three gathered together in the name of Him who had promised to be among them. This was how, with God's blessing, the Orthodox faith began to be preached in Japan. On September 14th, 1864, Father Nicolas wrote from Hakodate to Isidore the Metropolitan of Petersburg, "At present one of the priests of the ancient religion comes to me to study our faith. If he does not cool down or perish (death is the penalty for accepting Christianity), a great deal may be expected from him. He has already made his plans for preaching the Christian religion although he has not as yet heard much about our Saviour, for we have only got as far as David in the Scriptures. I am expecting soon to receive from Peking the Bible and the church service books in the Chinese language, and perhaps two or three learned men will soon arrive from Yeddo and with their help my pupil will begin translating the sacred books from Chinese into Japanese." The priest referred to was Savabe. In April, 1865, Father Nicolas wrote to the Metropolitan, "The priest who wanted me secretly to instruct him in the Christian faith is almost ready for baptism. I have told him the Old Testament stories and at first he wrote down briefly at home what he had heard from me, but afterwards he began to take down my words in writing as I spoke them and in this way we have translated with

a few cuts the Old Testament history as told by Father Bogoslovsky; after a few corrections and additions have been made this translation can be published. Meanwhile I have received from the head of the Peking mission, the Archimandrite Guri, the New Testament and a few other books in Chinese. Instead of New Testament stories we read through the Gospel and as we went along I explained to the new convert almost the whole doctrine of our Church. He is eagerly waiting to be baptized, and I have great hopes of him: he is thirty-two years old, of irreproachable character, well educated, eloquent, intelligent and wholeheartedly devoted to Christianity. His one aim in life now is to serve his country by spreading the Christian faith. I have constantly to check his efforts in this direction for fear he loses his head before he has had time to do anything for the cause. Besides, the best educated and most idealistic of the young men of Hakodate centre round this priest so that through him I can get into touch with his chosen friends, one of whom is already studying Christianity, and two others show a desire to do so. My further plans are as follows: two of my friends have soon to go to Yeddo on business; through them I hope to find several educated and clever men interested in Christianity, and there are many such in Japan, and to replace by them the servants in my house so that at home at any rate, we may freely discuss Christianity. Meanwhile I shall obtain from Russia a lithographic press and thus if God gives me His blessing I will gradually prepare Christian books and preachers of the Christian faith. . . ."

In 1870 Orthodox missions were officially opened in Japan.

Bishop Nicolas was a living example of missionary devotion. He gave all his income to the Church, thus making up the deficit on the support of schools, publications and preachers; he never refused money to poor Christians, though it was at the cost of depriving himself of the elementary comforts of life. His work has not been wasted. A small Christian flock was formed round him and his example shows that the Orthodox church, not seeking worldly dominion and free from national hostility, embraces in its love all tribes and peoples.

The apostle of Japan died in 1912. The Japanese Orthodox church is now headed by Archbishop Sergius.

A beautiful cathedral has been built in Tokio, a clerical seminary, a girls' school, missionary headquarters and printing offices have been founded—a regular little town from which the light of Christian faith has poured all over Japan. The earthquake of September 19th, 1923, did a great deal of damage to the mission. Tokio cathedral was destroyed. Money is being collected for the rebuilding of it and we hope with God's help to raise the necessary sum. In 1924, a church dedicated to St. Nicolas was consecrated

Petrograd and Moscow and the Red Republic was proclaimed in October, 1917.

If the Bolsheviks' hold-up of the capital cities was developed into a stranglehold in all Russia, it was because Lenin who combined a great gambler's daring with a preternatural flair of common sense, was their master mind and had their implicit obedience.

The policy which he laid down was that of eating the artichoke leaf by leaf.

In effect the Russian Nation was an inchoate herd of docile peasants whose great hunger was to own the land they tilled and whose whole life was dominated by the traditions of their religion. Lenin had to give them a stake in the Red Republic or it was bound to disappear. It was true that he had returned to make Russia godless and communist and not a land of religious peasant proprietors. But that must wait. The Russian Armies had broken up and the peasants were streaming home and were his danger. By telling them to take the land and sending men to kill off the land-owners, he became their avatar, blinded them to what Bolshevism was and meant to do and made them its mercenaries so long as it needed them.

The peasants being on his side, Lenin was able to get together a Red Army strong enough to beat down every attempt at a counter revolution, to defeat the White Armies and bit by bit to extend his dictatorship over all Russia.

Meanwhile, he was busy perfecting the Bolshevik machine and preparing the ground for the war upon Religion and all Individualism.

The Red Revolution could not have been bloodless. Lenin made it as bloody as he dared. The strategy which he laid down and to which his followers have been faithful might have been drawn from the parable which Tarquin acted by cutting down the tallest poppies. Its first principle is to get rid of every possible leader of opposition, active or passive, to godlessness and communism. The hideous details of the Red Terror which at Lenin's bidding reigned in the pandemonium of Russia from 1917-19 can never be described. It went on pitilessly and openly until Lenin had need of trade with the rest of the world. Then it became camouflaged and more restrained. The number of its victims was limited only by expediency and will never be known. When it was over the landowning classes had been practically exterminated and what was left of the *intelligentsia* and the trading classes was a mere remnant. As for the leaders of Religion, Lenin was as wise as the Red Sultan Abd-ul-Hamed who knew to a nicety how many Armenians he could massacre with impunity. He had won the peasantry and dare not risk losing them by killing off their clergy.

Of the 21 bishops who are admitted to have been got rid of, at

least five were killed with unmitigated barbarity. Priests and monks were picked off in their thousands.

To talk of Red Russia is nonsense. The Russian people to-day is like a man who in a fantastic novel is lashed to a table while an inhuman scientist cuts and carves at his brain and organs in order to change his nature and their functions.

The vivisector is the Bolshevik Politik bureau and the instruments both of his stranglehold and his experiment are the Bolshevik Party.

The inevitableness of that simile is obvious once it is realized that the whole Soviet régime is simply a constitutional camouflage of the Bolshevik machine.

Soviet means council. From the central Moscow Soviet downwards to the village council, every Soviet official and every Soviet elector must be on the registers of the Bolshevik Party. To get and remain on those registers, a man must convince the officials who control them both of his fanaticism for atheism and communism and of his automatic obedience to their orders. Up to the highest of them, those officials are the creatures of the occult half-dozen members of the Party's Politik bureau, the wink of an eye from which in Moscow is sufficient to set the machine going in the remotest village. A universal system of espionage, the last word in efficiency, keeps the fanaticism of the whole machine red hot.

Since no cannier man than Lenin has lived, the form of the second phase of the Persecution was probably not according to Lenin's plan. But in any case, he got where he wished.

The Red Terror had left individualism broken and out in the towns. But the peasants are Russian and to turn them into atheist and communist *robots* was his essential problem. They also were his stranglehold. But though oxen are easily herded into an abattoir, a red light will stampede them furiously. Before the taking of the land and their religion from them was proclaimed, potential leaders had to be weeded out of every village and the machinery of their Church which still held together, smashed. If there was no uprising, they could neither be made to work nor stop praying.

But a dictator must study his Praetorian Guards. The Bolshevik Party had only been fleshed by the Red Terror and was clamant to finish the job. In all likelihood, Lenin was reluctant but in 1920 he decreed the partial collectivization of the farms. The appalling famine of 1921-2 followed and to get the peasants together again, he announced a New Economic Policy of petty private ownership and in compensation let his fanatics strike at religion.

In Asiatic Russia, there were some millions of Moslems and other non-Christians. In the West there were a million or so Roman Catholics who were almost all Poles and in the towns a percentage of Protestants.

The Church of the peasants, as almost cent. per cent. of the whole Russian race, is the ancient Russian Orthodox Church.

Many of its bishops had been executed. Others were in prison. Its machinery was paralysed. But it still functioned and adhered in the Patriarch Tikhon. Lenin determined to hasten its disintegration.

The decision by which the Patriarch Tikhon had been called to be the first Patriarch that Russia had had for 200 years had been by lot. Among the three names in the urn had been that of the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, who now presides over the Synod of the Russian Exiles in Serbia and the printing of whose letter to our bishops in the *Morning Post* has done much to open the eyes of England to what is happening in Russia. The Patriarchal Election took place in the Kremlin on November 5th, 1917, while Lenin's machine-guns were still firing on Moscow and when the one man who could have rallied Orthodox Russia against him was its new Patriarch. The Metropolitan Anthony is a great theologian, but he is also a man of action, and understood the Bolshevik mind. If his name had been drawn from the urn, the history of Russia would in any case have been different. But the Patriarch Tikhon was a saint and abhorred politics. In due course, he showed himself a great confessor, but in 1917 and to his death he held it his duty to submit to the Red Republic.

None the less, Lenin decided in 1922 to try him publicly and shoot him as a counter revolutionary. His preparations took a long time and were skilful. The reforming party, the so-called Living Church, was fostered. The Patriarch was immured in a Monastery. During the famine he had refused to bid his clergy hand over the Church vessels and so on. Though the Bolsheviks did not sell the Tsar's jewels which have since fetched more than £1,000,000, they seized and sold the ecclesiastical "treasures" for less than £50,000. Russia was deluged with the statement that he was to be tried for letting the people starve. The Living Church leaders called a pseudo-Council and deposed him. And so on.

In December, 1922, the Patriarch's trial was notified to the world as fixed for the next April.

It is wiser in Russia not to whisper news which is not published by the Red censorship. Thus the monstrous execution in July 1922 of its beloved Bishop Benjamin of Petrograd was unconfirmed outside Russia for months.

The advance publicity given to the Patriarch's execution saved the Patriarch and killed Lenin. He could crush away trouble brewing in Russia but their necessary trade made him unready for the indignant protests which poured in upon him from Europe and America. Their trade was necessary. The condemnation of the Polish Roman Catholic Archbishop Cieplak and Mgr. Budkiewicz

as a *ballon d'essai* on Palm Sunday, changed the protests into angry warnings. Lenin reprieved the Archbishop and shot Mgr. Budkiewicz on March 31 and lashed the civilized world into a frenzy of indignation. The next night he was stricken with complete paralysis.

With its dictator a dying log, the Politik bureau had no nerve to go on, and the Patriarch was released.

The Persecution's third phase of Comparative Quiescence lasted until the Georgian soldier Stalin became master of the Bolshevik machine.

By the will of the Patriarch who died in April, 1925, the Metropolitan Peter became Patriarchal locum tenens and was promptly sent to Siberia where he now lies dying in prison. The Metropolitan Sergius whom he ordered to take over the post of danger, is a strong and courageous man, but he is not Patriarch and the machinery of the Church is almost wholly disintegrated. Undoubtedly it was because his people are hostages, that he denied the existence of any persecution in Russia the other day.

Whether he is the fanatic he is reputed or not, Stalin has not Lenin's magic as the Moses of Bolshevism. Lenin could curb his fanatics by asking if they wished to wander again in Switzerland. Stalin had to clear the Politik bureau of rivalry before he was secure in the Bolshevik dictatorship and he did that by outbidding them in fanaticism.

Constitutions as stringently anti-clerical as that of the Red Republic have existed before on paper.

The Bolshevik method all along has been to reach its godless objective by throttling Religion.

Of course, from the beginning, every child in every school has been instructed in godlessness and its abominable sex hygiene. The orgies of its hideous and disgusting Komsomol processions which travesty every religion, demonstrate the triumph of godlessness. The Press, the wireless, the lecture hall are the channels of its godless propaganda.

But all along its method has been to throttle religion piecemeal by punishing it as a "counter revolutionary" activity. Its constitution still professes to leave it free. It secularized all church property, the clergy were left as pariahs, charitable organizations were forbidden, the religious teaching of children under 18 was made a crime and so on. But it left the churches open and their congregations undissolved.

"Counter revolutionary" activity is an elastic term. In the past twelve years it has been stretched to cover all corporate religious life. To defend religion publicly is to propagate it and is a "counter revolutionary" activity. It is the same with making a

convert, holding a children's service, or a mothers' meeting and giving money to a church fund for the sick or dying.

The Russian is a lover of the Bible. Religious books are instruments of counter revolutionary activity. To distribute the Bible or the Koran is forbidden.

It was by declaring that he would finally round up Religion in Russia by 1933 that Stalin made himself the dictator of Bolshevism in 1928 and opened the fourth phase of the Persecution. If he carries it through, to confess any religion and to say a prayer will soon be a "counter revolutionary" activity.

Meanwhile, progress is being made. Those who are worth while removing, are charged with counter revolutionary activity and disappear. Religious life is becoming impossible in Russia.

FORBIDDEN BELLS.

Can you imagine Russia dumb?
Enforced with silence, awed and numb.
For soon a myriad listening ears
Will wait the message Easter bears,
The air awaits the accustomed cry
To fling the echo to the sky,
"Christ is risen, is risen indeed."
Which now the people must not heed.

The inheritance once proudly borne
Now voiceless villages will mourn,
Only the Spring feels not the loss
And birch trees newly foliaged toss
Their tremulous leaflets to the clouds,
And streams are freed from icy shrouds;
But who is there to care or heed
The ghostly "Christ is risen indeed"?
Who heard the resonance of bells,
The beautiful and solemn bells,
The eager, clamorous, joyous bells,
The light, persistent, childish bells,
Voices that rang the faith, the tears,
The fervent thoughts and whispered prayers.

Like fields snow-covered, still and numb,
Are bells forbidden, stricken dumb.

V. St. George, 1930.

A. & E.C.A. NOTES.

ST. CLEMENT'S League of Prayer for Russia seems to have supplied a need of which many people were conscious, *i.e.*, of organized and regular intercession for the persecuted Russian Church. The League was founded on February 14th, and its membership is now over 2,600. It is in no permanent sense "a new society" and no subscription is asked for. Each member simply undertakes to say a given collect, or the Our Father, for Russia, every day for twelve months from the date of enrolling his name. Thus no one is bound for more than one year, yet so long as new members join, the League itself will continue until its existence is no longer needed. A copy of the leaflet is enclosed with this issue of *The Christian East* and more may be obtained for distribution from the address printed on them. During his recent visit to London, the Metropolitan Evlogie was present at one of the Tuesday Masses of Intercession for Russia, gave his blessing to the League, and addressed those members of it who were present. At the same time a large silver Russian cross (a gift of Mr. C. F. L. St. George) mounted as an altar cross was blessed for use whenever the special intention of the service is for Russia.

* * * *

A. and E.C.A. issued a short form of Intercession for the Persecuted Church of Russia, for use on the Day of General Intercession, and at other times. It has the sanction of many diocesan bishops and it was widely used on March 16th. By arrangement also, the prayers which have long been familiar to members of the Association were incorporated in the form of service issued by S.P.C.K. On March 19th at the kind invitation of Preb. Mackay, the Association made the High Mass at All Saints', Margaret Street, their corporate act of intercession for Russia, and the General Secretary preached the sermon. There was a large congregation and the collection was given to the Russian Church Aid Fund. A like kindness extended by Fr. Lester Pinchard on April 2nd enabled the Association to offer a Solemn Requiem at St. John's, Holland Road, for the Russian Christians who have perished through persecution and massacre.

* * * *

On March 26th, Lord Aldenham gave an "At Home" for the Association at his house in Portland Place. Between 70 and 80 guests accepted the invitation. Archbishop Lord Davidson was to have presided, but unfortunately he was prevented by indisposition from fulfilling the engagement. His place was taken by Lord Aldenham, and the Bishop of London was present for a short while at the beginning of the meeting. The Metropolitan Germanos spoke in warm commendation of the aims and ideals of the Association

and Sir Bernard Pares gave a masterly account of the meaning of the Russian persecution and the phases of its development.

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As announced in our last issue a Marble Arch branch of the Association has come into being. By the courtesy of the Vicar, Fr. Waddington, its members were allowed to combine their quarterly service with the Patronal Evensong of the Church of Annunciation, Bryanston Street on March 25th. The Metropolitan Germanos and Fr. Behr were present, the former being welcomed at the West door by choir and clergy with *εις πολλα ετη δεσποτα*. The service was beautifully sung, and the Metropolitan Germanos preached to the people.

* * * * *

Nine churches took part in the A. and E.C.A. Sunday at Bournemouth this year, and sermons on some aspect of the work of the Association were preached at all of them. As usual a public meeting was held on the next day, and that also was more fully attended than ever before. Fr. Caswall, Chairman of the Bournemouth Branch presided, and speeches were made by Fr. Gage-Brown, Fr. Napier Whittingham, Fr. Borough and the General Secretary.

One very satisfactory outcome of this Meeting was that the Bournemouth Branch of A. and E.C.A. undertook the support of one of the students now training for the priesthood at the Russian Academy in Paris, and is now setting to work to raise £50 a year for that purpose. A day or two after the meeting the General Secretary received a letter from one who was present but wishes to remain anonymous, enclosing a cheque for £45 also to maintain a student for one year at the Academy. Both these generous contributions to this splendid object will be applied through the Bursaries Scheme of the Russian Church Aid Fund: and the A. and E.C.A. has the honour of providing the first two Bursaries to be actually realized under that scheme.

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Mr. E. O. Leggatt has presented a copy of Neale's *Primitive Liturgies* and the companion volume of *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies* by Neale and Littledale to the Association Library. We have also to thank the Revd. C. B. Moss for Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church* (4 vols.) and *The Patriarchate of Antioch*. Neale's *History* is difficult to obtain nowadays. Members of the Association are reminded that they are entitled to borrow books from the Library at a nominal charge—1d. a week per volume, and postage both ways.

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A CORRECTION.

On page 139, line 35 of our last issue, for "than" please read "but."



THE MOST REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

President of the Lambeth Conference, 1930.

The Christian East

THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF 1930.

By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

IF W. J. Birkbeck, Bishop Collins, Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury or any of those who were our leaders—Mr. Athelstan Riley is still with us and as vigorous and helpful a leader as ever—in the Anglican-Orthodox movement twenty-five years ago, had been asked whether they thought it possible that at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, conveyed through the Ecumenical Patriarch, an Orthodox Delegation consisting of eight bishops officially commissioned by their respective churches and led by the Patriarch of Alexandria himself, would attend the Lambeth Conference of 1930, I am sure that they would have replied that except that God prepares miracles, such a happy event was impossible.

It is true that Dr. J. M. Neale, Dr. Pusey and the other great zealots for the Reunion of historic Christendom who in 1864 helped Mr. George Williams to found the Eastern Churches Association, looked hopefully for the speedy Union of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. That expectation, however, was born of enthusiasm and not of knowledge and was destroyed by the famous Conferences at Bonn in 1874 and 1875 which at Dr. Döllinger's instance were attended by Old Catholic, Orthodox and Anglican theologians. Döllinger and those who with him had repudiated the Vatican Council's dogma of Papal Infallibility, knew the history and life of the Anglican Church and, though the Dutch Old Catholic Church which is the lineal Catholic Church of Holland held back, pressed the Orthodox to join in a declaration accepting the Validity of Anglican Orders and advocating Intercommunion between the Orthodox, Old Catholic and Anglican Churches.¹

In effect the authorities of the Orthodox Church were ignorant of almost everything about us except our existence. They knew that Rome denounced us as a Protestant sect and no church at all and were imbued with prejudices against us derived from Latin propagandists. The most that Rhosses and his confrères at Bonn

¹ The Dutch Church formally recognized Anglican Orders in 1925, Dr. Kenninck, Archbishop of Utrecht notifying the fact to Archbishop Davidson in a letter which appeared in the "Christian East," of January, 1926, p.218. In consequence, all the Old Catholics admit Anglicans to Communion.

could do was to say that they hoped that on further investigation Dr. Döllinger's judgment of us would be vindicated.

Inevitably, the disillusionment of the Bonn Conferences discouraged those who had dreamed that Anglican and Orthodox Union was to be achieved *per saltum*. That disillusionment chilled the atmosphere of the Anglican-Orthodox movement and, indeed, the Eastern Church Association came near to shipwreck.

God prepares miracles!

The set-back, however, was only in appearance, and the Bonn Conferences proved the real beginning of the drawing together of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches.

On the one hand, both because the Old Catholics represent a Western Catholicism which has never accepted the more modern claims and innovations of the Papacy, Orthodox theologians attached, as they still attach, great importance to their judgments and in particular were greatly influenced by the views of Dr. Döllinger. In consequence, they became ready to reconsider the unfavourable opinions in regard to the Anglican Church which they had accepted at face value from the Papalist controversialists.

On the other hand, as soon as the effect of the set back to their eagerness delivered at Bonn had begun to wear off, there was a rally of enthusiasm in the relatively small but intensely keen body of Anglicans who were devoted to the cause of Anglican-Orthodox Union. Only the lesson had been learnt and from the time of the Bonn Conferences until 1893, those at the centre of the movement were fully aware that many years of hard patient work must be devoted to the preparation of the ground before the Union of the two churches could profitably be discussed.

Forty years ago, as now, a certain interest in the Churches of the East was widespread among Anglican Churchmen. Moreover, those were the days when the red Sultan Abdul-Hamid had well begun his habit of periodically massacring his Christian *rayah* and England had been roused by Gladstone to a passion of indignation at the Bulgarian atrocities. One of the great British political parties, it is true, was obsessed by the extraordinary legend which still lingers in some of our military clubs—it originated in that dream just dreamed by *le Roi Soleil* and nearly realized by Napoleon which is still fostered by French Chauvinism—that the Greek and the Slavs of the Balkans are degenerate and the Turk is a gentleman. British Jingoism opposed the liberation of the Turk's *rayah*. But the leaders of English religion of all types had become alive to the fact that it was because of their Faith that the Christians of Turkey had been oppressed for centuries in an unspeakable helotage and were being massacred in tens of thousands whenever the European diplomatic situation made it safe for the Sultan to massacre them. In consequence, a

profound and deeply-rooted sympathy with the persecuted Churches of the East and a warm admiration of their steadfastness in martyrdom had begun to develop in England.

None the less, then as now the number of those who had time and contacts whereby to familiarize themselves with Eastern Christianity and to devote themselves to the practical problem of Anglican and Orthodox Reunion was necessarily limited. But the movement was led and controlled by men who were both salted and of unusual ability and wisdom. Thus when the E.C.A. was reconstituted in 1893, Dr. John Wordsworth, of Salisbury, a scholar of great reputation, who belonged to our central High Church tradition, and whose possession of the confidence of every section of the English Church safeguarded it against the suspicion of sectional tendency, became its President. Until his death in 1911, his labour for the movement was unremitting. Among others who in the next fifteen years contributed each in his own way greatly to one steady solid work of E.C.A. were Dr. Headlam, now Bishop of Gloucester, Canon Brightman, Dr. Leighton Pullan, Dr. W. E. Collins, and that inimitable pair of laymen and lifelong friends, Messrs. W. J. Birkbeck and Mr. Athelstan Riley. Of necessity, their active work for the movement was in the nature of a *parergon*. But it was a consuming interest. They spent their vacations travelling in the Near East. The stream of their writings, some popular and some permanent additions, *e.g.*, Brightman's Eastern Liturgies, to the apparatus of the Anglican student of Orthodoxy was very considerable. Dr. Collins whose learning and pervasive influence make him comparable to that Anglican prodigy of the mid-nineteenth century, Dr. J. M. Neale, became Bishop of Gibraltar in 1904, and though he died in 1911 while still in the forties, his magnetic personality—incidentally he fitted himself to speak and preach in Greek, Armenian and other Eastern languages—and his rare zeal and vision made his seven-years episcopate a veritable apostolate of Anglican-Orthodox Reunion. Happily the time for estimating Mr. Athelstan Riley's share in the progress of the movement would appear to be far off. The notable journey which he made in the Christian East in 1887 well before he had reached the thirties—he was a principal member of the party which at Archbishop Benson's bidding found their way to Mar Shimun at Qudhanes in the then almost unknown mountains of Kurdistan, and founded our Archbishop's Assyrian Mission—and the books which he published afterwards brought him into the movement which has ever since been a paramount obsession of his life. To-day he is just beginning to be an old man, but continues to be one of its most dynamic forces. Of his friend, W. J. Birkbeck, it is not overmuch to say that no Anglican who has not lived himself into the atmosphere of Orthodoxy, has a right to form an opinion upon

the Orthodox Church or the problems of Anglican-Orthodox relations unless and until he has assimilated the flair which is so communicable a quality of his writings about the Christian East. Steeped as he became in the mysticism which is everywhere the especial characteristic of Orthodoxy, he knew Russia and its Church as not many Russians themselves knew it. The finest kind of English country gentleman, he was devoted to the English Church. Knowing Russia intimately, he enjoyed unusual and close friendship with the martyred Tsar Nicholas and was trusted and employed by King Edward. In his day, Tsarist Russia was Holy Russia and unquestionably his work was one of the factors which changed the hostility of the Tsar's Government towards Great Britain into goodwill and which opened the possibility of the Triple Entente. Strong Anglo-Catholic though he was, he possessed the confidence of Archbishops Benson, Temple and Davidson, who all knew that he was incapable of abusing it for sectional ends. Archbishop Davidson had a singular affection for him and consulted him in all things to do with the Christian East. Our present Archbishop has been known to say, "We have no Birkbeck to advise us now." His death early in 1916 on his return from a confidential mission to Petrograd, undertaken to counteract the evil influence of the Monk Rasputin in the Russian Court, saved him from the exquisite pain which he would have experienced at the crash of the Tsardom and the present crucifixion by the Bolshevik tyranny of the Russia which he loved. It is not over-much to say that to those of us who worked with him—he was one of the men who really count and who get things done, but of whose existence the general public is ignorant—the miss of his guidance has been a sore thing.—R.I.P.

The necessities of the movement as they were perceived clearly by Bishop Wordsworth and the E.C.A. in 1893, was in the first place to establish frequent contacts between Anglicans and the Orthodox and to engender among both a strong will for Union and in the second place to induce Orthodox theologians to make independent investigation of the nature and history of the Anglican Church.

In setting about that spade work they relaxed no effort, but adopted the greatest caution. In spite of the Papal Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* which in 1896 condemned Anglican Orders, they were confident that if Orthodox theologians would investigate the doctrine and life of the Anglican Church, they would find them akin to those of the Orthodox Church and would revise the prejudiced judgments current among them. But for that investigation to be secured and to be carried through time was needed. The one thing to be avoided was premature discussions.

It is now widely, though still not generally, realized by Anglicans

that for the Orthodox full dogmatic agreement is the necessary preliminary both of formal Intercommunion between the two churches, that is to say, of the formal reciprocal authorization of the access of their members to their respective sacramental ministrations and—which for our purpose is hardly to be distinguished from formal Intercommunion—of their Union, that is to say, of their affirming themselves to be one Church.

That requirement on the Orthodox side is not so stark and forbidding as at first glance it would appear.

In the narrower sense, dogma signifies only a precision of the Faith which because it is to be received as the Voice of the Holy Spirit delivered through the supreme organ of Christ's Church, *i.e.*, the totality of the Apostolic Episcopate assembled in His Name and guided into the Truth by Him through His Spirit, is incontrovertible and binding upon all faithful Christians. Strictly, the Orthodox are tied only by the dogmatic precisions of the Seven Œcumenical Councils. But those precisions deal almost wholly with Christology and with the Nature and Operation of the Holy Spirit and do not touch upon the doctrine of the Nature of the Church, its Ministry, its Sacramental Life and so on. In regard, however, to that large sphere which is epitomized in the last four clauses of the Creed and which provides abundant matter for dogmatic precision, Orthodox theologians do not hold themselves free. On the contrary, they are of one mind that although no dogmas have been precisised in regard to it, they cannot go outside the broad and consistent tradition of Faith and Order which they maintain has been preserved in the Orthodox Church from the earliest centuries without "innovation, addition or diminution." That *tradition* is not to be confused with traditional practice or with popular beliefs, but is to be found in the writings of the fathers of the first eight centuries, the consensus of whose doctrinal statements are to be reckoned as *theologoumena*, *i.e.*, as teaching which, pending the precision of dogmatic precision upon them by an Eighth Œcumenical Council, may not be controverted. In the tradition of doctrine which is to be accepted as appertaining to the sphere of *theologoumena*, and, therefore, to be within the sphere of dogma, there are, of course, certain divergences which Orthodox theologians hold themselves free both to note and discuss as open questions. But in doing so, they cannot go outside the limits of the tradition or treat any *theologoumenon* as open to rejection. Indeed, for safety's sake, as also for the avoidance of disruptive controversy among themselves, they are obliged to emphasise the stricter and sharper statements of their received *theologoumena*.

Accordingly, in postulating full dogmatic agreement as an essential basis of Reunion, the Orthodox are constrained to look

for essential identity with their traditional faith as to the Church, the Ministry, the Eucharist and so on, as expressed in the writings of their theologians, their Liturgy and in their practice.

As was made very plain by the Declaration of the Orthodox Delegates at the Lausanne Conferences the covering of differences which are not justified by the divergences in Orthodox *theologoumena*, would be a treachery for them and a Union based on a dogmatic agreement by the ambiguous use of words would not be a Union at all,¹ but a Union such as that reached with Rome at Ferrara—Florence, a *Unio Haud Vera*.

This being well understood by Bishops Wordsworth and Collins, and Birkbeck, and by their chief collaborators, their anxiety was that before approaching the question as to whether dogmatic agreement between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches is possible, the Orthodox should thoroughly understand the Anglican position which as we have noted, was almost unknown to them in 1893.

The great approximation between the two churches which has marked the past sixteen years, could certainly not have taken place except for the unremitting persistence and self restraint with which here a little and there a little they and those who have followed after them, were content to labour for what seemed a distant future.

I have dwelt at such length upon the debt of gratitude due to the men who did the spade work of preparation so wonderfully, because the sowing is greater than the reaping. For my own part to have learnt of them and to have worked with and under them has been one of the great privileges of my life.

Although the seed which they sowed has now begun to ripen towards harvest, the same wisdom which they exercised is no whit the less necessary to-day than forty years ago. If the Orthodox have got rid of their old prejudices against the Anglican Church and have entered into warm and fraternal contacts with it, dogmatic agreement is far from having been reached between us and them and much patience will be necessary before such an agreement can be formulated in terms which the whole Orthodox Church can accept and which the whole Anglican Church can affirm.

Certainly it is true that if the Anglican Church were—not an Anglo-Catholic bloc but—an historical central High Church bloc, such a dogmatic agreement would be easy. But from first to last, those who have been at the centre of the movement have, on the one hand, been aware that no special relations with a section of the Anglican Church are possible for the Orthodox and, on the other hand, have resolutely ruled out a sectional Anglican relationship with the Orthodox as unthinkable.

Whatever progress has been made or may in the future be made

¹ For the text of the Declaration see Bate's *Faith and Order* (Lausanne) pp. 382-6.

in the *rapprochement* of the two Churches, has been and must be between the Anglican Church as a whole and the Orthodox Church as a whole.

The fruits of the sound method of approach adopted after the Bonn Conferences, were apparent before the Great War.

The most thorny and—as we in England know so well—the most difficult of all the questions which belong to the problem of Reunion is that of the Validity of Ministries.

Once two Churches have recognized the validity of each other's ministries, their Union or Intercommunion necessitates no more—though no less—than their dogmatic agreement, and that arrived at, they can merge into a common life. But, if that recognition cannot be given by one of them, then it cannot accept the sacramental life of the other as being of the same nature as its own. Before Union or Intercommunion with it, it must require the reordination of the other's ministers. Reordination is meaningless unless it signifies the acknowledgment of deficiency in his Orders on the part of the person reordained and such an admission cannot be made by those who believe in the validity of their own Orders without the repudiation of their Church's history and their own experience.

For practical purposes, therefore, the validity of a Church's orders must always be among the first questions investigated by a Church which looks to Reunion with it.

Accordingly, the attention of the Orthodox became concentrated upon the possibility of their accepting Anglican Ordinations as valid. In the scope of that enquiry they were governed, of course, by the principle of Orthodoxy that while the Orthodox tests of the external and canonical side of the Ministry and the Sacraments must be satisfied, the inner meaning and significance which Anglicans give to the Ministry and Sacraments, must in effect be the same as their Ministry and Sacraments have for the Orthodox.

The investigation of Anglican Ordinations thus involved a general investigation of the Nature and Faith of the Anglican Church through the study of her formularies and actual life.

I have myself in preparation for publication the masterly survey of the history of the Orthodox investigation of Anglican Ordinations which that admirable ecclesiastical historian and prelate, Archbishop Chrysostom of Greece, contributed in 1924 to *Nea Sion*, the official Jerusalem monthly. In that résumé his Grace shows how when the Orthodox began their investigation, they were struck by the fact which had almost been forgotten, that in the 17th and 18th centuries when the contacts between the two churches were very close, no doubt appear to have existed in the four ancient Orthodox Patriarchates as to the validity of Anglican

Orders. Thus the Orthodox Patriarchs salute the Archbishop of Canterbury as brother—a mode of address which according to Orthodox practice would have been impossible if they had not taken for granted the validity of the Apostolic Episcopate of the Anglican Church.

Further, as they studied the history of the English Church in our Archives XV—XIX and in our Prayer Book, Ordinal and other formularies, Orthodox Theologians found that in spite of certain difficulties those documents were at least very susceptible of an interpretation which satisfied Orthodox *desiderata* and the more they examined the matter, the more they found that neither in regard to the external aspect of the Apostolic Succession nor in regard to its inner significance, was the Papal condemnation of Anglican Orders warranted.

It was thus that as early as 1898 the Russian Professor Bulgakov and—about the same time—Professor Sokolov published memorable monographs in which they concluded that all that was needed for the acceptance of the validity of Anglican Ordinations by the Orthodox Church was a Synodical declaration of our bishops that they believe themselves to be in the true line of inner and external succession to the Apostles in the sense in which the Orthodox Church understands that succession.

In itself, those monographs were a great advance but, of course, they embody no more than expressions of individual opinion and, though the fact that they were uncontested was typical of the gradual change from prejudice to understanding, they were not authoritative.

In 1903, my old friend, Professor Chrestos Androustos, whose judgment, precisely because he is pre-eminently a strict and conservative theologian, had great weight, published his memorable treatise on Anglican Ordinations.¹ In that work he reached much the same judgment as Bulgakov and Sokolov, but with greater theological science.

Weighty though Androustos' authority was and is among Greek theologians, his treatise derived the more weight because of its provenance.

Instigated by an American Bishop, Dr. Grafton, of Fond du Lac, who was impetuously enthusiastic to bring about Inter-communion between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, four American Anglican priests had addressed the Œcumenical Patriarch in 1902 with the embarrassing question as to whether the Orthodox could and would accept Anglican clergy in their Orders. As things were, the proposition of that question was a mistake, and though I had had a humble part in its consideration,

¹ Grove Campbell's translation, "The Validity of Anglican Ordinations," Grant Richards, 1909, is not very satisfactory.

I remember very vividly how his All Holiness Joachim III., who was one of the greatest of the Œcumenical Patriarchs under the Turkish Sultans, told me a year or so later that such direct enquiries had better not be made. "Avoid," he said, "the formal proposition of agreements. Wait patiently. Things will happen and with larger knowledge on your side and on ours, a position will be created."

Joachim III. was not only a visionary in the field of Reunion, but a very wise man. That which he said to me in 1904 was almost identical with that which Bishops Wordsworth, Collins and Mr. Birkbeck impressed upon me. At the time, as was natural, having a relatively young man's impulsiveness, I was impatient of the advice. Looking back, however, over all that has happened in the past twenty-five years, I recognize as providential the shelving of that American enquiry by the appointment of a Commission of the Holy Synod of Constantinople to investigate the question of Anglican Orders and by the issue by Professor Androustos of his brochure by the instruction of that Commission as its interim report. As his All-Holiness told me they would, things have happened and a position has been created. So that I have realized in dust and ashes that my relatively youthful impetuosity of a quarter of a century ago was altogether wrong, and that as in most matters, so in that of the Reunion of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox Churches of the East, the mills of God grind slowly.

In fact, between 1902 and the beginning of the Great War in 1914, no single event in the history of the approximation of the Anglican and Orthodox Church can be regarded as salient. None the less, *piu si muove*. As I have said, those were years of preparation. Slowly but surely, the number of the Orthodox who were convinced, or ready to be convinced, that the Anglican Church has not lost the Apostolic tradition and that in her main current of Faith and Life, she is very akin to the Orthodox Church, continually increased. Now and then, as when in 1905, Dr. Blyth, the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem posed a formal question to the Patriarch Damianos as to whether Anglicans could be admitted to Orthodox Sacraments, and was told that unless and until the whole Orthodox Church had decided the matter, nothing could be done, a set-back occurred.

But the contacts increased, the liaison was strengthened, the desire for union became stronger and more widespread and—to understand the nature of a problem is the first stage of its solution—the difficulties which must be removed before dogmatic agreement between the two churches began to be adequately estimated on either side.

I am bold to risk whatever small reputation I possess as understanding the spirit and life of the Orthodox Church by saying that, if the atmosphere could be cleared of confusing side issues, the essential and cardinal point on which dogmatic agreement between the two Churches must hinge is as to whether or no the Faith, *i.e.*, the Truth as it is in the Lord Jesus has been revealed to men.

The radical antinomy between Rome and Orthodoxy is as to whether there exists an organ in Christ's Body the Church, the precisions of the deposit of Faith precised by which must be received as incontrovertible by every faithful Christian.

The radical antinomy between extreme Protestantism and Orthodoxy, as I understand it, is as to whether an explicit and incontrovertible Revelation—a deposit of Faith—has been mediated once and for all, which revelation is and has always been safeguarded, sustained and verified by the Holy Spirit in the collective consciousness of the members of the Church.

The Orthodox make their appeal to Holy Scripture as plainly containing that Revelation with no less finality than the most Evangelical of Protestants and I venture to regard as by no means desperate, the hope of an ultimate resolution of the apparently sharp antinomies between the Orthodox *theologoumenon* that the organ by which Christ through the Holy Spirit guides the members of His Church to experience that Revelation is the whole body of the Apostolic Episcopate and the axiom of the historic Anglican Evangelical that that Revelation is plain to every man who seeking the Holy Spirit's guidance, searches the Scriptures.

The historic Anglican Evangelical is needlessly shy of the Orthodox postulate that the Holy Spirit has worked and works to make plain the meaning of Holy Scripture through the whole body of the Apostolic Episcopate. In advancing that proposition, the Orthodox do not predicate that any and every precision of the Faith or decree of the totality of the Episcopate meeting in a General Council is to be received as incontrovertible and as *eo ipso* binding on all faithful Christians. On the contrary, they hold that such Councils can err and are to be regarded as Œcumenical Councils, *sc.* Councils of the Whole Episcopate guided into the Truth by the Holy Spirit, when and only when the whole body of the Church recognizes them by the guidance of the Spirit as consonant both with Holy Scripture and with the age-long collective experience of the Gospel by all faithful Christians.

Some twenty years ago I was inclined to work for a special liaison between those Anglicans who approximated to Anglo-Catholicism and the Orthodox. But as time went on, I have increasingly realized both that special relations between a section of Anglicans and the Orthodox can lead nowhither and also that,

apart from being increasingly aware of myself as a thorough Anglican and altogether devoted to the maintenance of the unity of the Anglican Church, dogmatic agreement and *ex sequitur* formal Intercommunion between the Anglican Church as a whole could be achieved without compromise of principle on either side, if it were not for the presence in the Anglican Church of that relatively small but not insignificant section which refuses to agree that any dogma whatever can be accepted as incontrovertible.

For my own part I can never understand how in view of the history and the formularies of the Anglican Churches that section justifies its existence to itself. But to doubt that it is conscientious and does so justify itself, would be a treachery to charity.

Accordingly, though I cannot perceive how it is that the section in Anglicanism which—to me it often appears mediævalist in its philosophical anachronisms—describes itself as Modernist, is content to affirm the 39 articles and to retain membership in the Anglican Church. I am eager to do to them what I would have them do to me. If it were in my power, therefore, to achieve a dogmatic agreement with the Orthodox and in doing so to drive them out of the Anglican Church, I could not and would not exercise that power.

God prepares miracles. But until the antinomy is resolved between those who among us believe that an incontrovertible Revelation has been given to the Church and those who believe all Revelation to be relative and would cheerfully accept for themselves the Russian Khomiakov's ironic designation of the Lutheran Churches as a body of good men eagerly seeking after Truth, but certain that they cannot attain to it, our Union or Intercommunion with the Orthodox will be difficult, humanly speaking, of achievement.

But if that full dogmatic agreement which is necessary before the Anglican and Orthodox Churches can unite did not appear to be on the horizon thirty years ago, the Orthodox principle of Economy permits the Orthodox Church to have practical relations with other churches of a warm and fraternal nature.

Put very briefly, that principle of Economy is that where it is for the good of individual souls or for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom in earth, the Church having the right and duty of exercising the stewardship, *i.e.*, the *oikonomia* of the laws of her household, can relax with the letter of those laws at her discretion. Such dispensation or economy, however, must in no wise compromise the Faith and can rightly be exercised only so far as those for whom it is exercised, approximate towards Orthodoxy both in faith and in goodwill.

At least a very large body of Orthodox theologians hold that

the Orthodox Church cannot recognize as valid *in principle* any sacraments except those administered by the Orthodox priesthood. But where the due succession of the Apostolic Episcopate has been maintained, where the current of Life and Faith in a Church presents near kinship to that in their own and where the relations of the two Churches are characterized by fraternal love, that Economy can be exercised.

As to the sphere in which it can be exercised, no corporate decision has been made by the Orthodox Church as a whole and twenty-five years ago the consensus of Orthodox theologians pointed to the exclusion of the ministrations and reception of the Sacraments. But in modern times, so far as I am aware, no authoritative Orthodox theologian has ever questioned the rightfulness of its exercise in the acceptance of non-Orthodox adherents to Orthodoxy in their Baptism, Confirmation and Orders when they have been administered by a priesthood which the Orthodox authorities can recognize as canonical and valid.

Accordingly *pari passu* with the great progress made in the past twenty years in preparing the ground for Anglican-Orthodox dogmatic agreement, a continually increasing exercise of Economy has been made possible both by that progress and by the warm friendship which has grown up between the Churches.

As always in such cases, the *imponderabilia* which cannot be scheduled are more important than those events which can be put in a chronological table.

In this case their common experiences during the Great War and after, and their reciprocity in mutual service, together with the love and sympathy born of the unspeakable sufferings of the Greeks in their martyrdom by seas of blood and by the white death during their utter extirpation from their home lands in that Asia Minor which was the cradle of Christian Theological Science, and of the martyrdom of the Russian Nation in its blood-gilt crucifixion by the Bolsheviks, have created the very atmosphere in which the two Churches could really come to know each other as sister churches.

It will be better here for me to notice only a few of the more symbolic *notabilia chronologica* of the progress of the past twenty years.

As I have pointed out the recognition of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox was so to speak the salient of the advance in regard both to the formal theological front and to the economical front of their relations.

In 1902 when the Holy Synod of Constantinople set up its Commission to investigate Anglican Ordinations, optimism could not see a favourable decision on the horizon.

In 1922, a Commission of the Holy Synod of Constantinople

reported that on Orthodox principles Anglican Orders presented the same features which had led the Orthodox Churches to accept Roman Catholic, Coptic, Jacobite, Armenian and Assyrian Orders. Accordingly it recommended the Œcumenical Patriarchate to declare and to invite the other autocephalous Orthodox Churches to declare the acceptance of their validity. To that recommendation it added another that Anglicans in isolation and emergency should be admitted to Orthodox Sacraments and that in like case the Orthodox should be authorized to receive Anglican Sacraments.

The Patriarch Meletios, of Alexandria, who heads the present Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference and was then Œcumenical Patriarch, at once notified Archbishop Davidson formally of the acceptance of Anglican Ordinations by the Great Church of Constantinople and issued an encyclical to the other Orthodox autocephalous Churches inviting them to do the same.

With the exception of the Churches of Jerusalem and Cyprus, no formal answer has been returned from any Church, the others having decided to wait until the question has been settled and conjoint action can be taken by a Synod of the whole Orthodox Church.

The Constantinople judgment of 1922 has been controverted, however, by no Orthodox theologian and may be taken as having been generally accepted.

The second recommendation was supported with a convincing precedent by my dear friend, that fine theologian, Professor Komnenos, who died in 1923 when tending typhus patients among the refugees from Asia Minor and whose name will always be remembered as the author of the Commission's report. In the twelfth century, Latin prisoners in Egypt were admitted to Holy Communion by the Patriarch of Alexandria. That being so, if Anglican Orders can be accepted as valid, the admission of Anglicans in isolation and in emergency would be preëdent.

The Œcumenical Patriarch naturally decided to reserve action upon the second recommendation until all the Orthodox autocephalous Churches should have concurred in the first. No pronouncement, therefore, has been made upon it either by it or by any Orthodox autocephalous Church.

On the other hand, according to the wise dictum of the Patriarch Joachim, "things have happened."

During the War, in England, where thanks to the work of the Revs. H. J. Fynes Clinton whose labour and achievements for our movement can never be adequately recognized and the Rev. R. M. French, the present secretary of the A. and E.C.A. to form which E.C.A. and A. and E.—O.C.U. amalgamated in 1916, a band of Serb theological students was trained at Oxford under the guidance of Father Nickolai Velimirovic, now Bishop

of Okhrida. Their communion at Anglican altars was frequent. In many countries of the Near East, Orthodox Bishops authorized Anglicans to receive communion when in isolation and emergency. Overseas and especially in U.S.A., the Orthodox in isolation and emergency resorted, and continue frequently to resort, with the sanction of their ecclesiastical authorities to Anglican Sacraments.

In the past few years, the Archbishop of Corcyra has ordered his clergy to communicate those Armenian refugees who are still to be found in Corfu. Over and above the many Anglicans who have been admitted by economy when in necessity and isolation to Communion all over the world by the Orthodox and the Orthodox who have been authorized to resort to Anglican altars for Communion, the late Serb Patriarch Dmitri himself communicated six Anglicans who were neither in necessity nor isolation to Communion—contrary to the usual custom whereby a priest administers the Sacrament to the communicants at a Patriarchal Liturgy, he gave it them with his own hands—very publicly in his Cathedral at Belgrad on our Christmas Day, 1927. And further, although her Majesty is an Anglican and a frequent communicant in the English Church at Bucharest, the Roumanian Patriarch administers Communion to Queen Marie of Roumania four times a year.

At the same time, it became normal for the Orthodox to welcome Anglican bishops and priests as brother bishops and priests, for Anglicans and Orthodox to preach in each other's churches and so on.

On the official side of the movement the appointment by Archbishop Davidson of our Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee under the chairmanship of Bishop Gore, and the visit of the Metropolitan of Demotika and Professor Komnenos as an official Delegation from the Œcumenical Patriarchate to the Lambeth Conference of 1920—their Report may be read in the *Christian East* of September, 1920—were significant.

In March, 1921, the *Locum Tenens* of the Œcumenical Patriarchate came to London to thank Archbishop Davidson for his championship of the persecuted Orthodox of Turkey and presented him and his successors with the *Stavropegeion* or double-headed eagle which is worn only by an Œcumenical Patriarch and which Dr. Lang will wear when he introduces the Orthodox Delegation to the present Lambeth Conference—a unique and very symbolic expression of the relations of the two churches.

In 1922, the then Œcumenical Patriarch appointed Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira to be apokrisary, sc. legate, to Archbishop Davidson, an appointment which was renewed to Archbishop Lang in 1928. There is no precedent for the appointment of such an official by an Orthodox Patriarch except to an Orthodox Patriarch.

And so on and so on.

Such circumstances explain the statement of the Œcumenical Patriarch to Canon Wigram early this year that the relations of the two churches had passed from the stage of friendship and had become fraternal and have led the Pan-Orthodox Commission which was held last month at Mount Athos to place the relations of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches as one of the most pressing items in the agenda of the Pan-Orthodox Pro-Synod, for the holding of which preparation is being made.

They also indicate why it was that Dr. Lang not only acted on the recommendation of the Archbishop's Faith and Order Committee of which Dr. Headlam is the Chairman, to invite the Œcumenical Patriarch to arrange for an official Delegation representative of all the Orthodox autocephalous Churches to come to the Lambeth Conference of 1930, but has received with Delegation with an emphasis and distinction which in his own words have been calculated to demonstrate to the world the fraternal relations of the two Churches.

God prepares miracles!

To expect startling results from the visit of the Delegation would be unduly optimistic, but we may be sanguine that by the work of the Spirit on the one hand, its discussions with the Bishops of the Conference may bring the two Churches much nearer to dogmatic agreement, to Union and to formal Intercommunion, and that on the other hand, much may be done to solve the problem which is very urgent overseas, of regularizing by economy the practical relations of the two churches.

In closing this survey, it is impossible not to refer to the great work of Archbishop Davidson in the field of Anglican and Orthodox Union as of every other noble cause.

If it is proper for me to say so—and I am confident that Mr. Riley and Mr. Fynes Clinton would say I do not exaggerate—without his zeal, patience, wisdom, courage and greatness of vision, that which is to-day could never have been. A large book would be needed to summarize all that he did, and the repercussions of what he did, to further the movement. That he is not among us in the flesh to welcome them is a matter of poignant regret not only to the Patriarch Meletios who knew him well, loved him dearly and indeed owed to him his life as also the lives of tens of thousands of his people, but to every member of the Delegation.

The affectionate gratitude with which the Orthodox cherish his memory is evidenced by the eagerness with which they made their way on their arrival at Canterbury on July 5th, to praise God for his life and love, and to pray for the peace of his soul at his grave in the Garth of the Cathedral.

Among the things which the Patriarch Meletios wrote me on his way from Alexandria that he desired most to do in England,

was to visit Lady Davidson and nothing that he has done since his arrival in London has delighted him more than the gratification of that pious wish.

Finally, I may be pardoned for saying that we are indeed happy that Dr. Lang shared intimately with, and advised Archbishop Davidson in, his labours for the bringing together of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches and that he possesses the profound affection and the full confidence of the Orthodox.

[NOTE: *An account of the visit of the Orthodox Delegation, with photographs, will appear in our next issue.*]

LAMBETH CONFERENCE, 1930.

THE INVITATIONS ISSUED BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE LEADING PRELATES OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH THROUGH THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, INVITING THEM TO BE PRESENT AT THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE, 1930.

Lambeth Palace,
24th February, 1930.

Most Reverend Archbishop of Constantinople and Œcumenical Patriarch, my beloved and dear brother in Christ,

I expect that Your All-Holiness has long been cognizant of the fact that in accordance with custom the great Conference, which is held every ten years, of the Bishops of the whole Anglican Communion throughout the world, will once more be assembled here at Lambeth in July of this year of Our Lord, 1930.

This Conference will open with services of worship in Canterbury Cathedral, on Saturday, July 5th, and in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on Sunday, July 6th. It will meet in full session during the week, Monday, July 7th, to Saturday, July 12th, and thereafter for the space of three weeks the Conference will be divided into groups to consider various subjects touching the spiritual and moral condition of the Church and of the world. After meeting in full session for some days, the Conference will close on Sunday, August 10th, with a Service of Thanksgiving in Westminster Abbey. Subject to the guidance of the Holy Spirit of God, no matter for discussion with which the Conference will be occupied will be of greater importance than the question how best, for the service of Almighty God and for the sake of the Lord Christ, we can strengthen still further those ties of sympathy and understanding which already exist between the Anglican Communion and other parts of the Church of God throughout the world.



THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION WITH THE BISHOP OF LONDON AND MEMBERS OF THE A. AND E.C.A.
AT FULHAM PALACE.—July 11th, 1930.

With none do we desire more heartily growth in sympathy, in mutual understanding and in brotherhood, than with the Holy Orthodox Churches of the East. I remember with satisfaction the presence of some representatives of the Orthodox Churches on the occasion of the Lambeth Conference held in London in 1920. I remember with joy all that has happened since which has brought the Anglican and Holy Orthodox Churches yet closer to each other. And I recall especially Your All-Holiness' own words in your letter to me written only last December wherein you testify to the fact that on your part "nothing will be left undone to maintain unbroken and to develop further our mutual brotherly relations."

In consequence I now write to Your All-Holiness as occupying, in some sense, among the venerable Patriarchs and Metropolitans of the Holy Orthodox Churches the position of *primus inter pares*, to invite you, even at this comparatively late hour, to consider whether you would be able and willing to secure that a representative deputation of, let us say, some ten or twelve persons, discreet and well-learned theologians, and widely representative of the Autocephalous Churches as well as of the Church of Constantinople itself, should be present in London, not later than the first of July, in order to take counsel with various representatives of the Anglican Communion on the subject of our mutual relations.

It would, I think, be necessary that such a deputation should remain in England from (about) July 1st to (about) July 19th. They would thus have opportunity during the first ten days to attend the great services of which I have spoken and to consult with members of our long-existing Eastern Churches Committee, and, during the last part of their stay, with a group of Bishops, members of the Lambeth Conference, who would be nominated by the Conference on or about July 8th. I should of course make myself responsible for securing reception and hospitality during their stay in England for such as Your All-Holiness might send. It would be well if some of the delegation, though by no means necessarily all of them, should be themselves Bishops. It would be, as I have said, particularly welcome to me if those who came represented as many as possible of the Autocephalous Churches.

Finally, if and when I hear from Your All-Holiness that you are willing and have been able to secure some such delegation as we desire, I should wish to write later on to invite personally those whom you name to me as likely and able to come, and I should write to them through the venerable Patriarchs and Metropolitans under whose special jurisdiction they may be, and I would desire Your All-Holiness, if you are willing to attempt to assemble this delegation, to inform the various authorities of the Churches that I should myself thus be writing to them later.

I am conscious, Your All-Holiness, that I am laying a heavy task

upon you. But I am encouraged in my action by the conversations which I have had with your representative here in London, Archbishop Germanos, whose friendly help and wise counsel I increasingly appreciate, and I have asked him to supplement this letter from myself with any remarks and comments which he may deem to be of use and service. Nor will Your All-Holiness fail to recognise the great benefits which by the blessing of God might follow the association, before Him and before all the world, of the Holy Orthodox Church in this way, and by this means with the Anglican Lambeth Conference. We cannot ask even the Bishops of your Church or of other Churches to be members of the Lambeth Conference itself. But we can and do hereby ask them to join with us in prayer and in consultation in the closest touch with it; and I do not doubt that, if this may still be possible, it will prove to have been well worth attempting.

May the All-wise and Almighty God have Your All-Holiness in His keeping. May He continue to protect the Church whose shepherd you have been called to be, and, praying with you and in your own words that we may press on to that day when all who believe in and love the One Lord and Saviour of us all may indeed be one,

I remain,
Your All-Holiness'
Beloved brother and servant,
(Signed) ✠ COSMO CANTUAR.

II. REPLY OF THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England,
Lord Cosmo, my brother beloved and longed for in Christ our God, grace be to your reverence, and peace, from God our Father and Our Lord Jesus Christ.

With joy we reply to the honoured letter of your Reverence, which you were pleased to direct to us, and through us to all our Sisters, the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches, being a courteous invitation, so that at the coming assembly of the Anglican Bishops, in the general conference of Lambeth, that will be held in London according to the custom of the revered Anglican Church, there may be present, for the manifestation and strengthening of the mutual bonds of love and honour, a general representation of our Orthodox Church composed of a delegate of each Autocephalous Church.

We proceed to declare, that both our great Church of Christ, and all our sister Orthodox Churches, to which we hastened to make it known, have received this courteous invitation with great joy, as all

have already announced to us, and from each one by the help of God some will come and be present at the said great conference of the revered and beloved Anglican Church, according to your courteous desire, and the representation of our Orthodox Church will be general.

We make known to you, in what follows, that the men chosen and named by each one of the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches as members of the general Orthodox representation in your great Conference of Lambeth are:—As representative of our Church of Constantinople, our beloved Germanos, supreme Metropolitan of Thyatira, and Exarch of Western and Northern Europe. As representative of the Church of Alexandria, Meletios, himself the all-holy and all-blessed Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria. As representative of the Church of Antioch, Ignatius, most Holy Metropolitan of Epiphania. As representative of the Church of Jerusalem, Timotheus the most Holy Archbishop of Jordan. As representative of the Church of Cyprus, the most pious Leontios, Metropolitan designate of Paphos. As representative of the Church of Hellas, the most learned Archimandrite Constantinides, chief priest of the Orthodox community in London. As representative of the Church of Serbia, Irenæus, the most holy Metropolitan of Novi Sad. As representative of the Church of Roumania, Nectarius, the most Holy Metropolitan of Bukovina, and as representative of the Orthodox Church in Poland, its most blessed leader, Dionysius, Metropolitan of Warsaw. Further, we make known to you that as concerns the Church of Russia—as we have already information in answer to our letters—if there be no insuperable external obstacle, there will be appointed two representatives, one from each of the two great divisions, the “patriarchal” and the “synodal.” Their names, so soon as they shall have been appointed and made known to us, we will make known to you by telegraph.

We pray that God, granting that the fruit of this great conference of your Church may be rich, may bring this coming gathering of yours to all good, and may also give his blessing, so that the new and great coming together and contact of our Churches, that will take place at this opportunity by the coming and the presence of Orthodox representatives, yea of representatives of all the Orthodox Churches, sent independently, may be fruitful and lead to good results, so far as concerns the closer knitting together, and the progress of the relations of our Churches, so that by it good service may be done to the work of the peace of Christ and the inflaming of general Christian love and solidarity.

So, embracing that Love in the Lord, we remain, with love, the beloved brother of your exalted Reverence, in Christ,

PHOTIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

May 14th, 1930.

III. ENCYCLICAL LETTER SENT BY THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO ALL RULERS OF ORTHODOX AUTOCEPHALOUS CHURCHES.

To the Most Blessed Lord, —— Metropolitan (or Patriarch) of ——, the beloved brother and fellow-minister of our Humility; we address your Reverence with great pleasure, embracing you fraternally in the Lord.

The Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Lang, has made known to us by letter that, agreeably to the custom of the Anglican Church, it is intended to gather together in this year, in the month of July, in London, the general conference of the Anglican Bishops that meets every ten years, and is called the "Lambeth Conference."

He has expressed his desire that there shall come to this Conference (the subjects of the activity of which, etc., are defined in part of his letter), and be present at it, representatives of the Orthodox Churches, and he suggested that, supposing this proposition to be received in friendship, suitable representatives should be selected from each Orthodox Church, that they might present themselves to the said Conference, as members of a common Orthodox Mission, comprising ten or twelve persons in all.

Having regard then to the tightening of the relations and the bonds of our Holy Orthodox Church with the august Anglican Church, and the fact that common Christian meeting and contact in Christian gatherings and conferences of this kind, has often been of great profit for the inflaming of Christian love and solidarity, and for the service and progress of the work of the peace of Christ, we with our own Holy and Sacred synod have most gladly accepted this kindly invitation, and are proposing to appoint our own representative to the said Conference, and we are confident that the other sister Churches to whom as requested we communicate this proposal, will themselves also accept this proposal of the august Archbishop of Canterbury and will elect each for herself, her own representative to the said Conference, and will announce to us in good time the acceptance of the invitation and the name of the elected representative, that we may in good time inform the august Archbishop of Canterbury, from whom an official invitation will be sent to each Church.

Therefore, in sending this information to Your All-Holiness, and forwarding with it a copy of the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury relative to this matter, we expect that your own love will speedily perform what is needful, and that we shall receive a corresponding explanation of what follows.

Thus, on the subject of the assembling of our general Orthodox Mission we think it necessary—if we may give a brotherly hint—that persons selected as representatives should have a sound theological training, and be possessed of one and the same European language—French or German—so that they may communicate directly with one

another. Further, as we have the information needful, we suggest that it would be well that the representatives should be in London from the 20th of June onward, so that they may not only be able to discuss matters with the "Sojourning Commission" before the beginning of the work of the Conference, but also may be able to come to a mutual understanding, and may mark out the manner of their work.

We suggest this also. The representatives must recognise that it will be needful for them to recognise that they will be responsible for looking after themselves in days before the 1st and after the 19th of July, and that the costs of their journey and return will fall on themselves, with any other expense, unconnected with their board and lodging during the days mentioned. It is proper that those who are of episcopal rank should have their full official robes with them, or at least cope and pastoral staff, and all clergy, clerical dress, with the "Dignitary's Hood," if worn.

We inform you further that, instead of the two representatives of the Russian parties, mentioned in the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, seeing that these two parties cannot be regarded as essential representatives of the Russian Church, we have written, by decree of our synod, to our representative in Moscow, and suggested that he shall use efforts to secure that one representative from each of the two great parties, the Patriarchal and the Synodal, shall be appointed for the forthcoming Lambeth Conference, that so our sister Church of Russia may be more validly represented, and that maybe there may be profit for her from this common meeting and co-operation in foreign parts, of the representatives of the two parties.

Thus, embracing you in the Lord, we remain, in brotherly love,

Your All-Holiness' loving brother in Christ,

April 15th, 1930.

PHOTIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

(To the Locum Tenens of the Patriarchal Throne of Antioch, Arsenius, Metropolitan of Laodicea. "If the conditions, under which your Holy Church now continues, render the selection of a fitting representative difficult, we suggest that the duty of representation in the Conference might be undertaken by the representative of our Great Church in Christ, if that be desired.)

IV. REPLY OF THE POPE AND PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA TO THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

To Photios, All-Holy Archbishop of Constantinople—which is New Rome—and Œcumenical Patriarch, Meletios, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and of all Africa, sends holy greeting in the Risen Christ.

The necessary and urgent answer to the letter of your All-Holiness number 694 despatched on the 17th of last month, was given in telegraphic form on the 7th of this month to the effect that we had

received the invitation to take part in the Orthodox representation at the coming Lambeth Conference, and that we propose to take part in it personally.

To us, too, when we examined this matter in synod with our fellow-pastors, it appeared that this gathering of the Anglican Hierarchy in Lambeth Palace is a most excellent opportunity for the promoting of the relations of friendship and brotherliness that exist between the most Holy Orthodox Church and the Anglican, relations that have existed from the days of Cyril Lucar, the distinguished predecessor, both of our Humility and of Your All-Holiness. The Holy Church of Christ in the East for a long time has held this in honour and love, and has the desire to draw her to Orthodox Church unity, that Orthodoxy may be magnified, not only in the East but also in the West and in all the world.

Therefore we praise Your All-Holiness, for that you have received so courteously the invitation of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of his Church and that you readily made known the invitation and its reception to the rest of the Christian brotherhood, that the other Holy Churches may be moved to imitation, and that the representation may be not partial only, but pan-Orthodox, appointed both to speak and to hear words of peace and love in its fellowship with the Anglican hierarchy, bearing forward the work of the unity of the Churches, that work that is so high and holy, and so desired by every Christian heart.

While it is certain that there are many points that separate the two Churches, and neither they who give nor they who receive the invitation expect the Descent of the good of Unity immediately, yet none the less it is clear that the grace of the Spirit is guiding us both through human ways to a meeting with one another. Therefore, great is the reward laid up in the heavens for the shepherds of either Church, who pray while believing and work while they pray, that the severance may be cut short, and the middle wall of partition speedily taken away, that so we two first, and others after may become One, as the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are One, and by the completion of the unity of all, the world may know that Jesus Christ was sent into the world, that the world might be saved through Him.

We too are making ready for our sojourn oversea, under the guidance of the Comforter, expecting to be in London a week before the opening of the Conference, that we may be united there with the rest of the members of the representation of the Holy Orthodox Church, and form, in common, the programme of our contact with the Hierarchy of the Conference. It would be useful if we could be informed, as soon as may be, by Your All-Holiness, which of the Sister Churches will take part in the representation, and who will be the representatives.

May our Lord, Who prayed for the unity of all those who believe in Him, Himself direct the thoughts, words, and actions of us all, according to His holy will.

MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA, THE BELOVED BROTHER
OF YOUR ALL-HOLINESS.

Alexandria, May 12th, 1930.

V. REPLY OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CYPRUS TO THE ŒCUMENICAL
PATRIARCH.

To Photios, the All-Holy Œcumenical Patriarch, our right dear, beloved and desired brother and fellow-worker in Christ our Lord, and God, hearty brotherly greeting in Christ our God.

We have received safely the honoured letter of Your All-Holiness (number 694, of the 15th ultimo), with its enclosure—a translated copy of the letter of the august Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo, and we have read the same with great attention, in conjunction with our Holy Synod, that we summoned, in extraordinary session, for this special purpose.

In reply, we announce at once to Your All-Holiness, that having made trial of the thoughts of ourselves and of the Holy Synod, and being of the same opinion with them, we do desire that our most Holy Church shall be represented in the general conference of the Anglican Bishops, the Lambeth Conference, in the coming month of July.

Therefore we have appointed as our representative therein the most Pious Leontios Metropolitan Designate of Paphos, who is now in America, and will in a few days be completing his studies, and who on his return hither will be passing through London, and will represent our Church at the aforesaid Conference. We have already forwarded to him the appropriate letters and the needful instructions.

We must inform your beloved All-Holiness that on Saturday last, some hours before the reception of your telegram dealing with the subject, we telegraphed to you of your own accord, naming our representative in the Lambeth Conference. We do earnestly pray to our Lord and Saviour that He will show forth this coming meeting and contact between the Anglicans and Orthodox as profitable to His Church and to the world, and embracing you again with the kiss of brotherly love, we remain,

The loving brother in Christ of your revered All-Holiness, and your servant to command,

CYRIL OF CYPRUS.

May 12th, 1930.

VI. TELEGRAPHIC DESPATCHES ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Alexandria, 7.5.30.

PHOTIOS, Œcumenical Patriarch, Phanar.

If God will, we will take part personally in the Orthodox representation designed for the Lambeth Conference.

MELETIOS, Patriarch.

Antioch, 12.5.30.

PHOTIOS, All-Holy Patriarch, Phanar.

The representative of Antioch for Lambeth is the Metropolitan of Epiphania, Ignatius.

METROPOLITAN ARSENIUS, Patriarchal Locum Tenens.

Jerusalem, 14.5.30.

PHOTIOS, Patriarch, Phanar.

Timotheus Archbishop of Jordan will represent our Church at the Lambeth Conference.

DAMIANOS, Patriarch.

Belgrade, 12.5.30.

PHOTIOS, Œcumenical Patriarch, Constantinople.

In reply to your telegram we inform you that our representative in the Lambeth Conference is Irenæus, Bishop of Novi Sad.

BARNABAS, Patriarch.

Bucharest, 12.5.30.

ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE, Phanar.

Our representative in London is Nectarius, Metropolitan of Bukovina.

MYRON, Patriarch.

Leukosia, 10.5.30.

PHOTIOS, Œcumenical Patriarch.

Leontios, Metropolitan Designate of Paphos, will represent the Church of Cyprus in the Conference of Lambeth. We are writing.

ARCHBISHOP OF CYPRUS.

Warsaw, 19.5.30.

PHOTIOS, All-Holy Patriarch, Phanar.

I wish to take part personally in the Lambeth Conference, and therefore will inform you by telegraph as soon as possible.

DIONYSIUS, Metropolitan (of Polish Church).

PREVIOUS LAMBETH CONFERENCES AND THE
ORTHODOX EAST.

(A Record of Reports, Resolutions, etc., extracted from "The Six Lambeth Conferences" by permission of the publishers, S.P.C.K.)
The Third Lambeth Conference (1888).

FROM THE ENCYCLICAL LETTER.

"The Conference has expressed its earnest desire to confirm and to improve the friendly relations which now exist between the Churches of the East and the Anglican Communion. These Churches have well earned the sympathy of Christendom, for through long ages of persecution they have kept alive in many a dark place the light of the Gospel. If that light is here and there feeble or dim, there is all the more reason that we, as we have opportunity, should tend and cherish it; and we need not fear that our offices of brotherly charity, if offered in a right spirit, will not be accepted. We reflect with thankfulness that there exist no bars, such as are presented to communion with the Latins by the formulated sanction of the Infallibility of the Church residing in the person of the supreme pontiff, by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and other dogmas imposed by the decrees of Papal Councils. The Church of Rome has always treated her Eastern sister wrongfully. She intrudes her Bishops into the ancient dioceses, and keeps up a system of active proselytism. The Eastern Church is reasonably outraged by these proceedings, wholly contrary as they are to Catholic principles; and it behoves us of the Anglican Communion to take care that we do not offend in like manner.

"Individuals craving fuller light and stronger spiritual life may, by remaining in the Church of their baptism, become centres of enlightenment to their own people.

"But though all schemes of proselytising are to be avoided, it is only right that our real claims and position as a historical Church should be set before a people who are very distrustful of novelty, especially in religion, and who appreciate the history of Catholic antiquity. Help should be given towards the education of the clergy, and, in more destitute communities, extended to schools for general instruction."

RESOLUTION.

[17] "That this Conference, rejoicing in the friendly communications which have passed between the Archbishops of Canterbury and other Anglican Bishops, and the Patriarchs of Constantinople and other Eastern Patriarchs and Bishops, desires to express its hope that the barriers to fuller communion may be, in course of time,

removed by further intercourse and extended enlightenment. The Conference commends this subject to the devout prayers of the faithful, and recommends that the counsels and efforts of our fellow-Christians should be directed to the encouragement of internal reformation in the Eastern Churches, rather than to the drawing away from them of individual members of their Communion."

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE.

"Your Committee regard the friendly feelings manifested towards our Church by the Orthodox Eastern Communion as a matter for deep thankfulness. These feelings inspire the hope that at no distant time closer relations may be established between the two Churches. Your Committee, however, are of opinion that any hasty or ill-considered step in this direction would only retard the accomplishment of this hope. Our expectations of nearer fellowship are founded upon the friendly tone of the correspondence which the Archbishop of Canterbury and his predecessors have held from time to time with Patriarchs of the Orthodox Church, and upon the cordiality of the welcome given by the heads of that Church to Anglican Bishops and clergy, such as the Bishop of Gibraltar, who have travelled in the East. Additional grounds of hope are furnished by the visit of Archbishop Lycurgus to England in 1870, by the conversation which passed between him and the present Bishop of Winchester at Ely, by the words which Archbishop Lycurgus used at the conclusion of the second Conference held at Bonn; and by the request which the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem recently addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem should be reconstituted, and that the headquarters of the Bishop should be placed in that city rather than at Beyrout or elsewhere.

"We reflect with thankfulness that there exist no bars, such as are presented to communion with the Latins by the formulated assertion of the Infallibility of the Church residing in the person of the Supreme Pontiff, by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and other novel dogmas imposed by the decrees of later Councils.

"We must congratulate the Christian world that, through the research of a Greek Metropolitan, literature has been lately enriched by the recovery of an ancient document which throws unexpected light upon the early development of ecclesiastical organization.

"It would not be right, however, to disguise from ourselves the hindrances which exist on either side. The first and most formidable of these is the disputed clause inserted in the Creed of Constantinople, erroneously called the Nicene Creed, without any Counciliar authority, by the Latin Church. This clause, which has the prescription of centuries, and is capable of being explained in an orthodox sense, it may be very difficult to remove. Another barrier to full under-

standing between the Orthodox Eastern Church and ourselves would be the extreme importance attached by that Church to trine immersion in the rite of Baptism, which practice, however, there is nothing to prevent our Church from formally sanctioning. We, on the other hand, experience a somewhat similar difficulty as regards the Eastern rite of Confirmation, which we can hardly consider equivalent to ours, inasmuch as it omits the imposition of the Bishop's hands, and is usually conferred upon unconscious infants; yet we do not regard this as requiring members of the Orthodox Church to receive our Confirmation. It would be difficult for us to enter into more intimate relations with that Church so long as it retains the use of icons, the invocation of the Saints, and the cultus of the Blessed Virgin; although it is but fair to state that the Greeks, in sanctioning the use of pictorial representations for the purpose of promoting devotion, expressly disclaim the sin of idolatry, which they conceive would attach to the bowing down before sculptured or molten images. Moreover, the decrees of the second Council of Nicæa, sanctioning the use of icons, were framed in a spirit of reaction against the rationalizing measures, as they were regarded, of the iconoclastic Emperors. The Greeks might be reminded that the decrees of that Council, having been deliberately rejected seven years afterwards by the Council of Frankfort, and not having been accepted by the Latin Church till after the lapse of two centuries, and then only under Papal influence, cannot be regarded as binding upon the Church.

"Your Committee would impress upon their fellow-Christians the propriety of abstaining from all efforts to induce individual members of the Orthodox Eastern Church to leave their own communion. If some be dissatisfied with its teaching or usages, and find a lack of spiritual life in its worship, they should be advised not to leave the Church of their baptism, but by remaining in it to endeavour to become centres of life and light to their own people; more especially as the Orthodox Eastern Church has never committed itself to any theory that would make it impossible to reconsider and revise its standards and practice.

"Your Committee think it desirable that the heads of that communion should be supplied with some authoritative document setting forth the historical facts relating to our orders and our position in the Catholic Church; as much misconception appears still to prevail on this subject. Your Committee feel that the position which England now occupies in Cyprus and in Egypt places in our hands exceptional opportunities of elevating the moral and spiritual life of our Eastern brethren. Especially may this be done by introducing or promoting higher education: any help given in this way we have reason to believe would be warmly welcomed. We rejoice to know that schools have lately been established at Constantinople and elsewhere for the purpose of supplying education to those who are in training for the

ministry. In the more general diffusion of knowledge amongst the instructors of the people lies the best hope of that mutual understanding and esteem for which the heads of the Orthodox Church have shown so much desire.

"Your Committee cannot be expected to deal separately with the other Churches of the East, among which the Armenian appears to be the largest and most important. Approaches have been made to us from time to time by Bishops and other representatives of this communion, appealing for aid in support of educational projects for the instruction of their own people. The Armenian Church lies under the imputation of heresy. But it has always protested against this imputation, affirming the charge to have arisen from a misconception of its formularies. The departure from orthodoxy may, perhaps, have been more apparent than real; and the erroneous element in its creed appears now to be gradually losing its hold upon the moral and religious consciousness of the Armenian people.

"In regard to other Eastern communities, such as the Coptic, Abyssinian, Syrian, and Chaldean, your Committee consider that our position in the East involves some obligations. And if these communities have fallen into error, and show a lack of moral and spiritual life, we must recollect that but for them the light of Christianity in these countries would have been utterly extinguished, and that they have suffered for many centuries from cruel oppression and persecution. If we should have opportunity, our aim should be to improve their mental, moral, and religious condition, and to induce them to return to the unity of the faith without prejudice to their liberty. This we take to be the purpose of the Assyrian Mission set on foot by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and continued by his successor.

"In conclusion, we would call attention to the fact that in the East advance is slow, and even in the West we find differences perpetuate themselves, owing to national peculiarities, hereditary prejudices, and other causes, in spite of real wish for unity. We think that Christians need to be cautioned against impatience in expecting quick results. Such impatience argues imperfect trust in the ultimate fulfilment of Our Lord's prayer for His people that they 'all may be ONE.'"

The Fourth Lambeth Conference (1897).

RESOLUTION.

[36] "That the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London be requested to act as a Committee with power to add to their number, to confer personally, or by correspondence with the Orthodox Eastern Patriarchs, the 'Holy Governing Synod' of the Church of Russia, and the chief authorities of the various Eastern Churches, with a view to consider the possibility of securing a clearer

understanding and of establishing closer relations between the Churches of the East and the Anglican Communion; and that under the direction of the said Committee arrangements be made for the translation of books and documents setting forth the relative positions of the various Churches, and also of such Catechisms and Forms of Service as may be helpful to mutual understanding."

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE.

"The Sub-Committee appointed to consider the question of 'Church Unity' in its relation 'to the Churches of the East,' find themselves confronted by a subject so extensive in its range, that they can only hope to deal with it in outline, and to indicate some general principles which it is necessary to bear in mind. They would begin by recalling the reference to this subject which is found in the Encyclical letter of the Lambeth Conference of 1888.

"The Conference has expressed its earnest desire to confirm and to improve the friendly relations which now exist between the Churches of the East and the Anglican Communion. These Churches have well earned the sympathy of Christendom, for through long ages of persecution they have kept alive in many a dark place the light of the Gospel. If that light is here and there feeble or dim, there is all the more reason that we, as we have opportunity, should tend and cherish it; and we need not fear that our offices of brotherly charity, if offered in a right spirit, will not be accepted.'

"The manifestations of friendly feeling referred to in this passage have been even more remarkable during the intervening period of nine years. It is enough to instance the cordial welcome given to the present Bishop of London when, as Bishop of Peterborough, he attended last year the Coronation of the Czar, and the still more recent demonstrations of brotherly regard which were manifested on the occasion of the late visit of the Archbishop of York to Russia. It is impossible not to see in these events a very hopeful indication of increasing desire on their side, as well as ours, to bring about a clearer understanding and closer relations between these two branches of the Church of Christ. They tend to emphasise and to confirm the numerous expressions of goodwill which have been exchanged during a long course of years between prelates and other ecclesiastics of the Anglican and Eastern Churches. A cordial reception was given by the four Patriarchs of the East to the revival of the Bishopric which represents the Anglican Communion at the Mother-City of Christianity, and this attitude has been constantly maintained, and has been one of uniform goodwill and helpfulness. The Committee do not forget that it is easy to misunderstand and to overestimate the value of such kindly words and friendly actions. But after every allowance is made, there remains enough to strengthen the hopes and to gladden the hearts of those whose minds are set upon the promoting of closer relations between the Churches of the East and the Anglican Communion.

"It is now the duty of the Committee to suggest some of the means by which this good work may be furthered, and, if God will, finally accomplished. One of the difficulties which stand most prominently in the way is the ignorance which prevails on either side as regards the position of the other. With a view to diminish or to remove this hindrance the Committee are of opinion that a systematic effort should be made to bring before the Ecclesiastics of the Eastern Churches in their own tongue the services of the Anglican Churches, particularly the Office for Holy Communion, along with such other statements of doctrine and of practice as may seem most likely to be helpful; and on the other hand to procure the translation into English of the Liturgies and authorized Catechisms of the Churches of the East. As regards the latter undertaking, the Committee would call attention to the excellent work which has been done during the past thirty-five years, first by the Russo-Greek Committee of the General Convention of the American Church, and afterwards by the Ecclesiastical Relations Commission of the same body, as well as by more than one voluntary association working in connection with the Church of England.

"Your Committee would further suggest the appointment of a Committee, with authority to communicate with the Orthodox Eastern Patriarchs, the 'Holy Governing Synod' of the Church of Russia, and the chief authorities of the various Eastern Churches, in order to ascertain how far it may be possible, without sacrifice of principle, to take steps towards the promotion of such closer relations. There is reason to believe that a desire for such action exists on the part of not a few individuals among the Prelates of the Eastern Churches, but it is important to know how far this feeling is shared by the ruling authorities of the Churches themselves. It would be the duty of such a Committee to ascertain by careful inquiry and friendly communication, and by personal conference where possible, how far there is any such desire on the part of the Eastern Churches; and further in what light it would be regarded by the various branches of the Anglican Communion. Those who, on either side, are best acquainted with the important differences which exist between the teachings and customs of the Anglican and the Eastern Churches, will best appreciate the difficulties which appear to stand in the way of their reconciliation; but they will also most hopefully believe that when the origin and the character of these divergencies are more accurately understood many of them will be found to have no authority from the Churches themselves, and others to be not incapable of explanation and adjustment. Many of these divergencies have their origin in the different characteristics of oriental thought and expression and in the differences of temperament which distinguish the Eastern nations from those of the West; and similar difficulties may no doubt exist on their side with regard to ourselves.

The Committee are thankful to recognize and to bring to the notice of the Conference the great regard and high reverence which are shown to the Word of God in the Orthodox Churches of the East, and the readiness with which they have endeavoured to encourage and to promote the circulation of the Holy Scriptures among the people in their own tongues. Above all, the Committee desire to express their conviction that by united prayer the happy issue will most surely be found, and they rejoice to know that both in East and West there are already a goodly multitude who are offering up such intercessory prayer. In such a matter as this there can be no room for faithless fears among those who truly 'believe in the Holy Ghost' and in His willing power to draw together in the bonds of love the divided Members of the Body of Christ."

The Fifth Lambeth Conference (1908).

RESOLUTIONS.

[60] "This Conference resolves that a letter of greeting be sent from the Lambeth Conference to the National Council of the Russian Church about to assemble, and that the letter should be conveyed to the Council by two or more Bishops if possible; and that His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury be respectfully requested to cause such a letter to be written, and to sign it on behalf of the Conference, and to nominate Bishops to convey it to the Council."

[61] "The Conference respectfully requests the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint a Committee to take cognizance of all that concerns our relations with the Churches of the Orthodox East, and desires that this Committee should be on a permanent basis."

[62] "The Conference is of opinion that it should be the recognized practice of the Churches of our Communion (1) at all times to baptize the children of members of any Church of the Orthodox Eastern Communion in cases of emergency, provided that there is a clear understanding that baptism should not be again administered to those so baptized; (2) at all times to admit members of any Church of the Orthodox Eastern Communion to communicate in our churches, when they are deprived of the ministrations of a priest of their own Communion, provided that (a) they are at that time admissible to Communion in their own Churches, and (b) are not under any disqualification so far as our own rules of discipline are concerned."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

"As regards our relations with the Churches of the Orthodox East, your Committee record with thankfulness the fact that there has been a steady growth of friendly intercourse between the two Communion during the period which has passed since the last Lambeth Conference. It will be enough to mention, in illustration of this fact, the healthy mediating influence of the Anglican bishopric at Jeru-

salem, the sending of students from the Orthodox East to the University of Oxford and of an English student to the Theological College of the Church of Constantinople in the island of Halki, the increasing number of voluntary societies in England and America which are working for the furtherance of intercommunion with the East, the many friendly visits which have been paid by English and American Bishops to dignitaries of the Greek and Russian Churches, and the unvarying courtesy and goodwill with which they have been received; above all, the frequent occasions on which the clergy of our Churches in many lands have been able to minister to Orthodox Easterns in cases of emergency, and conversely. Whilst they have no desire to overestimate the effect or the immediate value of things such as these, they are confident that such interchange of friendly offices cannot but have a real effect as time goes on.

“Your Committee are of opinion that efforts after unity are in no sense furthered by a whittling away of our distinctive position, and hold that whilst we should always be ready to answer the questions of others as to our own position, we are bound to seek a like satisfaction at their hands. Nevertheless, they would lay stress upon the futility of putting definite questions on crucial points of ecclesiastical order to individual dignitaries of the Eastern Churches, which they can only answer in accordance with their existing canons. They are strongly of opinion that the more satisfactory way is to seize every opportunity of mutual service, in the sure conviction that obstacles which now appear insurmountable may in course of time be found to vanish away. The doubts which have been expressed in the Greek Churches with regard to Baptism as ministered by us have already been laid to rest in the sister Church of Russia, where the question has been investigated and dealt with in the light of acknowledged facts. We venture to hope that the use which is already being made, in exceptional circumstances, of the services of our Ministry may increase and spread until it shall lead to the diffusion of a more accurate knowledge, and so put an end to the last remaining doubts on their part on the subject of the validity of our Orders.

“Your Committee would call attention to Resolution 36 of the Lambeth Conference of 1897, which ran as follows:—

‘That the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London be requested to act as a Committee, with power to add to their number, to confer personally, or by correspondence with the Orthodox Eastern Patriarchs, the “Holy Governing Synod” of the Church of Russia, and the chief authorities of the various Eastern Churches, with a view to consider the possibility of securing a clearer understanding and of establishing closer relations between the Churches of the East and the Anglican Communion.’

“They are of opinion that a Committee of this character should be constituted and made permanent, and that it might well take cognizance of all that concerns our relations with the Churches of the Orthodox East. Further, they would lay stress on the fact that all communications which concern the whole Orthodox Eastern Communion, in order to be effective, must be made to the authorities of that Communion conjointly, and not to individuals only.

“With a view to a fuller and more effective comity between them and us, your Committee are of opinion that it should be the recognized practice of the Churches of our Communion:

“(1) At all times to baptize the children of members of any Church of the Orthodox Eastern Communion in cases of emergency, provided that there is a clear understanding that such baptism is under no circumstances to be repeated;

“(2) At all times to admit properly qualified communicant members of any Church of the Orthodox Eastern Communion to communicate in our Churches when they are deprived of the ministrations of a priest of their own Communion.

“Your Committee are also of opinion that in cases where there are large numbers of Orthodox Easterns dwelling amongst our people, and without spiritual ministrations of their own, as in many parts of Canada and of the United States of America, the Bishops more especially concerned might be advised to communicate with the Patriarchs or Governing Bodies of the Churches concerned, informing them of the facts and saying that, in the event of a priest (or priests) being sent to minister to such Orthodox Easterns, both the Bishop and his clergy would be glad to extend to him (or them) all possible help and sympathy.

“Further, in view of the fact that a National Council of the Russian Church is about to assemble for the first time for over two hundred years, your committee are of opinion that it is desirable that a letter of greeting should be sent from the Lambeth Conference to this Council, and that the letter should be conveyed to the Council by two or three Bishops, if possible; and that His Grace the President should be requested to cause such a letter to be written and to sign it on behalf of the Conference, and to nominate Bishops to convey it to the Council.”

The Sixth Lambeth Conference (1920).

RESOLUTIONS.

[17] “We desire to express our deep sympathy with the Church of Russia in the terrible persecution which it has in many places suffered. We earnestly trust that in the providence of God its difficulties may be speedily removed, and that it may be enabled in renewed life and strength so to carry on its work unhindered as to

further, in the life of the Russian people, whatsoever things are true and just, whatsoever things are lovely and of good report."

[18] "The Conference heartily thanks the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the mission of the Metropolitan of Demotica and others to confer with its members on questions concerning the relations between the Anglican and Eastern Churches, and expresses its grateful appreciation of the great help given to its Committee by the Delegation."

[19] "The Conference welcomes the appointment by the Archbishop of Canterbury of an 'Eastern Churches' Committee' on a permanent basis, in pursuance of Resolution 61 of the Conference of 1908; and looks forward hopefully to the work of that Committee, in conjunction with similar Committees appointed in Constantinople and Athens, as helping greatly to forward the cause of re-union with the Orthodox Church."

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE.

"We will begin by speaking about the Church of Russia. During the earlier years after the last Lambeth Conference our relations with this Church were probably closer than with any other branch of the Eastern Church, nor were they interfered with in the first years of the War, and after the Revolution in 1917 it was hoped that the internal reforms which the Russian Church—set free from State dominance, and adapting itself to the new conditions of life—was endeavouring to introduce, might bring about still closer relations with us. This hope seemed to be confirmed by the fact that one of the last acts of the 'Great Sobor' (Council) summoned by the Holy Synod was, in September, 1918, to pass a resolution welcoming 'the sincere efforts of the Old Catholics and Anglicans towards union with the Orthodox Church,' and calling on the sacred Synod 'to organize a permanent commission with departments in Russia and abroad for the further study of Old Catholic and Anglican difficulties in the way of union, and for the furthering, as much as possible, of the speedy attainment of the final aim.' Scarcely was this resolution passed before the Church of Russia was subjected to a renewed persecution, the horrors of which have hardly ever been exceeded. This is not the place to dwell on the martyrdoms of sixty bishops and hundreds of priests and other persons. The memory of all these things is in all our minds; nor can we forget the way in which the Russian Church then turned to England, or the pathetic appeals addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury for help and protection. The Conference will, we believe, desire to pass a resolution expressing its intense sympathy with the Russian Church in the terrible trials to which it has been and apparently still is being subjected. We therefore append one to this Report. Even now the position in Russia is far from clear. Information filters through but slowly. But one thing

seems to stand out as certain, viz., that in the wreck and ruin of all other institutions, the Church, albeit stripped and despoiled, alone has survived, though sorely hampered and hindered in the performance of its work, and we believe that when the opportunity for reconstructing its proper organization is given to it, it will again look to establish the friendliest relations with the Anglican Church, relations which we trust and pray may be more intimate than ever.

"With the Church of Serbia we must also express our deep sympathy, in view of the calamities and special difficulties which the War brought upon it. In its hour of trial it turned to England for help which was readily extended, and it has been a particular privilege for churchpeople in England to assist in the reconstruction of the Serbian Church. The entire body of Serbian students for Holy Orders were at one time receiving their education under the auspices of the Church of England at Oxford, Cuddesdon, and elsewhere, while every care was taken to maintain full loyalty to the Serbian Church. Thus the closest relations were established between members of the two Churches, largely through the instrumentality of Father Nicholai Velimirovic, now Bishop of Zicha. At the present moment a number of Serbian students for Holy Orders are receiving their training in America, and the same cordial relationships are in existence there. These things mark a stage in the direction of re-union, the full results of which will be increasingly manifest in years to come.

"In Greece also, and indeed in all parts of the East, the War has profoundly affected our relations with the Orthodox Church. It has brought the Anglican and Eastern Churches much nearer to each other. We hear from many different places of remarkable instances of what we may call informal acts of intercommunion in emergencies which would have been quite impossible a few years ago, and which show the close sympathy there is between the two Churches. The War has changed the attitude of the East to Western Christendom. We are told that there is a great turning to England and America, and a desire to know more about us and our Communion, about which there is still too little known in the East generally. But partly because of the position of England in the War, and because of belief in its power, there has been a real stretching out of hands and a desire shown in more than one quarter to learn and make advances towards us. It is well understood by this time in the East that we have no ulterior aims in seeking closer relations with them, and we are free from the suspicion of any attempt to proselytize, an attempt which naturally they would bitterly resent. During the last few years we have had several visits to our shores from distinguished Eastern prelates, and important Conferences have been held both in this country and in America for the discussion of doctrinal questions. We note also the cordial reception accorded to the Bishop of London and others in their visits to the East, and in particular the position

assigned at the Liturgy to the Bishop of Gibraltar and the Bishop of Harrisburg, which seems to have gone beyond the extension of ordinary courtesies. These things will bear fruit in years to come. Another welcome sign of East and West drawing closer together is found in the letter from the *locum tenens* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople 'unto all the Churches of Christ wheresoever they be,' which was sent from the Phanar to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Chief in importance, however, has been the visit of a special delegation from the Ecumenical Patriarchate to London, for purposes of consultation with Bishops attending the Lambeth Conference on relations between the Orthodox and Anglican Communions. This visit was the result of a formal invitation from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the *Locum tenens* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople. To this visit we have reason to attach the greatest importance. The delegation, consisting of Philaretos, the Metropolitan of Demotica, Professor Komninos of Halki, the Archimandrite Pagonis of London, and the Archpriest Callinicos of Manchester, was welcomed by the President in full session of the Conference, and your Committee has had the advantage of more than one conference with it, at which important questions, doctrinal and practical, were discussed and full consideration given to the matters specified in the letter from the Phanar referred to above, in which letter we would call special attention to the desire expressed for immediate co-operation in matters of social reform.

"Along the lines here briefly indicated we believe that we are steadily moving towards the goal of ultimate re-union. But there is much still to be done before this is reached, and our progress will not be less sure because it is slow. We still require to gain greater knowledge and understanding of each other's position. Explanations are needed on both sides, and it is clear that when the day comes for definite proposals of formal intercommunion to be made, they will have to be based on a large-hearted tolerance on both sides and a readiness on the part of each Church to be content with holding its own uses and practices without attempting to ask for conformity to them on the part of the other.

"Meanwhile, we look for much from the Eastern Churches Committee recently appointed on a permanent basis by the Archbishop of Canterbury in pursuance of Resolution 61 of the last Lambeth Conference. We are glad to learn that this action has been met by the appointment of somewhat similar Committees, both at Constantinople and at Athens. The American Church has also appointed a permanent Commission to confer with the Eastern Churches. We believe that through the action of these Committees further important steps towards re-union may be taken partly by the free discussion of doctrinal matters, *e.g.*, the meaning of the Filioque clause, as not involving any belief on our part in more than one *aitia* in the God-

head, our doctrine of holy orders, the position of the XXXIX Articles, on all of which matters the Easterns are asking for information, and partly also by conference on practical matters of moment, such as the better regulation of mixed marriages, the reciprocal administration of the Sacraments in cases of emergency, a uniform Kalendar, possibly involving the appointment of a fixed Easter, and other questions raised in the letter from the Phanar.

"We need at the present time not only or chiefly to afford to the Easterns historical evidence of the handing down of our ministry, but also to explain the doctrinal position held by our Communion. It is in particular of the first importance, in order to remove Oriental misconceptions, to make it clear from our formularies that we regard Ordination as conferring grace, and not only as a mere setting apart to an ecclesiastical office. It would also (though in a lesser degree) be a help, as well as a good thing in itself, to restore the true text of the 'Nicene' Creed, as it is used in all parts of the East and West, except in our Communion, by replacing the word 'Holy' before 'Catholic and Apostolic Church.'

"If some of the Eastern Churches' Committee could visit Athens or Constantinople for conferences to be held there, such as those already held in this country and in America, we believe that they would not only meet with a cordial welcome, but also be able to do much to remove misconceptions, and to prepare the way for the ultimate re-union which both Churches alike so earnestly desire, and for which they make their constant prayer."

PROTESTANTISM

By the REV. HUBERT S. BOX, B.D.

PROTESTANTISM exists in two main forms, one of which is consistent with Catholicism, while the other is not. The first form is a legitimate element in Christianity and has a lawful place within Catholicism. Archbishop Laud could insist that the English Church was Catholic, and yet claim for himself the name of Protestant. The second form is a perversion of Protestantism, and is fundamentally incompatible with Catholicism, and, therefore, with the principles of the Church of England.

According to Dean Inge, Protestantism "is essentially an attempt to check the tendency to corruption and degradation which attacks every institutional religion." It cannot be denied that Christianity, as it appears in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles is an institutional religion—that is to say, it is embodied in a visible society having certain customs and rites and rules which claim to direct and control the practice and command the allegiance of the

members. No trace is to be found of any membership of Christ apart from Baptism; there is no idea of union with Christ apart from union with the visible community. Christianity made its appearance in history as an institutional religion. But institutionalism may degenerate into a tyranny, and religious authority may become a despotism. That is what happened in the case of the Scribes and Pharisees, and Jesus uttered grave warnings against such ecclesiastical obstinacy. Unfortunately the same spirit of tyranny reappeared in the Christian Church and was the cause of a violent reaction.

The movement known as the Reformation was one to which this country made no original contribution. It was a foreign movement which did not come to England until it had reached a rather late stage of its development.

What happened in this country was peculiar. There was not the same drastic breach with the past that occurred abroad. The Reformation in England was much more conservative. While, elsewhere, certain things of the essence of Catholicism were discarded, here these things were retained, so that the Church of England never lost her Catholic character and remained a true part of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, founded by Christ. She has preserved the three things which a religious body must have if it is to be recognized as a part of the Catholic Church. She holds all the essential truths of the Catholic Faith, she possesses the sacramental system, and she has kept the Apostolic ministry. Attempts were made to Protestantize the English Church further than would have been compatible with her Catholic character, but they were not successful. Many persons, thinking that everything traditional and Catholic was popish, wanted to effect a violent breach with Catholic tradition, and assaulted the historic creed of the Church. They attacked the Catholic doctrines of Baptism and the Eucharist and the government of the Church by bishops. But the English Church clung to her Catholic heritage, and the ultra-Protestants, realizing at last that their system of religion was quite irreconcilable with that of the Church, broke away, formed themselves into organized bodies and developed their principles in freedom.

Here we see the second form of Protestantism, the harmful form, which, not content with attacking abuses which had grown up round Catholicism, attacked the fundamental principles of Catholic Faith and practice, and thereby forfeited the right to be included within the pale of the Church of England.

Dr. Lacey declares in the preface to his book, *The Reformation and the People*, that "the one master-mind of the Reformation was Calvin's." Calvinism is the most vigorous form of Protestantism. Dr. Karl Adam, a Roman Catholic, writes, "There is no doubt that

in the Protestant theology of Germany, which a few years ago appeared to the outside observer as a dry waste over which the hot wind of a limitless criticism played, wells have suddenly broken forth; a new sense for the supernatural realities, for God and his revelation, for faith and miracles, rises up and fights with uncommon force." In the writings of Dr. Karl Barth, who has captured the attention of both Protestants and Catholics in Europe, there is to be seen "in thoroughly new form but in all its ancient strength—a resurgence of the Calvinism of Calvin"—to use the words of the translator of his book, *The Word of God and Theology*.

What is Calvinism? What is the essence of Calvinism, freed from what has been accidental in its expression? Calvinism has been identified in popular thought with something which did not originate with Calvin at all—the doctrine of predestination. Calvin was not a pioneer in the assertion of his doctrine. He inherited it from previous thinkers. He believed that the Bible taught that, before they were born—indeed from all eternity—God had fixed for certain human beings the doom of eternal punishment, and he did not flinch from declaring reprobation boldly and plainly. But we are not to see in this doctrine the characteristic features of Calvinism. As a matter of fact Calvinism is not essentially a doctrinal system. Calvin's aim was to bring together religion and morality and to set them up in unbreakable union as directors of all the activities of human life—to establish firmly the sovereignty of God. He did not regard religion as a matter of pious emotion, following on the assurance of being saved. He realized that emotion was not a trustworthy criterion, and that to allow assurance to vary with emotion and to permit oneself to be worried by the fluctuations of one's feelings meant a waste of energy that might be used for a better purpose. Here lay the weakness of Luther's teaching. Calvin laid the emphasis not on emotion but on dependence upon and obedience to the will of God. He regarded religion as the acknowledgment of the rule of God over one's whole life. The important thing was not whether a man *felt* that he was one of God's elect, but whether his life was such that it *proved* that he was on the side of God. Calvin's doctrine of predestination might have led to a paralysis of moral endeavour. But it actually did nothing of the kind. It led to the very reverse of a weakening of moral endeavour. The consciousness of being accepted by God braced men's wills and inspired them to activity. The world was intended to be the kingdom of God, and it was the duty of those whom God had chosen, to make it so. This shows that the spirit of Calvinism was something far greater than its letter.

The essence of Calvinism is a magnificent thing. Disentangled from predestination and reprobation and certain other doctrines that have clothed it, it lives on wherever God is believed to be supreme, enthroned as Sovereign over all, "sitting at the loom of time weav-

ing with wise and loving thought, though it may be with inscrutable purpose, the web of individual lives." (A. M. Hunter, *The Teaching of Calvin*, p. 297.) All that is good and true in Calvinism is to be found in Catholicism. It was Calvinism in the form of an anti-Catholic system of religion that strove for the mastery in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which was eventually forced out of the English Church.

All that is good and true in Protestantism has its place in Catholicism. It is perverted Protestantism that is opposed to Catholicism, and for anti-Catholic Protestantism there is no room in the Church of England, because the Church of England though Protestant, is also Catholic, and she is Catholic first and Protestant afterwards, for her Catholicism is essential while her Protestantism is only accidental.

THE NEW LAW OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

By PROF. D. S. MARITCH.

FOR ten years now the Serbian Church has been striving to secure a law which will regulate the relations between her and the State. At length, at the end of last year (November) King Alexander put his signature to a measure called "The Law regarding the Serbian Orthodox Church" which put an end to the uncertain position of the Church in Serbia.

Owing to the lack of such a law in previous years the Serbian Church has been unable for a decade to regulate either her internal organization or her relations with the State, and that hindered her very much in the fulfilment of her mission. Thus from that point of view alone the great importance of the new law may be estimated.

The new Church law is based on the assumption of the mutual independence of Church and State. First of all the Church is recognized by the State as "autocephalous" (Art. 1). It is further recognized that she "will in future independently and freely dispose of her property" (Art. 2). All spiritual authority as well as the exercise of discipline and procedure in the ecclesiastical courts, belong exclusively to the Hierarchy. The State is to help the Church only in the sphere of administration.

The expenses of the Church are to be met in several ways:—(1) by the income from Church estates and funds, (2) by the income from State compensation, (3) by Church taxes and (4) by an annual subsidy from the State. The State has also exempted from all taxes places dedicated to the service of God, such as churches, monasteries, etc. In the same way all church correspondence is carried post-free.

A very important clause regulates the duties of ecclesiastical persons towards the State. Art. 15 exempts priests and monks from any public work which is incompatible with existing Canon Law. In all State and private schools instruction in the Orthodox Faith (in places where the population is Orthodox) is obligatory, and the teachers are Orthodox priests. The Church has also the right to open at her will theological schools, seminaries, etc., and she is to control the teaching of professors in Orthodox Theological Faculties. Altogether this is an epoch-making law, for through it lies the way to the future complete independence of the Serbian Church. After it was promulgated the Holy Synod issued a manifesto in which it expressed its satisfaction at the position attained. During the discussion of the new law in the Press it was noticeable that a majority of the papers supported the interests of the Church. And after its promulgation, the friendly discussion in the Press was continued and attention was directed to the future important work of the Church in influencing for good the morals of the community.

A curious thing to note is that the new law does not mention anything about the relations of the Serbian Church with other Churches abroad, while in time past all official correspondence of the Serbian Church was under the control of the State. This is undoubtedly a gain, as freeing the Church from State tutelage and we hope it will enable the Serbian Church to get into closer contact with other Churches. At any rate a new life now begins for the Church of Serbia, and all the indications are that it is a good beginning.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE BYZANTINE ACHIEVEMENT.

AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, A.D. 350-1453.

By ROBERT BYRON.

(George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 15s.)

It is difficult to do justice to this important work in a short review. The aim of the author can perhaps best be explained by a quotation from the first chapter: "To assimilate peacefully the forces of the advancing epoch, as yet but faintly discernible on its distant horizon, the world must revise its conception of the past, distilling from a re-co-ordination of essential fact, the elements that have contributed to the immensity upon which it is to lay hold. It is the day of historical stock-taking, when all peoples must bring their achievement into line with the one universal development of the future."

Mr. Byron then proceeds to give an interesting analysis of the Byzantine civilization.

The combination of the Pelasgians, the original inhabitants of Greece, and the Hellenes, laid the foundations of a civilization that afterwards was to have a world-wide influence. The Pelasgians had possessed a high order of culture, as is shown by the products of the Minoan era in Crete, for which they were mainly responsible. On this race, the Hellenes had imposed their power of reasoning, principles of form, and language. The Greek is summed up as "A clever, conceited and enquiring race, intensely political and democratic, reserved in its friendships, conservative in its beliefs, commercially gifted, responsive to the emotions of Nature and religion."

We are told that it is the fusion of the three elements, the Stable, the Transcendental, and the Cultural that constitutes a civilization; the vitality of which will vary inversely with deficiency in any one of them. Each has existed without the others, but the happy combination has only been found once, and that was in Byzantium.

The Byzantine affinity with ourselves is shown in terms of the three elements of civilization. The Stability of the Empire was based on principles such as our own. In the Transcendental sphere, what the Byzantine sought through Christ, we may through a "mathematical rationalization of the intuitions." It is suggested that had Christianity remained as the Byzantines perfected it, and not been distorted by the common sense of the Latin peoples and the romantics of the Northern peoples, it might have merged harmoniously with the present mode of thought. In the Cultural sphere, the affinity between Constantinople and the early industrial era of the twentieth century is shown in the vigour of its art and architecture; in one case derived from Christianity and in the other from science.

The achievement of Byzantine civilization is then summed up in relation to its people and to us.

"For its people, politically, the Empire stood, a valid organism for all but nine centuries; and a courageous organism still for two more. Not once during that time did the form of government change.

"Spiritually, it is doubtful whether there has ever existed, over so long a period of time, so large a proportion of men and women, under one government, deeply and sincerely anxious to maintain communion with their God at all moments of their lives.

"Culturally, Byzantine intellect evolved, in painting and mosaic, a technique of colour and delineation, which envisaged the experiences of the soul as none has ever done before or since. An essential aucturity developed which a lavish profusion of splendid materials could never defect; and which, combined with largeness of general conception, produced, in St. Sophia, one of the supreme pinnacles of architecture. For ourselves, ushers of a universal civilization, the

Empire also stood for 1123 years, a solitary bulwark against the peoples of Asia which threatened, if they broke through, to extinguish that civilization.

"As spiritual legacy, the Byzantine intellect has left the world the definitions of the seven Œcumenical Councils, which at present form the basis of almost every variation of Christian belief."

Mr. Byron then gives a summary of the history of the Byzantine Empire. This is followed by some interesting chapters dealing with its structure, commerce, wealth, religion, art, and life.

In discussing Byzantine art and religion, the author states that the problem that lay at the bottom of iconoclasm is exactly the same that troubles our modern artists. How far is representational art capable of fulfilling art's function of expressing abstract worth? "Modern artists, while unable to discard the language of familiar object, seek to subordinate its importance wholly to that which it is used to express; the purely representational tends to grow less and less. They, in fact, seek the mean which the Byzantines, culminating in El Greco, came nearer to finding than any people before or since. That the Byzantines so far succeeded, was due to the influence of iconoclasm."

It is the author's opinion that when the historians of a thousand years hence come to analyse the European modes of thought and living which now dominate the world, post-Reformation Catholicism must appear "a bastard aberration from the main body of Christendom; a product of obsolete Mediterranean materialism which henceforth played no part with Christianity in man's discovery of Reality; which desecrated his divine soul with self-constructed specifics of salvation, which extinguished all intellectual and material progress wherever its influence was strongest; and finally, which outraged every canon of behaviour which enables a human being to dwell in amity with his neighbour." To this criticism, he says, the Greek Orthodox Church offers commentary.

The author explains that the psychological difference between the two Churches lies in their temporal outlook: "To the Greek, who by nature lives entirely in the present, the conception of future resurrection and future after-life is obscure. To the Roman it is as clear as his own hand. The result is that while, for the latter, the whole impulse of religion is in essence eschatological, woven with the idea of post-human progression; for the Greek, it is derived from the desire to seek transfiguration, not in the future, but in the present. . . . Thus for the Roman the prime function of religion is an ethical one, the regulation of conduct. For the Greek it is the piercing of the sensory veil, the junction of the divine spark in man with its extraterrestrial affinity, God"

There is a Bibliography, an Index, and some instructive notes on the illustrations.

C.F.L.St.G.

ORIENTALIA CHRISTIANA.

Vol. XVIII, I, No. 60. April, 1930.

THE UNION OF THE EAST WITH ROME.

By PIERRE, Monk of the Priory of Amay-sur-Meuse.

One of the monks of the priory of Amay-sur-Meuse publishes, in a French translation, the correspondence exchanged between His Beatitude Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Orthodox Archbishop of Athens, and Mgr. George Calavassy, Catholic bishop of the Greeks of the Byzantine rite at Constantinople and in Greece. As is, no doubt, well known to readers of *The Christian East*, Chrysostom was elected in March, 1923, by the Holy Synod as Metropolitan of Athens and all Greece: then his title was replaced by that of Archbishop, and he was recognized as such by the Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios IV. Mgr. George Calavassy was nominated in 1920 by the Holy See as Bishop of Theodoropolis and administrator of the Greek Catholics in Turkey and Greece.

The author reviews in his introduction the events which led to this correspondence. From September, 1923, *Ἐκκλησία* warned the public of the arrival of the Uniates in Athens. In 1924 Michael Konstantinidis, protosynkellos of the Archbishop of Athens, wrote a strong article in that journal on Proselytism, and in August the Holy Synod addressed to the Minister of Public Worship a protest against the Latin propaganda of the *Οὐνία*. On April 10th, 1925, Archbishop Chrysostom issued a manifesto to his clergy, against the Greeks united to the Roman See. The head of the Greek Catholics, Mgr. Calavassy, replied to this on April 13th. In the same year the President of the Union of Clergy, Luke Papanastasiou, wrote a letter to the Minister of Public Worship, appealing to the State to prevent the Uniat propaganda. In 1926 *Ἐκκλησία* and *Ζωή* published other articles on the same subject.

On May 21st, 1927, an assault was made on the Archbishop of Athens when he was entering the church of St. Constantine in the Piræus. On the following day Mgr. G. Calavassy wrote to him, expressing his condolence. This was the opening of the correspondence, which lasted at intervals from May, 1927, to September, 1928. Six letters were written, three on either side, and a seventh was addressed by Mgr. George Calavassy to the author of this study.

The first letter contains a formal expression of condolence from Mgr. Calavassy to the Archbishop for the assault committed on him. The Archbishop thanks him in his reply. At the same time he objects to his residence in Greece, and asserts that there is no separate church of the Greek rite and demands that he should declare himself as a bishop of the Latin Church.

In the third letter Mgr. Calavassy states that the Eastern Catholics are not bound by the dispositions of the Canon Law of the Latin

Church, either in the commemoration of saints or the observance of fasts. He affirms that the Catholic communities of the Greek rite have existed from the beginning.

The Archbishop of Athens deals in the fourth letter with the question of papal jurisdiction. The Pope is the Patriarch of the Western Church and nothing more. There was not a papal power distinct from the patriarchal power. The Pope occupied a preponderant place among the other bishops, but he had not an administrative jurisdiction outside the limits of his own dioceses.

In his reply Mgr. Calavassy treats four questions: (1) the jurisdiction of the Popes in the ancient Church; (2) the sense of the catholicity of the Church; (3) the Greek rite in the Catholic Church; (4) Proselytism and the clerical habit.

(1) He gives a historical survey of the jurisdiction of the Popes up to the time of Photios. There is no doubt that the Eastern bishops did appeal to the Pope as an impartial umpire in theological controversy, but we need not admit that the development of papal supremacy was true or legitimate. (2) The term catholic should be understood in the double sense of universal and orthodox. No doubt that is true, though the former sense is earlier. (3) There have been Catholics of the Greek rite, anyhow, from the fourth century, because the Bishop of Thessalonica was Vicar of the Patriarch of Rome, and exercised jurisdiction over the other bishops of Eastern Illyria. (4) The habit is characteristic not of the Orthodox Church, but of the Eastern Churches in general. The Catholic Church condemns unlawful proselytism, but cannot renounce its claim to instruction in the faith.

In his last letter of September 15th, 1928, the Archbishop of Athens deals once more with the questions of *Οὐνία* or Uniatism and the jurisdiction of the Pope.

Ἐνωσις is the complete union with the Latin Church. *Οὐνία* is a union which admits the primacy of the Pope, and all the doctrine of the Latin church, but keeps its own liturgical rules, and some traditions. It was not till 1254 that Pope Innocent IV. allowed the traditions of the "United" to be tolerated.

The Pope had jurisdiction over Greek countries like Eastern Illyria, because they were included in the Roman Empire, but this was abrogated in 733. The Greek populations in Italy had their own bishops subject to the Œcumenical Patriarch.

In conclusion, the Archbishop refers to proselytism, and says that it will do harm not only to the Orthodox Church, but specially to the union of the Churches. Union will come about, by God's help, only by sincere agreement and by the objective examination of the questions separating the Churches, and by removing the causes of the lamentable schism. The chief of these, we think, are ecclesiastical rivalry and theological bitterness.

L.P.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF W. J. BIRKBECK.

By his Wife. With a Preface by Viscount Halifax.

(Longmans, 2s. 6d.)

A cheap edition of this important book is very greatly to be welcomed. It has paper covers instead of cloth, and the portrait of Birkbeck which formed the frontispiece is absent. Otherwise it appears to be identical with the first edition, which was published in 1922 at 15s., including Lord Halifax's Preface and Birkbeck's valuable papers on Russian Church music and the Offices of the Eastern Church, which are printed as Appendices.

The Letters are full of interest and packed with information of varied sorts, for Birkbeck spoke with authority as a theologian, a musician and a liturgiologist, and touched life happily and keenly at many points. He was not an old man at his death, but in one respect he was happy in the time of it. He died just before the outbreak of the cataclysm which has overwhelmed the Church and people of Russia, which he loved so well.

This new edition of his Life and Letters will bring the knowledge of the expert within the reach of more who share with him that love.

THE EARLY TRACTARIANS AND THE EASTERN CHURCH.

By P. E. SHAW.

(Moorhouse Publishing Co. & Mowbrays, \$2.)

Dr. Leighon Pullan contributes a Foreword to this book, which he heartily recommends as throwing light upon an important by-path of practical Church History.

The author sets forth the "Tractarian Theory," with its appeal to tradition and the Œcumenical Councils, and examines the theory in relation to the Notes of the Church. An interesting Appendix to this chapter displays in tabular form by means of quotations a number of correspondences between Tractarian and Orthodox teaching on Tradition and the Councils. Other chapters deal with the Early Tractarians and Re-union, the Jerusalem Bishopric, and the case of Palmer.

ORIENTALIA CHRISTIANA.

Vol. XVIII, 2, No. 61. May-June, 1930.

DE ORIENTE STUDIA ET LIBRI.

Prof. N. de Baumgarten writes on the last marriage of St. Vladimir in 1012 to a granddaughter of the Emperor Otto the Great.

In his commentary on Dogmatic theology, Fr. Th. Spacil reviews

Fr. M. Jugie's third volume on the Sacraments of the Eastern Church, Prof. F. Segarra's treatise on the Identity of the Resurrection body, and other theological studies.

Fr. J. Ledit contributes a Slav bulletin, in which he reviews the biographical studies of a Polish writer, W. Charkiewicz, H. Koch's study of theology in the time of Peter the Great, and other works on Lithuania and Moscow.

Among the reviews, we should like to draw attention to two little works by Fr. S. Tchetverikov and Prof. V. V. Zyenkovsky on Youth and the Problems of Sex, published by the Y.M.C.A. Press in 1929.

L.P.

HOW TO PREPARE FOR HOLY COMMUNION.

BY THE GREAT ARCHIMANDRITE.

The Greek Church, London. (Greek, 3d.)

This admirable little tract forms, we are told, the first of a series which the author proposes to write for the congregation of the Church of St. Sophia, Bayswater.

After dwelling on the paramount importance of Holy Communion for every Christian soul, the writer proceeds to develop three points :

- (1) The need of unquestioning faith on the part of the Communicant in the Real Presence of Our Lord in the sacrament. A comparison is drawn here between the Mystery of the Incarnation and the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist.
- (2) The need of approaching with due reverence and holy fear. This should entail very careful preparation, especially by fasting and confession.
- (3) The need of love ; the Communicant who desires to approach the Altar must be in charity with all men.

The writer ends his tract with these words :—" So then finally, when you enter the Church and hear the priest call the faithful to Holy Communion saying : ' With the fear of God, with faith and love approach, ' you, too, may draw near with fear and trembling to receive the Bread of Life, for the remission of your sins and for Everlasting Life."

We shall look forward with interest to the further tracts which are promised on such subjects as " Confession," " How to hear the Holy Liturgy," etc., on which there is great need for such simple and definite teaching as is contained in the tract before us.

M.G.D.

THE WORLD-WIDE SACRIFICE.

BY C. F. L. ST. GEORGE.

(Faith Press. 1s.)

We very heartily commend this little book of devotion, which has for its sub-title "A method of assisting at the Holy Communion with intention for the re-union of Christendom."

Mr. St. George tells us that he has compiled his book "with the object of helping anyone who may use it to remember that he holds a religious faith rather than belongs to a particular religious body or organization, and to remember that while he is at a celebration of the Holy Communion he is worshipping at the great Service of the whole Church Catholic and not simply assisting at the characteristic rite of his own particular communion." The plan of the book serves this purpose admirably. Short notes are inserted on the structure of the Service and the meaning of its ceremonial as common to the great Churches of Christendom, while there are prayers culled from the various Liturgies both Eastern and Western.

A number of prayers expressly for the Unity of the Church are collected into an appendix. The book is not overloaded, and is of a convenient size and shape for use in Church.

THE DIVINE LITURGY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

Greek Text with a rendering in English. 2nd edition. (Faith Press. 5s.)

THE SACRAMENT OF HOLY MATRIMONY.

Greek Text with a rendering in English. (Williams & Norgate. 3s.)

Notices of this excellent series of Orthodox services arranged according to the use of the Greek Cathedral in London have appeared from time to time in *The Christian East*. The fact that a new edition of the Liturgy is called for testifies to its usefulness, and the new volume containing the Marriage Service maintains the high standard of the earlier issues in the series.



to Arch. Mezey *Constantinople*
5 July 1930.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY WITH THE POPE AND PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA AT LAMBETH PALACE, TUESDAY, JULY 8TH, 1930.

The Christian East

THE PURPORT OF THE RECENT ORTHODOX DELEGATION.

By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

A GOOD deal of water has flowed up and down past Lambeth Palace since my article on the Orthodox Delegation appeared in the summer number of *The Christian East*.

I had to write that article during the first week of the Lambeth Conference, in minutes snatched from my work as Reception Secretary for the Delegation. Although I could have wished to have written it at leisure, it served its purpose which was twofold.

On the one hand, I wished to show that there was nothing sudden or fortuitous in the Archbishop of Canterbury's having invited the Œcumenical Patriarch to arrange with the authorities of the other Orthodox autokephalous churches for the dispatch of the Delegation, but that the time had ripened both for a striking demonstration that, as the Œcumenical Patriarch had put it, the relations of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches had passed beyond the stage of "friendliness" and had become "fraternal," and also for the initiation of official discussions as to the possibility of the union of the two Churches.

On the other hand, my object was to forestall the mischievous deduction that the Delegation had been sent to negotiate either their Union or their Intercommunion, and to indicate the maximum which it could be expected to achieve.

For that end, I sketched the very wonderful approximation which has taken place between the two Churches in the past 30 years. In doing so, I was at pains to attract attention to a fact which far too often escapes notice.

All the solidarity in "Life and Work" movements and all the will for Union conceivable may exist between two Churches, but to whatever minimum you reduce the formulæ of that agreement, their dogmatic agreement is the necessary and indispensable preliminary of their Union.

The visit of the Delegation had become desirable and, indeed, almost inevitable, not so much because their common experiences and their mutual practical services since 1914 had drawn Anglicans and Orthodox together, as because the possibility of their dogmatic agreement had emerged upon the horizon.

Thirty years ago, the general body of Orthodox theologians were not only ignorant of the history and dogmatic position of the Anglican Church, but were prejudiced to assume that it preserved its Episcopal ministry as a souvenir, that its sacraments were simply external ceremonies or nude commemorations, and that it was comprehensive in the sense that it disclaimed a dogmatic system and in the region of dogma authenticated fundamentally conflicting doctrines as alternative.

To-day, while of necessity it remains the case that only a percentage of Orthodox theologians have been able themselves to investigate the history of the Anglican Church, its doctrinal position as set forth in its formularies and its present-day life, those who have been drawn to make opportunity to do so, have pronounced with practical unanimity that its claim to be in true continuity with the primitive churches of the British Isles is worthy of serious consideration. In consequence, though it still lingers among the less well informed, the prejudice which adjudged the Anglican Church to be an indiscriminately "comprehensive" Protestant sect and was formerly prevalent among Orthodox theologians thirty years ago, has been largely dissipated and has been replaced by a general predisposition to recognize the Anglican Church as a "sister" church, *i.e.*, to find that it presents the necessary criteria for recognizing that its mystic life is akin with their own.

That in their investigation into the nature and history of the Anglican Church, Orthodox theologians have concentrated their attention very largely on the single issue of whether the Orthodox Church can accept Anglican ordinations as valid, is not due to Pope Leo XIII.'s bull, *Apostolica Curae*, of 1896. His condemnation of our Orders certainly did us the inestimable, if unintentional, service of stimulating Orthodox theologians to make independent enquiry as to whether his verdict was justified on Orthodox principles. But, in any case, once they addressed their attention to the possibility of the Union of the two Churches, their enquiry must have become focussed upon the possibility of the Orthodox Church accepting our Ministry as valid.

It may be, though I do not think that it is, that the more logical method of examining whether Union between two Churches would be a real Union, is to begin with the great, primary Christological truths and to work on from dogmatic agreement upon them until agreement is reached upon the ecclesiastical dogmas set forth in the third part of the Creed, *i.e.*, upon the nature of the Church, upon the mediation of its unique mystic life, upon its Sacraments and upon its Ministry.

But in the case of Churches of which the system is characteristically sacramental, the converse method is the more natural, the readier and the safer.

For them Union and Intercommunion are inseparable, if distinguishable, terms.

The Union of two Churches signifies their recognition of the fact that whatever their external diversities, their mystic life is mediated in essentially the same way. Their Intercommunion is the fruit of that recognition and signifies that the sacramental systems through which their mystic life is mediated are essentially identical.

To imagine that you share with others in a sacrament simply by sharing in its outward and visible sign is to reduce it to the level of what the Bishop of Birmingham has styled a "magical practice." For the Intercommunion of two Churches it is not enough that their sacramental systems can be equated by their external features. Their conception of what the Sacraments are in themselves, of their purpose, meaning and so on, must be essentially identical.

The requirement of the most rigid theory of an Apostolic Ministry cannot be confined to the presence of an external unbroken succession. It must find place for the power and function conferred through that succession.

To ask what a Church means by its Ministry is thus tantamount to asking it in the first instance what it means by its Sacraments and ultimately what it means by itself.

Accordingly, and especially because, except in regard to the Filioque, there appeared to be no dogmatic opposition between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism in regard to the Doctrine of the Trinity, an investigation of the validity of Anglican Orders was the natural starting point for an Orthodox examination of the possibility of Union between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches. At any rate, though necessarily their investigation has not only covered the whole region of the Anglican sacramental system but has involved the enquiry as to whether in the Anglican Church the functions of governing the flock, of safeguarding the Faith and of exercising discipline rest with the bishops as being, in succession to the Apostles, its chief pastors, all Orthodox theologians who have undertaken the study of the Anglican Church during the past thirty years have addressed their attention to the validity of our Orders.

Archbishop Chrysostom of Athens' lucid and exhaustive narrative of the Orthodox enquiry into the question of Anglican Orders, of which I have myself a translation now in the press, shows that no Orthodox theologian who has studied the matter has failed to concur with the conclusions published by the Russian Bulgakov in 1898 and the Greek Androutsos in 1904. Those conclusions were (1) that on the external side the Apostolic Succession of the Anglican Ministry has been unbroken, and (2) that, *prima facie*, and on the evidence of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles, except for what appears to be ambiguous and for their conflicting interpretation by Anglicans themselves, the meaning, purpose and function assigned

by the Anglican Church to its Ministry would warrant the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox Church. For the removal of all doubt, however, Bulgakov and Androutsos held an explicit answer by the whole Anglican Episcopate to certain questions which they stated to be necessary.

Very much has happened since 1904. In general, a steady consensus has been developed among Orthodox theologians who have gained close first-hand knowledge of the Anglican Church that if *lex orandi lex credendi* be taken as a governing principle, and if Anglican formularies be allowed to speak for themselves, the Anglican conceptions and the Orthodox conceptions of the Apostolic Succession and of the Episcopal office, of Grace conferred in Holy Orders, of the Real Presence in the Eucharist and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice are closely cognate, if not identical. Russians of such weight as the Metropolitan Antony of Kiev and Professor Glubokovsky, and Greeks of such weight as the martyred Metropolitan Chrysostom of Smyrna and the late Professor Komnenos, have declared themselves to be convinced personally that the facts warrant the acceptance by the Orthodox Church of Anglican Orders as valid. The last named held, indeed, that the case for their acceptance was so overwhelming that there was no occasion for further enquiry and urged, in 1921, that the Œcumenical Patriarchate should declare its acceptance of them and invite the other autokephalous Orthodox Churches to concur with it in that declaration.

In 1922 the Holy Synod of the Œcumenical Patriarchate brought to an end the long and intermittent investigation of Anglican Ordinations which it had begun in 1902 at the instigation of some American Anglicans. Influenced, no doubt, by the cogency of Professor Komnenos' writings—he was the Secretary of its *ad hoc* Commission which included, however, theologians of such authority as the late Œcumenical Patriarch Basil III.—but none the less of its own unanimous and matured judgment, the Holy Synod of the Great Church of Constantinople resolved that it accepted Anglican Orders as no less valid than Roman Catholic and other Orders the validity of which together with the whole Orthodox Church it had always recognized as being capable of acceptance. His All Holiness the Patriarch Meletios, now of Alexandria and at that time of Constantinople, at once notified that decision to Lord Davidson, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and issued an Encyclical to his brother Patriarchs and the other chief bishops of the Orthodox autokephalous churches, inviting them to associate themselves with that notification. It is true that of the other Seven Churches, which were then autokephalous and to which that encyclical was addressed,¹

¹ It was impossible, of course, at the time that the Patriarchate of Russia, which is perhaps the greatest of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, should either receive or answer the Encyclical which also, the Bulgarian Church being in schism with the Œcumenical Patriarchate, was not addressed to the Synod of that Church.

only two, the Churches of Jerusalem and Cyprus, replied in the affirmative and that up to the present with the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, the Patriarchate of Rumania, the Serb Patriarchate and the Church of Greece have refrained from replying to it.

Except Antioch, the four ancient Patriarchates are Greek institutions, as is also Cyprus. They have great prestige as well as dignity. But even including those in the diocese of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, which are now in Greece, their flocks together total no more than 2,000,000. On the other hand, the flock of the Rumanian Patriarchate totals thirteen and a half millions, that of the Serb Patriarchate six millions, and that of the Church of Greece five and half millions. So that, to say nothing of the Patriarchate of Russia (one hundred and twenty millions), or the Churches of Bulgaria (five millions) and of Poland (five millions) which has since been recognized as autokephalous, only a small fraction of the Orthodox Church and that itself a fraction of the Greek element in it, has formally accepted the validity of Anglican Orders.

The reticence, however, of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches which did not reply to the Patriarch Meletios is to be construed as a suspension of decision upon the Œcumenical Patriarchate's judgment and not as its rejection.

The theory of Œcumenicity points to the requirement of the unanimous and collective agreement of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches before action is taken by any Church even in a matter of otherwise domestic concern to itself which involves dogma.

If, as an outsider, I may trench on so delicate a matter, I have concluded that for this reason a strong current of opinion exists in the Churches which are characteristically Greek, no less than in the Rumanian and in the Slav Churches that, though the prescriptive function of the Œcumenical Patriarchate warranted its informing the other autokephalous Churches of the decision at which it had arrived, its action in notifying that decision publicly to the Archbishop of Canterbury was mistaken.

The Œcumenical Patriarchate, or Great Church of Constantinople, is the primatial Orthodox autokephalous Church, but it is so only as the first among equal sister Churches and cannot speak for them without their consent. A decision of the question of the validity of Anglican Orders cannot be domestic to any single Orthodox autokephalous Church. Its practical consequences involve the relations of the whole Orthodox Church with the whole Anglican Church.

In view of the political circumstances of the Near East, an open opposition upon such a matter between two Orthodox autokephalous Churches of contrasted nationalities must have had divisive repercussions upon the supranational complex of Orthodoxy. If, for

example, after examining the whole question, the Serb Church had identified itself synodically with the Œcumenical Patriarchate's judgment but the Rumanian Church had declared itself unable to do so, a colour might have been found for the suspicion of a special liaison between the Serb Orthodox and the whole Anglican Church, and for other reasons the position created would have been generally mischievous and undesirable.

Moreover, in 1922, even though the state of the Near East and the situation in Russia rendered the early possibility of the holding of a General Synod of the whole Orthodox Church improbable, the Orthodox autocephalous Churches were already conscious of their need to take collective action upon the many pressing issues which modern life and the modern world had forced and are forcing upon their attention, and were already discussing the machinery for arriving at a common mind upon them.

Doubtless, in themselves, such considerations would have influenced the Rumanian, Serb and Greek Churches to refrain from committing themselves. But, in fact, none of them was really equipped to give a reply to the Œcumenical Patriarchate's Encyclical. In each of them there were theologians of standing, whose study and first-hand knowledge of the Anglican Church had satisfied them that its Orders ought to be accepted. But the most that could be said was that the old prejudice which assumed that the Anglican Church is a "comprehensive Protestant sect," and can never be recognized by the Orthodox Church as a "sister" Church, had been largely dissipated and replaced by a predisposition to find it to be so.

For the decision of questions involving dogma, however, predisposition is insufficient. Conviction is necessary.

Moreover, while on Orthodox principles the possibility of the acceptance of Anglican Orders is an abstract question which can be decided conclusively only on dogmatic grounds, it presented itself also in Rumania, Yugo-Slavia and Greece as a very practical question. For behind it followed the question of that which I have termed¹ Economic Intercommunion between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches.

Economy is the relaxation of the letter of the law in order to provide for the exigencies of the well-being, either of the individual Christian or of the Church as a whole, and may be described as the paramourcy of the wisdom of charity in action. Its exercise is a duty and the only region from which its operation is excluded is that of dogma, but except in emergency its expediency is to be decided by authority and not by individual judgment.

A striking instance of the exercise of Economy by the Orthodox among themselves is their toleration of the administration of Baptism

¹ See my Memorandum appended to the Report of the Archbishop's Committee on the Reports of the Lausanne Conference. S.P.C.K. 1930.

by affusion and not by immersion which is prevalent among the Orthodox of Croatia, Slovenia and Dalmatia. Good instances of its exercise by them in regard to their relations with non-Orthodox Churches are supplied by the permission accorded to the Orthodox who are in isolation in those lands which, before the War, belonged to Austria-Hungary and now belong to Rumania and Yugo-Slavia, to receive the Marriage Blessing from non-Orthodox ministers and to have their children baptized by them. Indeed, strictly speaking, since the Orthodox Church cannot recognize any sacrament administered outside itself as valid *per se*, its uniform acceptance of all Trinitarian Baptism and of the Orders of the Roman and of the so-called Nestorian and Monophysite Churches is by economy.

Economic Intercommunion, *i.e.*, the mutual resort of the Orthodox and of the members of a non-Orthodox Church to each other's clergy for the Sacraments and particularly to Holy Communion, presents itself logically as a possible extension of such economy. But expediency and not logic controls the exercise of economy. To the Orthodox mind, the Eucharist is the supreme bond of Church Unity, because it is the supreme medium of that unique mystic life which is shared by the members of the Church and which can be intelligible only by experience of it. On their own principles, the Orthodox cannot admit the interchangeability of their Eucharist with the Eucharist of other Churches which have conceptions both of the One Holy Church and of the Eucharist that conflict fundamentally with their own.

Thirty years ago, the most that could be said was that the Orthodox authorities had not pronounced upon the permissibility of Economic Intercommunion in any case,¹ and that in general Orthodox theologians were inclined to rule it out as a practical, if not theoretical, impossibility.

By 1922, however, instances of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion had become so numerous and widespread that a decision on the matter had become pressing if not imperative.

It was not only that during and after the War it had become frequent for Orthodox bishops to authorize the Communion of Anglicans by their clergy when in emergency and isolation, or as in the case of Canon Garland, whom the late Patriarch Gregory of Antioch himself invited to receive Communion on the Orthodox Christmas Day of 1919.² Certainly the widespread authorization of

¹ In practice, though on rare occasions, it appears that Armenians have for many years been admitted when in isolation and emergency to the Orthodox Eucharist.

² "Two priests now came, placed upon me vestments similar to their own, and led me to the altar, putting me next to the Bishop who was assisting the Patriarch, and above the other priests. At the proper times I received the kiss of peace and was censured, and in the Great Procession was given a small hand cross to carry, following the priests bearing paten and chalice. After the Patriarch had communicated himself he retired to a corner and knelt down in devotion. It was wonderful

Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion during the War period presupposed that those who authorized it held it to be theoretically permissible. But it did not presuppose indefinite continuance.

The real urgency for a decision was the presence in all the English-speaking lands of very considerable Orthodox dispersions, a large proportion of which is in permanent destitution of the Sacraments. Thus, of the three and a half million Orthodox in the United States, Dr. Emhardt, the American Episcopal Church's Field Secretary for the Foreign Born, informs me that one and a half millions are so scattered all over that vast country that even if the number of Orthodox clergy was multiplied by ten it would be practically impossible for them to receive Communion even once in a year.

What is to become of these people, of the single families and of the small groups of families which live in particular overseas towns and villages? How are they to obtain even the Marriage Blessing or Baptism and religious instruction for their children?

If Anglican and Orthodox Economic Intercommunion is permissible in their case, the problem is solved. They can remain Orthodox and the Anglican Church can undertake their pastoral care for so long, though only for so long, as they are isolated from their own clergy. But if its permissibility is impossible, they must remain in complete isolation from all church life at the risk of lapsing into practical atheism, must attach themselves without authorization to their local Anglican congregation or pass over either to the Roman Catholic Church, which is active to proselytize them, or to the non-Episcopal Churches which invite them to accede to them.

The "fraternal relations" of the two Churches forbid the Anglican clergy not only from offering them spiritual hospitality without the approval of the Orthodox authorities of whom some give it, others withhold it and others again are silent, but even from extending it to them without approval when they beg for it.

Accordingly the uncertainty as to whether Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion is permissible has produced the almost intolerable position that, on the one hand, Orthodox persons in genuine isolation and real destitution of sacramental life ask the Anglican clergy to minister to them and, when refused, quote cases of their fellow Orthodox whose request in like circumstances is granted, and on the other hand, the Anglican clergy have to stand by with folded hands while their Orthodox fellow citizens lapse into atheism or are absorbed into Romanism and Protestantism.

watching him; priests came and lovingly kissed his robe and hand, but he remained absorbed in prayer. The Bishop took his place to give the Holy Communion to the priests. I stood back, but a priest came and led me forward with the others, and I had the privilege of receiving the Holy Communion, being addressed by my Christian name as I was communicated separately in each kind." *The Christian East*, Vol. 1, p. 117.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY WITH THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION AND ITS ATTENDANT ANGLICAN CHAPLAINS AT LAMBETH PALACE, TUESDAY, JULY 8TH, 1930.



Front Row: The Rev. R. M. French, the Metropolitan of Epiphaneia (Antioch), Archbishop Nektarie of the Bukowina (Rumanian), the Pope and Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Cosmo Lang), Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira, Archbishop Timotheos of Jordan, the Coadjutor Bishop Paissie of Sofia (Bulgaria).

Back Row: The Rev. Dr. Emhardt, the Rev. F. N. Heazell, the Patriarch's Deacon Anthonios Rosmaris, Canon J. A. Douglas, the Archimandrite Sabbas Sovietoff (Poland), the Bishop-designate Leontios of Paphos (Cyprus), Bishop Irenay of Novi-Sad, Bishop Athenagoras of Corcyra (Greece), the Great Archimandrite Michael Constantinides (Greece), the Rev. R. M. Borough.

The overseas need for a decision one way or the other, which was there before the War,¹ and has been rendered insistent by the frequency of instances of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion in Europe, has perhaps not been fully perceived even to-day by the home authorities of all Orthodox autokephalous Churches. But in 1922 its urgency was already being brought home to them.

Indeed, the conversations which he held with the overseas Anglican bishops during his visit to London in 1920 as a member of the Œcumenical Patriarchate's delegation to the Sixth Lambeth Conference, so convinced Professor Komnenos that the urgency of the question was pressing that, as he himself informed me, it was in order to hasten a decision that once the Commission of the Holy Synod had arrived at the conclusion that Anglican Orders were capable of acceptance as valid by the Orthodox Church, he persuaded it to recommend that the Œcumenical Patriarchate should forthwith declare its acceptance and should invite the other Orthodox Churches to do the same. To that recommendation, and as its practical consequence, he secured the addition of another which he supported by adducing the precedent that, in century XII, Latin prisoners in Egypt were admitted by the Patriarch of Alexandria to Communion, to the effect that the Œcumenical Patriarchate should at once authorize its own people and should recommend the other Orthodox autokephalous Churches to authorize theirs, to resort when in long isolation or genuine emergency to the Anglican clergy not only for the Marriage Blessing and Baptism but also for Holy Communion.

It is true that the Œcumenical Patriarchate acted only on the former recommendation, but Professor Komnenos had published his report. Everyone knew that the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate had accepted his second recommendation and that, if all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches replied in the affirmative to the invitation to accept Anglican Orders as valid, a second Encyclical inviting them to concur in the establishment of a restricted and regulated Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion would follow.

Under the circumstances, of which I have given a brief conspexus above, it is not surprising that all but two of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches which received the Œcumenical Patriarch's Encyclical refrained from replying to it. Looking back, I venture to be glad that they did refrain. In spite of the urgency, the time was not ripe for a decision. The solution of questions of such dogmatic importance as the validity of Anglican Orders and of such practical and far-reaching importance as the establishment of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion overseas cannot be

¹ The Œcumenical Patriarchate was stirred to begin its investigation of Anglican Orders as far back as 1902, by an enquiry on the subject addressed to it by six American priests.

satisfactorily and finally arrived at on second-hand information. Over and above the risk of the conclusions of the Rumanian, Serb and Greek Churches not being identical with those of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and over and above the fact that decisions from neither the Russian Church nor the Bulgarian could be expected, theological opinion in Rumania, Serbia and Greece required to be matured as to the validity of Anglican Orders and the general public in those countries was not prepared for so startling a departure as the authorization of *Communio in Sacris* in any form whatever with a non-Orthodox Church.

Thus the most obvious, wise and rightful course was taken and the final solution of both questions was deferred until as it were the two Churches could meet face to face, and after the doubts had been stated by its accredited representatives and had been answered by the accredited representatives of all the Anglican Churches, the whole Orthodox Church either rejected the validity of our Orders, and with it the permissibility of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion or accepted the former and proceeded to decide upon the latter.

Nevertheless, even if the Œcumenical Patriarchate's initiative was not conclusive, it was effective.

If it left the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox a still open question, it left it in the position of a case which has been declared good in a lower court and the ratification of which is pending in a higher court. So far as I am aware, no Orthodox writer of authority has appealed against it as a wrong judgment. Since 1922 the position has been that its general endorsement is deferred until the certainty of its premises shall have been put beyond doubt by an answer of the whole Anglican Episcopate to certain questions.

To estimate the trend of opinion on a matter which is waiting for final and judicial decision and is not of open controversy, is very difficult, but so far as I have been able to observe, though not uniformly in all Orthodox countries, the increased attention to the question of Anglican Orders aroused among the Orthodox generally on account of their acceptance by the Œcumenical Patriarchate has greatly strengthened and largely extended the predisposition¹ to expect that when the final Orthodox verdict is given upon them it will be favourable. At the same time, it has done much to familiarize the more conservative Orthodox clergy and laity to whom the possibility of being in any form of Communion whatever with a Western Church after nine centuries of schism is inevitably startling, with the possibility of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion.

In regard to Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion, the

¹ For reasons glanced at above, less attention has been given to the matter in Rumania than in Serbia, in Serbia than in Bulgaria and in Bulgaria than in Greece.

great increase of its authorization which, as was to have been expected, resulted from the acceptance of Anglican Orders as valid by the Œcumenical Patriarch, must in no way be interpreted as indicating a common mind among the Orthodox, even as to its theoretical permissibility.

All that can be said is that while few or any Orthodox theologians would rule Economic Intercommunion as being *per se* altogether not permissible, their opinion is divided between those who hold that until the Orthodox Church has decided that it is permissible with the Anglican Church, it may be authorized with great reserve in individual cases and those who hold that until then it ought not to be authorized at all.

From all this—and that is why I have let my pen run on—it will be apparent that, although it was well that the Œcumenical Patriarchate's Encyclical of 1922 did not receive an answer from all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, the position created by it could not drag on indefinitely. None the less, though during the past seven years the delay has caused them anxiety, and indeed many have chafed at it, those Anglicans and Orthodox who are most intimately concerned in the movement have remained agreed that it was altogether necessary.

If, and when it is made, the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox will be no isolated, abstract pronouncement. By establishing that the Orthodox and Anglicans are very near to dogmatic agreement in the region in which dogmatic agreement is most difficult, it will bring their full Union and Intercommunion definitely on to the horizon, and, even if it does not open the door to their Economic Intercommunion as a *modus vivendi* pending their Union, it will bring their world-wide and vast Communion into the closest solidarity.

There is nothing exclusive in the approximation of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. Their Union would both prepare the ground for the general Union of the Christian Churches and would be the greatest practical contribution to the cause of international goodwill and brotherhood that has been made in modern times. That inability to wait patiently for a few years should have jeopardized a project fraught with such momentous consequences, not only to the two Churches immediately concerned, but to all Christendom, and to humanity would have been no less a crime than a folly.

As I have said above, a final and incontestable decision upon Anglican Orders can be made only by the whole Orthodox Church, and a large section of Orthodox theologians are of opinion that such a decision ought not to be made unless and until by a declaration of its whole episcopate the whole Anglican Church has elucidated its dogmatic teaching in regard to its Ministry and its Sacraments.

Assuming that without such an elucidation the Holy Synods of the Rumanian, Serb and other Orthodox autokephalous Churches which have not replied to the Constantinople Encyclical of 1922, after proceeding to review the grounds on which that Encyclical was issued, had intimated their assent to its invitation, the whole of the Orthodox Church would have been formally unanimous in its acceptance of Anglican Orders, but the decision would have been open to the challenge that it had been given without due knowledge, and nobody who is aware of the vigour, efficiency and persistency of Roman Catholic propaganda in Orthodox countries can doubt but that it would so have been challenged.

The *terrain* for Christian Re-union cannot be prepared by the secret methods of the old diplomacy, and there are a hundred overwhelming reasons why the suggestion of their employment in this matter should be made as absurd is groundless.

The single and no less obvious way by which real progress could be made was that a Delegation, truly representative of the whole Orthodox Church, should attend the recent Lambeth Conference, and should indicate precisely, and by the most searching questions, the exact points on which answers made by it as a Conference of the whole Anglican Episcopate would enable the whole Orthodox Church to reach a final and common mind on the crucial question as to whether it can pronounce the validity of the Anglican Ministry to be capable of acceptance by it.

That was the reason why the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee on the Lausanne Reports recommended him to give the invitation for such a Delegation to attend the Conference, and that was the reason why over and above their desire to demonstrate the fraternal character of the relations between the two Churches his Grace's invitation was accepted with alacrity by the Orthodox autokephalous Churches and why its personnel was of great authority and of real theological distinction.

From the nature of the case the Delegation was not plenipotentiary. By its invitation and by its mandate, its function was limited to enquiry and discussion with a view to discovering whether it could state a case for the acceptance of the Anglican Ministry for the collective consideration of the whole Orthodox Church. That such collective consideration could be given at an early date would have seemed highly improbable two years ago. The project of an Orthodox General Council had been mooted immediately after the War, but had been relegated to an indefinite future, not only on account of the general state of Russia and of the Near East, but because the position of the Ecumenical Patriarchate which must convene it had become extremely precarious after the re-occupation of Constantinople by the Turks. In 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne had guaranteed the Ecumenical Patriarch's security. None the less,

the Turkish Government eyed it with a jealous suspicion which precluded its liberty of action.

Three years ago, however, an Orthodox General Council being out of the question, the Ecumenical Patriarchate proposed the holding of a Pro-Synod of the whole Orthodox Church, *i.e.*, of a Synod consisting of representatives of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, the decisions of which, if accepted by their home authorities, would become decisions of the whole Orthodox Church. The Orthodox autokephalous Churches which are conscious of the need of collective consultation and action upon many questions welcomed the proposal. The Turkish Government, however, forbade the Ecumenical Patriarchate's convening such a Pro-Synod in Constantinople or sending representatives to it anywhere and it was only last year that that veto was lifted.

The path being at last free for the holding of the Pro-Synod, a Commission, consisting of delegates from each of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, had met in Mt. Athos last June, made preliminary arrangements for its convention and fixed its agenda, among which the question of Orthodox and Anglican relations occupy a chief place. The date of its assembly is not fixed, but is planned for next year.

Accordingly, though it would be unsafe to regard the holding of the Orthodox Pro-Synod next year as certain, when the Delegation came to London last July, there was a good prospect that any agreement it achieved with our bishops might, if endorsed by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference, be submitted next year to the Pro-Synod.

If I may be pardoned a personal opinion, I had expected much from the Delegation's visit, but, to be frank, I had hardly dared to hope that, after posing practically all the questions which Orthodox theologians had indicated as necessary, it would be able to declare its unanimous satisfaction with the statements made to it by the sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on the Unity of the Church, and that the plenum of the Conference would endorse those statements as containing "a sufficient account of the teaching and practice of the Church of England and of the Churches in communion with it."¹ My saying that does not mean that I did not believe that the great body of centrally-minded Anglicans could not give clear and unambiguous answers to the questions which I knew that the Delegation must put. On the contrary. It is true, as I wrote in the last issue of the *Christian East*, that twenty-five years ago, with W. J. Birkbeck, Bishop Collins and others, who then led our movement, I held the opinion that dogmatic agreement between the two Churches was rendered unthinkable by our own Anglican conflicts over the interpretation of the nature, history and teaching

¹ Resolution 33(c) of the Seventh Lambeth Conference.

of our Church. But it is also true that, while I have always believed that an authentic interpretation of the dogmatic position of the Anglican Church would show it to be identical with that of the Orthodox Church, it is only in the last decade that I have perceived that, if only the whole Orthodox Church could discuss its dogmatic teaching with the whole Anglican Church in a clear atmosphere of goodwill and in terms of "things of themselves" and not of controversy, they would be found to be in dogmatic agreement upon every point necessary for their Union. In other words, if the extremely sectionally-minded Anglicans of any and every school of thought be ignored, as they ought to be ignored, I had come to be sanguine that a Central Anglicanism would emerge which would be a genuine expression of the beliefs of all centrally-minded Anglicans, whether of High Church, Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical or Modernist tendencies, and would at once be recognized by all Orthodox theologians not only as compatible, but as essentially identical, with the broad current of Orthodox life and tradition.

My personal anxiety, therefore, in knowing that the dogmatic agreement which I believe to exist substantially between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches was to be put to the test by the visit of the Delegation, consisted in my fear that our sharp domestic Anglican controversies might prevent the bishops, with whom they would confer, from framing answers to the questions which were to be put then, in satisfactory terms, or if such answers were given, that the plenum of the Conference might not endorse them.

As I understand them, the doubts of the Orthodox are to be attributed wholly to the impression that the Anglican Church is so divided by its comprehensiveness as to be incapable of stating a central Anglican position at all. So that what I feared was not only that the golden opportunity afforded by the probable following of this Lambeth Conference by an Orthodox Pro-Synod might be let slip, but also—a disaster which would have meant a set-back for many years to Anglican and Orthodox solidarity, and would have entailed lamentable consequences to the cause of Christian solidarity and with it to those of progress and of international goodwill—that the apparent confirmation of the doubt as to whether a Central Anglicanism exists at all would make the Orthodox turn away from envisaging Anglican-Orthodox Union even as a theoretical possibility.

In the event my double-minded faintheartedness proved groundless. As will be seen from the *résumé* of the statements made by the Bishop of Gloucester and his sub-committee and the summary of the discussions given in the Report of the Conference's Committee on Unity,¹ the Patriarch Meletios phrased the questions which the

¹ The Lambeth Conference, pp. 131-140.

Delegation had come to put, in their most searching form, the statements made in reply were received as plain, unambiguous and satisfactory, and were endorsed by the plenum of the Conference in the resolution from which I have quoted above:

The achievement of the visit of the Delegation is, therefore, that the whole Orthodox Church has formally expressed its doubts on the question of Anglican Orders to the whole Anglican Church and has been given a reply which its accredited delegates have pronounced to be satisfactory.

For the advance towards that full dogmatic agreement of the two Churches which would achieve their Union, it remains only for the whole Orthodox Church to open the door by implementing the agreement reached by the Delegation, either at its forthcoming Pro-Synod or by the interchange of synodical letters on the part of its autocephalous Churches.

In the field of Re-union we must sow in *specie aeternitatis* and not expect to see the harvest ourselves.

But God prepares miracles.

For my own part, I am confident that if the fruit of the Delegation's work at Lambeth be garnered at Mt. Athos next year, there will be a great drawing together of all the Christian Churches and that by 1940 not only will the Union of the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches with the non-episcopal Evangelical Churches be in sight, but that, as Cardinal Mercier told me, the Union of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches will have been a dynamic for that *décentralization* of the Roman Catholic Church, which is to be desired most eagerly because the change of outlook which must come with it will bring that great Church into solidarity with the rest of Christendom.

If those hopes are borne out even in part, the visit of the Delegation will prove more than comparable for its fruitfulness with any similar event in the history of Christendom since the Great Schism of 1054.

In any case, the wisdom and courage of our Archbishop in risking its invitation have been amply justified.

The readers of *The Christian East* will probably be of the opinion, however, that it is time that I proceeded to describe the *personnel* of the Delegation and its doings in London. I will, therefore, postpone the detailed consideration of the *résumé* of those statements which, after being made to it by the Bishop of Gloucester's sub-committee, were endorsed by the plenum of the Conference, until the Winter *Christian East*.

As I have said, the *personnel* of the Delegation was extraordinarily

authoritative and of great distinction. The Patriarch Meletios, who, by the dignity of his office, necessarily acted as its head and mouth-piece, is the most outstanding, as he is the most romantic figure among Orthodox ecclesiastics of to-day. Myself, I have watched his career with admiration since those far-off days when I first knew him in Jerusalem as a monk of the Holy Sepulchre. To sketch the details of its many stormy and dramatic vicissitudes and of its lasting and striking achievements would occupy several pages of *The Christian East*. Inasmuch as he has served in each of the five autocephalous churches which are Greek, it falls naturally into five chapters. The first takes in the years of his service in the Jerusalem Patriarchate and beginning with his being received as a novice into the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, covers a period of great disturbance and controversy¹ in the Patriarchate, in the affairs of which he played a fine part, and ends with his resignation of its chief secretaryship in 1906. From 1906 to 1917, he is gaining a great reputation, both by his pastoral work as Bishop of Kition in Cyprus, and by the sagacious ability with which he takes a chief hand in settling the schism which for several years had distracted the little Church of that island. The third chapter opens with his being called to the Archbishopric of Athens in 1917, when, under King Alexander, Greece was preparing to enter the War on the side of the Allies, and closes with his resignation on the restoration of King Constantine in 1920. An interim follows, during which he is in America for a year with an administrative commission from the Œcumenical Patriarchate and, as it is important for our purpose to notice, is learning by first hand acquaintance the pressing necessities of the Orthodox dispersion in the U.S.A. The period covered by the fourth chapter lasts only from December, 1921, when he is elected Œcumenical Patriarch, until November, 1923, when he lays down that great responsibility. In every day of those two years, which witnessed the *débauché* of the Greek Army, the terrible holocaust of Smyrna, the extirpation of Christianity from Asia Minor and the triumphant occupation of Constantinople by the Kemalists, he was in personal peril. Indeed, as will be remembered, he was once actually seized in his own house by Turkish *gens d'armes*, in order to be kidnapped over the Bosphorus and hanged at Ismidt. Nevertheless, in his brief occupancy of the Œcumenical Throne, he made more history for the whole Orthodox Church than had any of his predecessors since Cyril Lukar. Thus, he held a Pan-Orthodox Conference² in 1923—it initiated the now almost generally accepted reform of the Kalendar and recommended other reforms which will come up at the Pro-Synod

¹ See my Introduction to Archbishop Chrysostom's Validity of Anglican Orders, now in the Press.

² I do not presume to express an opinion on the question of its authority which is disputed in certain other Orthodox autocephalous Churches.



PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AT THE A. & E.C.A. RECEPTION FOR THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AT FULHAM PALACE.

Copies (8 x 6 ins.) of these photographs may be obtained from the Secretary, A. and E.C.A., St. James' Vicarage, W. Hampstead, N.W.6. Price 2s. 6d. each.

for decision—recognized Anglican Orders, established the Orthodox Exarchate of Western Europe, and so on. As it happened, I was travelling in the Balkans with my friend Mr. Riley, in October, 1923, and we were able to visit him in Salonika just before his abdication of the Œcumenical Throne. Man of action that he is and therefore ambitious in the fine sense that being a practical dreamer of dreams he desires the means to carry them out, those must have been dark and bitter days for him. Seemingly the work he had done was shattered and it looked as if his career was finally closed. Nevertheless, his only thought seemed to be for his people, who had been handed over to the Turks, and for the shadow of threatened extinction which hung over the Œcumenical Patriarchate. His readiness to sacrifice himself and his own career gave us a flashlight conviction of his singleness of mind and freedom from self-seeking. It was the same when I visited him at Kephissia, near Athens, in 1925. An ex-Œcumenical Patriarch can occupy few posts, and his retirement must be complete, so that it seemed as if his inactivity must be permanent. But I found the Patriarch Meletios as delightful and cheerful a host as could be and without a word of regret or of complaint to utter. The fifth chapter of his career opened, of course, with his call, in 1927, to the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria, where he has already done no small spadework¹ and is greatly beloved.

It goes without saying, I suppose, that a reformer will always have ill-founded criticism passed upon him, but the thing which amazes me is that many of the critics of the Patriarch Meletios allege that he is ready to compromise upon the principles of Orthodoxy.

That he is inspired with a genuine passion for Reunion and spares nothing in his power to further its cause in every direction is indubitable. But I am bound to say that, in my conversations with Orthodox bishops and theologians—and I have had many such conversations in the past thirty years—I have found no one so unbending in presenting the Orthodox basis of Union. Certainly, with all his extraordinary charm and with all his eagerness to reach an agreement, our bishops found him altogether uncompromising and outspoken in the discussions of this summer. May be, the achievement of the Delegation's visit was so great because he was so.

That "admirable prelate," as the Archbishop of Canterbury has styled him, Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira, who was the Œcumenical Patriarchate's delegate, can need no introduction to the readers of *The Christian East*. They may not know, however, that no less than three of his colleagues in the Delegation were his pupils at the famous Constantinople Theological College of Halki, of which, as Metropolitan of Seleukia, he was head from 1911–1922, and which

¹ *E.g.* he has gone far to solve the difficult arabophone Syrian question which is cognate to the same vexed question in Palestine, has developed the Alexandria Theological Academy and is now busy getting ready to build a Patriarchal Church.

since so many Orthodox bishops have been its *alumni*, might well be known as an Episcopal Training College.

The Metropolitan of Epiphaneia, Mgr. Ignatios, who represented the Patriarchate of Antioch and is a relatively young man, is a scientific theologian of no small erudition and great breadth of outlook. As are all the bishops of that Patriarchate, he is an arabophone Syrian. On his way to London, he had taken part at Mt. Athos in the preparatory work for the Pro-Synod. This was his first visit to Europe.

Again, since his undergraduate days at Oxford, Archbishop Timotheos of the Jordan has been as familiar to English Church folk as English Church life has been familiar to him. No other delegate of the Jerusalem Patriarchate was thinkable or could have been so thoroughly a *persona gratissima*.

Though it is no exaggeration to say that every member of the Delegation was a notable personality, none was more notable than the delegate of the Rumanian Patriarchate, Archbishop Nektarie. In the ancient Orthodox autocephalous Churches, the styles of Archbishop and of Metropolitan are nowadays generally titular or, if not, are held by prelates comparable to our diocesan bishops. It is different in all the Orthodox Churches of modern foundation in which, if they do not invariably connote extra-diocesan jurisdiction, the titles archbishop and metropolitan are at least attached only to sees of major importance or dignity. As the man in the street would say, Archbishop Nektarie is a real Archbishop. The history of his style of Archbishop of the Bukowina, Metropolitan of Czernautz and Patriarch, is this. Before the War, the Bukowina which is a Rumanian land, was among the Austro-Hungarian dominions, and had an Orthodox Patriarchate of its own, sc. the Patriarchate of Czernautz, or Czernowitz, as the Germans write it. There was a similar Orthodox Patriarchate in Transylvania, sc. that of Hermanstadt (Sibiu). All the Rumanian lands are now happily united in a single Kingdom, and those two Rumanian Patriarchates are now welded into the single Rumanian Patriarchate. Though he is subordinate to *the* Rumanian Patriarchate, the Archbishops of Sibiu (Hermanstadt) and Czernautz retain their jurisdictions and their styles.

The fact that, unless the Patriarch Miron Cristea had come himself, the Rumanian Church could not have sent a more distinguished delegate, was perhaps not generally appreciated in London. But Archbishop Nektarie who is not only a major personage in the Rumanian Church but in Rumanian life, is as noteworthy for his urbanity and *savoir faire* as for his distinction, and brought home to everyone with whom he came in contact—and very few of our bishops had previously had contact with a Rumanian dignitary—not only the importance of the Rumanian Church, but the culture and *tenue* of Rumanian life.

The Archbishop of Canterbury received him with marked attention.

It had been my own good fortune to be admitted to his friendship at the Stockholm and Lausanne Conferences, and I have called on him at his palace in Czernautz, which is well worth seeing. He is a man of rare human sympathy and a strenuous worker for Christian Reunion. But he is also a cautious and strict theologian. His presence in the Delegation guaranteed that it would press the questions it came to ask and his satisfaction with the answers it received, is an assurance that they were clear and convincing.

My old friend, Bishop Irenäy of Novi Sad, the delegate of the Serb Patriarchate, is well known to English Church folk through his frequent visits to England at the end of the War. Conjoined with that indescribable mystic characteristic which belongs to the Serb race, he has rare ecclesiastical ability, is no mean historian and theologian, and possesses a very adequate knowledge of the history and life of the English Church. Like Archbishop Nektarie, he took part in the Stockholm and Lausanne Conferences and serves on their Continuation Committees. While an Apostle of Christian Unity, he is never willing to compromise on an Orthodox principle.

During the visit of the Delegation—he speaks English fluently and with an almost perfect accent—he was much sought after as a speaker and a preacher. Those who heard it, tell me that the sermon which he preached to a great congregation in Derby Cathedral on Sunday, July 20th, held them spellbound. We found him as ever an exemplar of Christian fervour, of the simplicity of Christian humility and of Christian firmness—and loved him for it.

Bishop Athenagoras of Corcyra, *i.e.*, Corfu, who represented the Church of Greece, is still in the early forties, is one of the younger Greek bishops from whom great things are expected and studied under Archbishop Germanos at Halki. He is generally beloved in his beautiful island diocese, where I saw him a few years ago—his commanding height and presence make him a picturesque figure—pontificating in the annual ceremonies of St. Spiridon, the possession of whose body is its pride. His own mind as to the theoretical permissibility of Economic Intercommunion is indicated by his having ordered that the remnant of the colony of Armenian refugees in Corfu, which is no longer large enough to support a priest of its own Church, should receive Holy Communion and other sacramental ministrations from his clergy—an economy which has been authorized by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece.

With him was associated as perforce the Great Archimandrite Michael Constantinides, who since he came to London to be Dean of the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Bayswater, has become a very familiar figure in our religious life. He also is a pupil of Archbishop Germanos and a relatively young man, and is clearly marked

out by his devotion, scholarship and ability for important work.

Since his return to Greece, Bishop Athenagoras has been elected by the Greek Synod of America to be their Archbishop and has accepted that very important responsibility. In the U.S.A. he will have the immediate handling of the difficult position of which I have spoken above.

To everyone's deep regret, the Archbishop of Poland, Mgr. Dyonizy, who had intimated his intention to take part in the Delegation, was prevented at the last moment by a vital conference with the Polish Government. The Archimandrite Sabbas Sovietoff, who came in his place, is the head of the Orthodox Theological Academy of Warsaw, a youngish man and a very brilliant theologian. Like most of the Orthodox of Poland, he is Russian by race, and is possessed by all the Slav mystic *abandon*. His contribution to the Delegation in some measure made up for the absence of Russian delegates in it.

The Bulgarian Church being in schism with the Greek Church, the Œcumenical Patriarch had been precluded from asking it to accede to the Delegation. On learning, however, that a Bulgarian delegate had been at Mt. Athos for the Commission held last June to prepare for the Orthodox Pro-Synod and that the Greek Churches would approve the presence at Lambeth of a separate Bulgarian delegate, the Archbishop of Canterbury telegraphed an independent invitation to Sofia a few days before the opening of the Conference. If that invitation had been earlier, I gather, the Metropolitan Stepan of Sofia would have been the Bulgarian delegate. As it was, his coadjutor, Bishop Païssie of Znepole—the suffragan, as we should call him, of the Metropolitan of Sofia always bears that title—was nominated and reached London just too late for the Canterbury ceremony on Saturday, July 5th, but in time for the Eucharist at St. Paul's, on July 6th. Being charged with the duties of Reception Secretary to the Delegation, I had a *mauvais quart d'heure* when Bishop Païssie protested at not being seated with the Delegation. He and I are old friends, and he knew that I was powerless to do anything, but he had to protest. Happily the next day, the Patriarch Meletios informed me that though Bishop Païssie could not be included in it technically, the Delegation had decided unanimously to ask him to accompany it on all occasions and to take part in its deliberations. Unless the hope is frustrated, a by-product of the Delegation's visit is likely to be the speeding up of the reconciliation of the Bulgarian Church with the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Bishop Païssie who, like the Metropolitan Ignatios, Bishop Athenagoras and the Archimandrites Michael Constantinides and Sabbas Sovietoff, is relatively a young man, is a very competent, and withal progressive and scientifically-trained theologian, and

made a considerable contribution to the work of the Delegation. Six weeks after his return to Bulgaria, he was elected to the important see of Vratsa, which had been rendered vacant by the death of the Metropolitan Clement, the Presiding Bishop¹ of the Holy Synod of Bulgaria.

It is an open secret that the Archbishop of Canterbury had wished both the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev and the Metropolitan Evlogie, or their nominees, to be included in the Delegation. On canonical grounds, the Œcumenical Patriarchate considered itself unable to invite them and invited the Metropolitan Sergios, whom it recognizes as Acting Locum Tenens of the Russian Patriarchate, to send delegates. I understand that he replied that he would do so. But none being forthcoming, to his Grace's avowed regret and to the general disappointment, the Russian Church was entirely unrepresented in the Delegation.

It was only in February this year that the Archbishop of Canterbury had received his Lausanne Committee's recommendation, and time had run on before the Œcumenical Patriarch was in a position to notify him of the acceptance of his invitation. So that it was well on in May when his Grace gave me what I regard as one of the greatest privileges of my life by appointing me Reception Secretary to the Delegation, and by bidding me make arrangements under his direction for its entertainment, care and comfort during the period, viz., July 4th to 18th, for which its members would be his guests.

At the same time, he entrusted me with a similar function in regard to the Old Catholic Delegation and of any delegations which might come from the so-called Monophysite Churches.

In my article, in the last issue of *The Christian East*, I explained the great importance which the Orthodox have always attached to the opinion of the Old Catholics in general, and of the Dutch Old Catholic Church in particular. As things fell out, Bishop Küry of Berne was prevented by sickness from coming to London and the Old Catholic Delegation consisted of Archbishop Kenninck of Utrecht and the Bishops of Haarlem and Deventer.

In fact, the Dutch Old Catholic Church is the lineal representative of the ancient Church of Holland, which our Anglo-Saxon St. Willibrord planted in the seventh century, the Roman Catholic Church of Holland with its bishops being a modern creation.

The importance of the Old Catholics is not to be estimated by their numbers. Their significance is that they have refused to be extinguished and in defiance of the inexorable propaganda and of the

¹ The President of the Holy Synod of Bulgaria is elected by its members from among themselves. It was the death of Mgr. Clement which had made it impossible for Mgr. Stepan to leave Bulgaria on a sudden invitation.

many forces directed against them, continue to exist. If they perish, they will go down with their flag flying. In the face of aggressive Protestantism, they stand fast by every ancient Catholic tradition and, in the face of the formidable power of the Vatican, they persist in rejecting the innovations of Papal Supremacy and Infallibility.

Quite apart from the approximation between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches, the time has ripened since the failure of the premature and unofficial Bonn Conferences of 1874 and 1875 for the opening of the official discussion of full and formal Intercommunion of the Old Catholic Churches with the Anglican Church. Their unanimous recognition of the Validity of Anglican Orders was completed by a formal letter addressed in June, 1925 by the present Archbishop of Utrecht to Archbishop Davidson, with synodical authority on the part of the Church of Holland, which in its conservatism had waited until it had reached an incontestable judgment on the matter. Economic Intercommunion with the Anglican Church has been authorized by all the Old Catholic Churches.

The coincidence of the Orthodox and Old Catholic Delegations, however, proved most opportune.

Each being able to follow the progress of the other with the sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on the Unity of the Church, they were able to confer with one another upon it.

The question of the Validity of Anglican Orders being already decided from the Old Catholic standpoint and Anglican-Old Catholic Economic Intercommunion being established, the Anglican discussions with the Old Catholic were concerned with formal Intercommunion and Reunion. In result the plenum of the Conference declared that there is nothing inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England¹ in the Declaration of Utrecht, the affirmation of which is a condition of Union among the Old Catholic Churches and on the other hand, the Old Catholic Delegation expressed its complete satisfaction with the teaching of the Church of England. Accordingly, as it remains only for the Orthodox Pro-Synod to implement the dogmatic agreements reached by the Orthodox Delegation, so it remains only for the whole body of the Old Catholic bishops to implement the work of its Delegation at their next quadrennial assembly, which is due to take place at Vienna, in September, 1931.

Although the Old Catholic Delegation did not arrive in London until July 11th, and stayed only eight days, it held several conferences with the Orthodox Delegation, with the result that there is a good likelihood of the discussion of Orthodox, Old Catholic and Anglican Reunion, which broke down at Bonn fifty-five years ago,

¹ Resolution 35(c) of the Seventh Lambeth Conference. A summary of the discussions and the official English version of the Declaration are given in the Report on the Unity of the Church, Lambeth Conference, 1930, pp. 140-144.

being renewed under favourable conditions next year first at Vienna and then at Mt. Athos.

Space precludes my saying more about the Old Catholic Delegation, but what I have said will indicate the interconnection of its visit with that of the Orthodox Delegation.

I cannot resist the inclination, though, to record the general impression made by the simple dignity and learning of Archbishop Kenninck. For myself, I believe that the ancient Church of Holland cannot be doomed to extinction, but rather that it is destined to make a great contribution to the reconciliation of Roman Catholicism and Continental Protestantism on a basis of essential Catholicity. But if it is to go down under the ceaseless assaults of Dutch Calvinism and Roman ultramontanism, it will go down like a *grand seigneur*, and to the end will appeal to the Faith and practice of the Church of the Fathers and will refuse to accept the innovations of Rome.

The outlook and the pose of Archbishop Kenninck are those of quiet confident resignation, which has no doubt of itself, but carries through against the greatest odds just because it is prepared for any issue.

Anyone who desires to know more about the Old Catholics should get particulars of the Society of St. Willibrord.¹

Etchmiadzin, the seat of the Armenian Supreme Catholicos, being in the Republic of Erivan, which is a unit of the Soviet system of Republics,² the Armenian Church could not send a delegate. In the condition of Egypt, a Copt delegation could not be sent. The invitation addressed to Mar Ignatios Elias III., the Patriarch of the Syrian-Orthodox (Jacobite) Church appears not to have reached him.³

In consequence, the only representative of the Monophysite Churches who attended the Conference was the Armenian Bishop Tourian, now in charge of the Armenian congregation in Manchester, who came on a personal invitation and not as a delegate of his Church.

Like his uncle, the scholar and poet Patriarch Tourian of Jerusalem,⁴ who died last summer, Bishop Tourian is a man of wide culture. He was Armenian Bishop in Smyrna, and is held in general

¹ Its Secretary, the Rev. C. B. Moss, of Highfield Park, Oxford, is the author of a useful brochure, *The Old Catholics and Re-union*, S.P.C.K., 1927.

² Although Communist and controlled from Moscow, Erivan is a wholly Armenian State, is governed through Armenians and is in a measure able to give expression to the intense patriotism of the Armenian Nation.

³ Mar Severus Barsawm, Bishop of Homs, writes me to that effect. Mar Ignatios has moved frequently from place to place since he was obliged to take refuge in Iraq in 1925 with those of his people whose homes were in Turkey. Even before the War, except for the Jacobite Church of Malabar, the flock of which is Indian, the Jacobite Church was a vestigial dispersion scattered through Syria and Mesopotamia, numbering not much more than 100,000. To-day it is in extreme disorganization.

⁴ By general consent Armenians recognize him as the most outstanding literary figure of their nation during the past century.

respect by all Christians of the Near East for the courage with which he risked his life for his people during the Smyrniate holocaust.

Of course, he could not be associated with the Delegation, but with its cordial goodwill he accompanied it on ceremonial occasions and shared in most of its social engagements.

I had myself served as Reception Secretary to the Orthodox delegates who were in London for the English Nikæan Commemoration of 1925. We got through then adequately, I think, but with some difficulty and occasional hitches. If the work with which I was again entrusted this year was carried out, so as in some small way to merit the more than generous letter of thanks with which his Grace has honoured my colleagues and myself, it was because in the Nikæan Club¹ the machinery to provide men for staff work and other resources was ready to hand.

In consequence, a strong Committee was easily formed at once, and, thanks to the very ready response to the Club's financial appeal by the E.C.U., the A.C.P., the Society of the Faith and many private individuals, was able both to exercise hospitality and to arrange a programme of entertainment which were not wholly inadequate.

A flat at Whitehall Mansions was provided for the Patriarch Meletios and his entourage, which included the Deacon Anthimos Rosmaris, a young ecclesiastic of great promise, who also acted as secretary to the Delegation and whose record of his Patriarch's visit to London, published in *Pantaenos*, the official weekly of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, is a most interesting and valuable document.

Archbishop Nektarie was accommodated at the Hotel Belgravia. Archbishop Timotheos, the Metropolitan Ignatios, Bishops Irenäy, Athenagoras and Païssie, with the Archimandrites Leontios and Sabbas and Bishop Tourian were provided with hospitality in King's College Hostel, at which several of our Overseas bishops were staying.

¹ The Nikæan Club, which was founded to perpetuate the memory of the presence of the Orthodox Delegation at the Eucharist celebrated in Westminster Abbey on July 29th, 1925, as the official Church of England Commemoration of the Sixteenth Centenary of the Great Council of Nikæa, has only two functions, viz., (1) to arrange a suitable lecture and a public dinner for June 29th, the anniversary of the opening of the First Œcumenical Council, and (2), to arrange hospitality for official guests of the Church of England. Its honorary secretary, Mr. G. Gay, of 22, Buckingham Street, W.C.2., would gladly add all the readers of *The Christian East* to its roll which, instead of 200, ought to be 2,000 strong. Its subscription for life membership is only half a guinea.



PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AT THE A. & E.C.A. RECEPTION FOR THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AT FULHAM PALACE.

Copies (8 x 6 ins.) of these photographs may be obtained from the Secretary, A. and E.C.A., St. James' Vicarage, W. Hampstead, N.W.6. Price 2s. 6d. each.

Happily the good staff work which is essential for such a visit was also amply available. The Rev. R. M. Borough who, as Chaplain of the Crimean Church, Constantinople from 1910-1926, and the Rev. Philip Usher, who had just resigned the British Legation's Chaplaincy, made attendance on the Delegation a whole-time job. All Greek ecclesiastics are conscious of the debt their Churches owe Mr. Borough for his services to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the post-war days. Mr. Usher, who is expert in modern Greek theology, is also a *persona gratissima* to them, and acted as Greek into English interpreter at the Delegation's discussions in Lambeth Palace. My old colleague, Dr. Emhardt, who was officially attached to the U.S.A. members of the Conference, and has a rare experience of the Orthodox complex and its leading personalities, was good enough also to join Messrs. Borough and Usher at King's College Hostel. The value of his ceaseless attendance on the Delegation was beyond estimate. Unfortunately, the Rev. H. J. Fynes Clinton was abroad, but so far as they could get free for the purpose, Canon Wigram, the Rev. R. M. French and the Rev. F. N. Heazell, each of whom is a prominent expert in our movement, were assiduous in their help. The services rendered by the Rev. C. Gage Brown and Dr. L. Patterson, who speak Serbian and Rumanian, were invaluable and unremitting, as were those of the Rev. C. B. Moss, who, as Secretary of the Society of St. Willibrord, was in special attendance on the Old Catholic Delegation. The Rev. Roy Ellis acted as our secretary.

Though some of the Orthodox delegates did not reach England until July 4th, the eve of the opening of the Lambeth Conference,¹ the programme arranged for the Orthodox Delegation actually commenced on June 27th, with an informal reception of the Patriarch Meletios at the West Door of Westminster Abbey, which he had expressed a wish to visit immediately on his arrival in London, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, the Prolocutor and other representatives of the Canterbury Convocation, Canon McCormick, the Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in which parish he was to reside, and a large body of clergy. After stopping for silent prayer at the Grave of the Unknown Warrior, his All-Holiness² proceeded to the Shrine of St. Edward, where he rendered his

¹ The Archbishop's invitation specified July 4th to 18th as the period of the visit.

² As an ex-Ecumenical Patriarch he keeps the style, *Panagiotes*. The other Patriarchs are styled *Makariotes*, Beatitude.

Doxology. Mounted police had accompanied the cars in which, in company with the Greek Minister (Mr. Caclamano), Archbishop Germanos and the leading members of the Greek colony of London, who with myself as representing the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other chaplains attached to the Delegation, had met him at Victoria, he had driven to the Abbey—the first of many marks of attention which gratified him greatly.

On Sunday, June 29th, after he had attended the Liturgy at St. Sophia, he drove with me to Stamford Bridge for the open-air High Celebration of the Anglo-Catholic Congress. If the great congregation numbering over 20,000 was deeply impressed by his striking figure as he occupied the throne of honour, the canopy of which bore the Lion of St. Mark, prepared for him on the south side of the quadrangle, his All-Holiness was even more deeply impressed by their tense devotion, the dignity of the ceremonial and the mystic beauty of the Celebration itself. To be frank, there had been some hesitation as to the wisdom of his being present at all. But the insight which he and the members of the Delegation who were with him gained by it into the life of the Church of England, proved any risk to have been wisely taken.

In the evening of the same day his All-Holiness accompanied me to St. Thomas', Regent Street, where I happened to be the preacher, and where—the church was packed—he saw another aspect of English Church life in the hearty, congregational evensong which was rendered. Before he gave the blessing, he delivered an address, which I was privileged to interpret, and in which he dwelt on the dynamic for the causes of human brotherhood and of human progress which the Union of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches must provide.

On Monday, June 30th, Mr. Caclamano gave an official luncheon at the Greek Legation in his All-Holiness' honour. Among the guests were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lloyd, Mr. Amery, Sir Ronald Storrs, and other prominent public men.

The Society of the Faith, of which, though my brother the Rev. C. E. Douglas was its real founder and has been its inspiration and driving force, I have been Principal since its inception on July 1st, 1905, happening to be keeping its 25th anniversary the next day, his All-Holiness with Archbishop Nektarie, Bishop Irenay and other members of the Delegation attended its commemorative Eucharist at St. Mary-le-Strand and its luncheon at the Holborn Restaurant. In the evening he was good enough, with his colleagues, to come to our Church of St. Luke, Camberwell, in order to lay the threshold stone—a slab of granite sent for the purpose by Archbishop Porphyrios of Sinai from the Holy Mountain—of a Chapel of the Holy Child, which the Society of the Faith is erecting as a memorial of its completion of a quarter of a century's life. The Chapel of Unity,

in which we celebrate our daily Eucharist, is divided from our Chapel of the Holy Sacrament by a richly gilded mahogany screen—St. Luke's is panelled and pewed in mahogany very magnificently—on and near which are hung ikons that are the gifts of the Œcumenical Patriarch and other heads of Orthodox Churches. In our back streets of South London, a touch of romance makes life and at St. Luke's we are not likely to forget that the Patriarch Meletios, Archbishop Nektarie and the rest of the Delegation prayed for Christian Union in our Chapel. Of course, their having taken part in its 25th anniversary will not be forgotten by the Society of the Faith.

The next three days were spent quietly, the Patriarch Meletios lunching with me at the Athenæum on the Friday to meet Mr. Arthur Henderson and Lord Passfield, and also attending the Garden Party of the A.C. Pilgrimage Association in Kensington Gardens.

On Saturday, July 5th, the whole Delegation drove to Canterbury for the inauguration ceremony of the Conference, and having been received at the Cathedral by the Bishop of Dover and Canon Jenkins, proceeded at once to place a wreath on Archbishop Davidson's grave. At the luncheon given by the Warden of St. Augustine's College in honour of the 309 members of the Conference, the Patriarch Meletios was assigned the principal seat on the right hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and replied for the Delegation—except that of the Warden of St. Augustine's there were no other speeches—to the warm references made to him and to Archbishops Germanos and Nektarie and the other members of the Delegation by his Grace in his speech.

The reception of the Delegation in the Cathedral at the inauguration service of the Conference was marked with every conceivable distinction. Its procession immediately preceded that of the Anglican bishops, the whole space behind the Chair of St. Augustine being reserved for its occupation during the Archbishop's allocution. Its members did not fail to perceive the unsparing pains with which the details of their reception had been worked out in order to emphasize the "fraternal relations" of the two Churches, and appreciated its balanced dignity and warmth no less than they were impressed by the simple but wonderful service itself.

It was the same in St. Paul's the next day at the Eucharist which was celebrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Archbishops of Armagh and Wales as Gospeller and Epistoler, and during which the Archbishop of York preached and all the bishops of the Conference communicated. The Delegation was received at the West Door by the Dean and Chapter and was conducted in procession up through the packed congregation which crowded the vast building, to the choir, the whole of which, the Archbishop's own throne being assigned by his direction to the Patriarch, had been reserved for its occupation.

With its historic symbolism, its glorious music and its simple but splendid ceremonial, St. Paul's afforded a worthy setting for an act so solemn as the corporate communion of the whole Anglican Episcopate on the eve of its entering into its decennial Conference which, to judge by the words of its members, gave the Delegation, as it were, a *coup d'oeil* insight into the life of the world-wide Anglican Communion, the recollection of which will be permanent and ineffaceable.

On Monday, July 7th, after dining at the Athenæum Club with the Bishop of Gloucester and some of its chaplains, the Delegation attended a reception given in its honour by Earl Beauchamp, at 13, Belgrave Square. Among the 200 guests to meet them were the Archbishop of York, with other Anglican archbishops and metropolitans, Lords Allenby, Brentwood, Dickinson, Glasgow and Jellicoe.

Though simplicity itself, the scene in the Library of Lambeth Palace at 5 p.m. on Tuesday, July 8th, when the Delegation was formally received by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the plenum of the Conference, was as notable as it was historic. One could wish that a picture of it could have been preserved. In his own name and in that of his brother chief bishops of the Anglican Churches, who had vacated their seats in front of the dais in favour of the Delegation and stood round him, his Grace, who was wearing the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim's stavropegion, welcomed the Delegation corporately as establishing contact between the whole Anglican and the whole Orthodox Church and individually both for the distinction of its personnel and for the sake of the particular Churches which were represented in it. That done, he sketched the beginnings of Anglican and Orthodox friendship a hundred years ago and its growth into brotherly solidarity, and expressed the common desire that the discussions to be held in the following week would, by God's guidance, be fruitful in furthering the Union of the two Churches. The Patriarch Meletios answered with a few warm and well-chosen words, which Archbishop Germanos interpreted. His Grace extended a welcome to Bishop Tourian, who had accompanied the Delegation and, in reply, spoke with plain emotion of the grateful affection with which his nation remembers his Grace's acts of sympathy and those of the whole Anglican Church towards it. The Delegation withdrew, the whole Conference standing up as it had stood on its entry. And all was over.

Our photographs of his Grace alone with the Patriarch and with all the delegates and the chaplains who had attended them, were taken at the door of Lambeth Palace on the Delegation's leaving after it had taken tea with him and the leading members of the Conference.

On Wednesday, July 9th, the Delegation attended Matins in the

Abbey, and held a private conference in the Jerusalem Chamber with the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, under the chairmanship of Bishop Gore, as a preliminary to its discussions with the Bishop of Gloucester's sub-committee of the Conference.

In the evening, it was entertained to dinner by the Nikæan Club at the Holborn Restaurant, the Archbishop of York presiding, and among the 300 guests being the Polish Ambassador, the Greek, Bulgarian and Yugo-Slav Ministers, the Rumanian *chargé d'affaires*, and 78 Anglican archbishops and bishops.

On Thursday, July 10th, it drove to Cambridge, where it was received by the Master of Corpus, was entertained with academic hospitality by Mr. Stephen Gaselee, the Librarian of the Foreign Office, in Magdalen College, of which he is a fellow, and saw the chief sights of the University.

On Friday, July 11th, the Bishop of London welcomed it at Fulham Palace, at a Garden Party arranged by the A. & E.C.A.

To the Orthodox mind, the vigour of monasticism is an index of the life of a church. Saturday, July 12th, was spent in a drive, arranged by the Rev. C. Russell, through the most delightful districts of Surrey, during which the convent at Woking and the Benedictines of Alton and Nashdom were visited, the Bishop of Guildford who, as Bishop of Gibraltar, is an old friend of many of the delegates, acting as host in his Cathedral City. The Delegation found the day very instructive, as also most agreeable.

On Sunday, July 13th, the Patriarch Meletios celebrated the Eucharist in the Cathedral of St. Sophia with the fullest Patriarchal ceremonies. All the members of the Delegation took part in it, the Gospel being read in English as well as in each of the five Orthodox liturgical tongues. Archbishop Nektarie recited the Creed in Rumanian. St. Sophia's is a replica in petto of Justinian's peerless Church. I wish that I had space—and ability—to describe the impression which that Liturgy with its beauty and its associations left upon me.

At the lunch which, after its conclusion, Archbishop Germanos gave to the Greek Minister with the Delegation and its Anglican chaplains, the Patriarch expressed his satisfaction at the goodly growth of the vine which, as Ecumenical Patriarch, he planted in 1922 by sending him to be Orthodox Exarch in Western Europe and Apokrisary to Lambeth, a sentiment in which all the readers of *The Christian East* will concur. Assuredly Archbishop Germanos has been an Apostle of Anglican-Orthodox Unity. What we should have done without his goodness during his Delegation's visit, I cannot imagine.

Monday to Friday, July 14th to 18th, being reserved for the work of the Delegation with the Conference's sub-committee, the

only two remaining engagements in its official programme were a ceremonial dinner at Lambeth Palace on Wednesday, July 16th, and the luncheon given by the Society of St. Willibrord on Thursday, July 17th, to the Old Catholic Delegation, the former taking place in the famous Guard Room, the guests including the Old Catholics, and the latter which was given in the Holborn Restaurant and was presided over by the Bishop of London, being the occasion—the discussions of both Delegations with the Conference's sub-committee having reached a satisfactory issue—of speeches foreshadowing a triple bond of friendship between the three Churches.

Nevertheless, the Delegation attended the Reception given by Lady Salisbury on July 14th, and other social functions of the Conference; Mr. Athelstan Riley gave a dinner at the Athenæum in honour of the Patriarch and the Archbishop of Utrecht; Mr. Laptew, the Rumanian *chargé d'affaires*, and Mr. Douritch, the Yugo-Slav Minister, gave luncheons in honour of Archbishop Nektarie and Bishop Irenäy. And so on.

His Majesty the King also gave audience to the Patriarch Meletios in the forenoon of Thursday, July 24th.

I have thought it desirable to give a summary of the programme of the Delegation's visit the official period of which terminated on Friday, July 18th, not only because it served to emphasize the significance of the reception the Delegation was accorded in London, but to show that it had ample contacts whereby to estimate the life of the English Church and its place in the nation.

In the winter number of *The Christian East*, I hope to consider in detail the Orthodox and Anglican statements contained in the *résumé* of its discussions with the sub-committee of the Lambeth Conference.

THE GENERAL POSITION OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES AT THE PRESENT TIME.

By DR. STEFAN ZANKOV.

THE consequences of the Great War and of the Russian Revolution have led to changes in the outward and inward life of the Orthodox Churches surpassing in importance and significance all other changes that occurred in earlier ages. They can be compared with those which took place after the rise of Islam and the subjugation of the south-eastern countries by the Mohammedan forces.

In the north-eastern countries there took place enormous religious and clerical displacements in the sphere of the Great Russian Church. Owing to the new political formations different sections, great or small, detached themselves from the Russian Church and formed new independent Orthodox Churches. These are: (1) the Orthodox Church of Poland (with 5 million adherents, all Russians); (2) the Orthodox Church of Lithuania, with 50,000 adherents approximately, nearly all Russians; (3) the Orthodox Church in Lettland with 200,000 adherents approximately ($\frac{2}{3}$ rd Russians and $\frac{1}{3}$ rd Letts); (4) the Orthodox Church of Esthonia (over 200,000 adherents, 150,000 Esthonians and 50,000 Russians); (5) the Orthodox Church of Finland (with 70,000 adherents approximately, 50,000 Karelians and Finns, and 17,000 Russians); and, finally, (6) the Orthodox Church of Georgia (in Russia itself, with over two million adherents, Georgians for the greatest part).

In the inner life of the Russian Church there arose two important questions leading similarly to new ecclesiastical formations: the first of them dealt with the position of the Russian Church, including both clergy and laity, in relation to Bolshevism in general (the latter following an atheistical and anti-religious ideology that forms the main principle of the Bolshevist state), and the second dealt with the position of the Church in relation to the Russian Bolshevist State as a social and political system of government. The first question led to an enormous struggle between the Church as a whole and the system of the Bolshevists and their religious policy, a struggle that still continues and which, though issuing in the outward destruction of the ecclesiastical organization has, on the other hand, called forth an intrinsic transformation, a purification, an independence and a strengthening of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Russian Church.

The second question has called forth vehement controversy in the domain of the Church itself, one contesting party wishing to acknowledge the Soviet State as a social system and the other rejecting it. At the present time nearly everybody is inclined to acknowledge this system combined with the principle of complete neutrality on the part of the Church. There still remain differences about the following points of controversy, *i.e.*, whether the churches are to develop a more or less social activity (in the sense of calling for greater social justice) and whether and how far the churches are to introduce a progressive reformation of religious rites and ecclesiastical administration. These contests and struggles are the cause of the schism in the Russian Church, *i.e.*, the division into an old Church (the Patriarchal conservative Church bearing the name of the late Russian Patriarch Tykhon) and a progressive church, the so-called Synodical Regenerated Church, formerly known under the name of the "Living Church." Owing to the fact that the Patriarchal Church of Tykhon produced a great number of martyrs during its struggle against the Bolsheviks and that large classes of religious people defended the old traditions, three-quarters of all believers, *i.e.*, 70-80 millions approximately, side with the Patriarchal Church of Tykhon.

The second important question dealt with the national problem of the Ukraine, *i.e.*, with the question of constituting an independent Orthodox Church on the territory of the Bolshevik State of Little Russia. In view of the fact that the Tykhonian Church tolerated at the most the autonomy of the Orthodox Church in the Ukraine, there appeared three new Orthodox formations: the old Patriarchal Tykhonian Church (acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Universal Russian Church of Moscow, but enjoying various privileges); the so-called Orthodox Church of the Ukraine, which possesses no regular hierarchy (as, owing to the lack of bishops, the Church itself consecrated its own—hence the usual name of "self-consecrated"—Samosviaty); and, finally, the Independent Autonomous Church of the Ukraine, which is in fact a creation of the Synodical Regenerated Church of Russia (from which this church originated and by which its independence was granted). All these new formations in Little Russia follow different directions both in the national and in the ecclesiastical sense: the Tykhonian Autonomous Church is conservative in the ecclesiastical sense; the direction of the Orthodox Church of the Ukraine which bestows holy orders on its own authority is radical; and the Synodical Orthodox Church follows a moderate Ukrainian direction. With regard to the number of adherents these churches may be classified as follows: the Synodical Orthodox Church seems to hold the first place; the church mentioned first occupies the second place, and the second mentioned holds the third place.

All the other Orthodox churches (outside Russia) acknowledge unconditionally the authority of the Patriarchal Tykhonian Church; they observe neutrality with regard to the Synodical Regenerated Church and consider as schismatical the Ukrainian Church which consecrated by its own authority.

New political conditions and alterations in frontiers which followed the Great War produced the following new formations in ecclesiastical life:

The national unification of the *Rumanians* led to a unification of all Orthodox Rumanians into a single Rumanian Orthodox Church (on the territory of the kingdom of Rumania) which was raised to a Patriarchate in 1925. As a result, different independent churches lost their independence, as for instance, the Rumanian Orthodox Church of Transylvania (belonging formerly to Hungary) and the Orthodox Church of the Bucovina (formerly Austrian). As well as these, there were added to the Rumanian Patriarchate the provinces of Bessarabia (formerly belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church) and of Southern Dobrudja (formerly adhering to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. At the present time the Rumanian Church holds the second place among the Orthodox churches, with regard to the number of its adherents, which number amounts to 13 million approximately (9,000,000 Russians and 4,000,000 Bulgarians).

The union of the Orthodox Serbs was accompanied by their ecclesiastical unification on the Yugo-Slavia territory. The United Church of Serbia was raised to a Patriarchate in 1920. In view of this fact the churches mentioned hereafter have lost their independence: the Orthodox Churches of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia (formerly Austrian), and the Orthodox Church of Carlowitz (formerly in Hungary). The province of Northern Macedonia was likewise added to the Serbian Patriarchate. The Serbian Church possesses at present 6 million followers (of whom nearly all are Serbs).

A fairly complete union of the *Greek Orthodox Church* of Hellas (Republic of Greece) has been effected owing in the first place to the incorporating of Southern Macedonia and of Western Thrace with Greece (these provinces belonged formerly to Turkey and, ecclesiastically, were directly subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople); and, secondly, to the complete expulsion of the Orthodox Greeks from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace (and partly from Constantinople and the Turkish islands).

The unification of the Orthodox Greeks in Greece has not yet been constitutionally completed, the provinces newly added to Greece still acknowledging, though more or less nominally, the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople; but the unification

exists already in fact, and will, as it seems, be realized constitutionally in the near future. The Orthodox Church of Greece has five million adherents approximately (nearly all of them Greeks).

Owing to the above events and to the ultra-national Turkish government, the ancient, venerable Mother-church of the Orthodox population in Europe, the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, has lost much of its former significance and territory. There are hardly more than 250,000 souls adhering to it.

In Western Asia may be noted the Patriarchates of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, standing under the protectorate of France and England respectively. What will be the effect of the alteration of political jurisdiction in the Mohammedan-Turkish State and what influence these Christian (but not Orthodox) States will have on the Orthodox life of both Patriarchates is not evident yet.

In the domain of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (or its jurisdiction) there may be noted its loss of adherents which took place with the cession of the provinces of Macedonia, Southern Dobrudja and Thrace. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church possesses five million adherents approximately (nearly all Bulgarians).

After the Great War many of the Ruthenians living in Czechoslovakia (Little Russians from the Russian Carpathian Mountains) belonging to the Roman Catholic Uniat Church (*i.e.*, to the Greek Catholic or the Roman Catholic Church of the Eastern rite) as well as Roman Catholic Czechs, left their church for the Orthodox and formed an Autonomous Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia with over 200,000 adherents. The conversion of the Ruthenians and the Czechs to the Orthodox Church, as well as the consolidating of the latter is still proceeding.

Finally, the Orthodox people of Albania (almost all Albanians) left the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the beginning of the last year and proclaimed an *Independent Orthodox Church of Albania* (against the will, and notwithstanding the protest, of the above-mentioned Patriarchate). The Orthodox Church of Albania possesses nearly 200,000 followers.

In the external condition of the Orthodox Patriarchate of *Alexandria*, of the Church of Cyprus, and the Orthodox Missionary Churches of North America and Japan, no changes are to be noted.

THE FUNERAL OF THE SERBIAN PATRIARCH, DMITRI.

“IT is the last hour. It is the end.”

The priest who spoke the words was standing at the head of a flight of stairs at the Patriarchia, his bearded face working with emotion. A curious stillness lay upon the building: the enquirers climbed upwards with hushed steps, and read the verdict in the bearing of the few people who stood on the landing. Occasionally a closed door opened, and a bishop came out to speak with some new arrival, and then slipped back again into the room where the Patriarch Dmitri, fearless and unperplexed like the fine old warrior he was, lay dying with his bishops and priests gathered round him.

“It is the last hour,” sighed the priest, and he spoke the truth. Exactly an hour later the soul passed out from the weary body, and began that mysterious journey on which the bishops and priests would fain have followed it, as children like to go with their father, at least for a little bit of the way, when he leaves home. The body was carried across the road into the cathedral, and they went with it. They stood around it to sing and read about the mansions of the Blest, they kissed the Ikon lying on the coffin, they folded their hands on the lid and prayed to the God of the Spirits of all flesh. Antony, the aged Metropolitan of Russian, leaned on the arm of a monk and made his way to that sacred spot: bowed his venerable white head, and mourned that there must be this parting—perhaps only a short one—between himself and his old friend.

The Patriarch Dmitri died on Sunday, April 6th. Throughout Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the people came to say good-bye to the quiet figure that lay in the centre of the church. All sorts of people came—crippled soldiers, and Cabinet Ministers, foreigners and generals, peasants and diplomats—walking in under the black draperies and treading softly because of the dead: and yet reminded always, by the solemn chanting and outbursts of song, of the living soul, winging its way hopefully towards the celestial regions, met by choirs of angels, welcomed by the company of the saints.

Something remained to be done, however, for the body that had through eighty-four long years obeyed the behests of that active and unselfish soul. Its resting-place must be prepared, and it must be escorted thither with the pomp that is required for a Patriarch

of the Orthodox Church, and with the respect that is due to a good man. Bishops and clergy came hurrying up from the far dioceses of Yugo-Slavia, students gathered from the seminaries, heads of societies and institutions from their various centres. When Thursday dawned in the uncertain mood of April, a great assembly was waiting.

Only a small part of them could be received into the cathedral, for it had been wisely decided that there should be no crowding, and the arrangements were admirably carried out. The air was full of soft chanting until the moment when the King and Queen entered, with the Prince Paul and the Princess Olga: then it died away, and gave place to "Our Father," and to responses exquisitely sung by the choir. The service was very short, and there were only two speeches to remind the congregation of the faithfulness and devotion of God's servant Dmitri: one was by the Bishop of Cetinje, and the other by the Minister of Justice.

Slowly they passed out of the cathedral, slowly they walked round its grey walls before they went down into the street—the Royal Family, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet and Diplomatic Ministers, the bishops and priests, the representatives of other churches, Roman Catholic, Old Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and of other creeds, Jewish and Moslem. These joined with the ordered throng outside to make up the great procession that filed through the waiting people along the streets of the capital city and out to the hills beyond.

A pageant of life and colour it was, led by the black cross that bore the words *Dmitri, Serbian Patriarch*, and the dish of boiled wheat that symbolizes resurrection. Next came the wreaths of laurel and of flowers, and the decorations, borne on cushions by a band of black-robed men: so many brilliant orders and glowing ribbons—far more than a man could wear—now left behind for ever! There were choirboys in red robes, with cathedral banners, and in sharp contrast, a group of tiny boys, poorly dressed, from some Home or Orphanage: there were Scouts and Guides, and members of the Soko and the Y.M.C.A.: there was the military band, with muffled drum, the Choral society who sang their haunting anthems at different points of the route: the black-clad Russian nuns and seminary students, and the little group of family mourners. All these last looked sombre enough, but they prepared the way for a glorious feast of colour that lit up the grey streets like a sun. The priests and deacons were in red and violet and blue, the bishops were in gold and silver and white, with rich embroideries and glittering crosses, and golden staffs: and these divided into two long lines and paced along with stately mien, dignified with flowing beards, like the priests of Solomon's Temple.

Behind them came the black coffin on its black carriage: and then the King and the Prince, the ministers and the statesmen, the diplomats and the representatives. They came on and on, a cloud of black-coated figures, with a brilliant ribbon peeping out here and there from a dark overcoat: and then women representing the many women's societies of Yugo-Slavia, and the long line of cavalry and gun carriages that closed the scene.

So it passed through the city, with here and there a pause for another speech of remembrance, and down the steep hill towards Topchider and out to the country: for it was not in Belgrade that the people of Yugo-Slavia buried their Patriarch.

Five or six miles beyond the city there is a narrow valley, by name Rakovica, lying sheltered and green among the hills: and here in a quiet enclosure is a little church and simple monastery. Close to the white walls of the church a grave had been dug, and here the last prayers were said, and the last farewells spoken.

Overhead the jackdaws flew amongst the trees with straw and wool for nests in their busy beaks: underfoot the dandelions spangled the grass with gold: and when the cortège arrived at the monastery gate the bells clashed out, and Metropolitan Antony, a beautiful figure in his white robes, met it and turned slowly back with it to the open grave.

The solemn service was said and sung. The Minister for the Russian Emigrés paid his last tribute of thankfulness for all the kindness and protection which the Patriarch Dmitri had shown to the Russians: the Arch-priest of Belgrade spoke, and the President of the Officers' Reserve Association, and the Orthodox Bishop from Czechoslovakia: and a woman, whose clear voice dwelt on the fact that the Serbian Church was ever the strength and the soul of the Serbian nation. And then the coffin was lowered into the grave: the bishops, the Prime Minister, and the mourners scattered the earth upon it. The ceremony was over: the tired body had come home to rest.

Slowly the bishops turned away: Metropolitan Antony was helped into the Monastery: the Ministers went out from the enclosure to their waiting cars: and as they left the gates the first of the pilgrims entered them—that long succession of peasants and country-folk and gipsies and townspeople who wished to see the Patriarch's grave. They came up quietly and thoughtfully to the spot where the Serbian Bishop from America, with another Bishop at his side, still stood at the foot of the grave, as if they were loth to leave the peaceful garden of Rakovica and Dmitri's place of rest.

Many feet will turn thither in the next few weeks, and many thoughts too. Not only the grateful thoughts and memories of the people of Yugo-Slavia, but the salutations of other lands. For

the Patriarch Dmitri was not one who thought only of his own duty and his own church: his heart was large enough to be concerned for the joys and sorrows of Christians of other races. "The barriers between us are only man-made," he used to say. "Jesus Christ knows no frontiers."

A portrait and biography of the new Serb Patriarch, Mgr. Barnabas will appear in the winter CHRISTIAN EAST.

RUSSIANS CONFER ON CHRISTIAN CULTURE.

By DR. DONALD A. LOWRIE.

THE place is one of the dozen or more crude barracks in a French *camp de vacance*, an hour from Paris, furnished with a few benches and a speakers' table. There are present thirty or forty Russian folk, men and women, mostly in the forties. To the uninitiated it seems a rather commonplace group. But when it is remarked that among these people, gathered for a three-day conference, there are leaders of the most radically opposed political and social groupings, a phenomenon almost unheard of in Russian life, interest awakens. And as the topic is announced and the first discussion begins, the meeting is recognized as so unusual as almost to be epoch-making.

The problem under discussion is that of Orthodox culture—culture as it should be, if informed and inspired by Christianity as expressed in the Orthodox Church. The committee which has called the meeting contains names prominent in Russian philosophy: Father Bulgakov, once a Marxist professor, now a fiery mystic, professor in the Russian Theological Academy; Nicolai Berdiaeff, unquestionably the most significant religious philosopher Russia has produced in the last forty years; Professor Fedotoff, former professor in Soviet Russian universities; Elizabeth Skobtzova, one-time secretary of Trotsky, authoress and journalist; Professor Zenkovsky, leading Russian authority in pedagogy, and president of the Russian Student Christian Movement. This group have invited those present to discuss with them "some problems of Russian Orthodox culture, and questions of organization connected with creative effort in this direction." It sounds almost impossibly simple.

Another phrase in the invitation explains part of the reasons behind the present meeting: "In view of all that is happening in Russia." "If we could spend one minute in Russia to-day," one

speaker said, "the necessity for united effort would be so plain to us that all our difficulties and differences would appear insignificant." When in Russia the most complete and determined attempt is being made to implant a new, materialistic culture, an effort which involves the complete eradication of all cultures previously existent, it lays upon all those still free to do so, the obligation of preserving what was good in the old, or at least studying the question whether there is anything worth preservation. These leaders of Russian thought have come together to consider whether the Christianity of Russia has any message for the world of to-day and to-morrow.

But it is not alone the organized effort to "smother" religion in Russia which actuates the present group. As one leader pointed out, most of modern life, within Russia or outside it, is secularized—religious life is limited to the individual and even in this stage often confined to one day or a few hours on Sunday. Religion as such has little bearing on life as a whole. This fact has been noted a hundred times before, by all sorts of Christian thinkers in the west: noted and tacitly accepted, if not *de jure*, at least *de facto*. The Russians note, but organize to protest against it.

Even a pig will look up if flat on his back, the old proverb says. The same remark has been passed about those centres of deepened spiritual life for which the Russian emigration is so remarkable. Another reason for calling the present meeting was the intention to prove to the world that this allegation does not apply to Russians in exile. The desire to offer, in a new "intelligentsia" truly and practically Christian, a demonstration that in evil fortune or in good, Christianity can inform the whole of Russian life, has motivated this meeting.

In a sense this is a very new movement: Christianity in Russia has always viewed with some distrust the creative efforts of modern "social" Christianity. The reason for this attitude is simply the consciousness that in the last analysis the Kingdom of God will not be completed here, by human hands alone. The events of the last fifteen years in Russia, however, and contact during ten years of emigration with the Christianity of the west, have demanded a new attitude—what is the place of cultural effort in a life which is to be truly and completely Christian? How define this attitude, for those whose Christianity is expressed in the Eastern Orthodox Church?

Characteristically, the discussion opened without a preliminary definition of culture. But the various illuminations this question received in the course of the first day, demanded a summary of the opinions expressed. Here are some of them, said a prominent young poet: "For me the gospel must express love, man's interest in other people. The world is not evil, it is merely enmeshed in evil. For me Christian culture is the process of making the whole world Christian."

"Christian culture is that which helps me live in a Christian way," another said. He is a leading physician in Paris. "Culture," said one of the philosophers present, "is the necessary bridge between nature and the Grace of God. You cannot assert that simple faith in Christ will guarantee a Christian culture. Christianity, for instance, would never guarantee the permanent existence of a nation. Culture must concern itself creatively with this world's problems." This last seemed as good a definition as was necessary at the moment, and the group left it there. It is hard to imagine an Anglo-Saxon meeting contenting itself with a phrase like "the bridge between nature and the Grace of God."

This was one characteristic note in the meeting. But the severest realism and self-criticism was also evident. Even a mystic like Bulgakov was relentless in his demand for Christian creative activity in the world. "Civilization is forced upon us," he urged, "we cannot escape it if we would. Our lives are bound up with it, and formed by it. Even a monastery often depends for its light on current generated outside, and for the monks to say 'that does not concern us, we merely use it,' would be like ourselves trying to avoid responsibility for creative activity in the world we live in."

Professor Fedotoff was even more severe. "The trouble with Orthodox Christianity in the past," he asserted, "has been its devotion to the monastic ideal, with laymen vainly trying to live by rule-books written for monks on Mt. Athos. And the trouble with us in the present is simply laziness; it is so much easier to spend time in theoretical discussions like this, or shut up in our small pious study circles, than it is to face the hard, grey work of making society more Christian. We must enter the world as it is, its science, its social and æsthetic life, and struggle to infuse them with Christianity, if we are to be worthy of our calling. There is Christian work to be done in the cafés and laboratories and the Press-rooms of the world. We need to go forth from our monastery into the world."

The western reader who thinks of this as merely another instance of the "social gospel" will be mistaken. It is true that one speaker after another demanded "work in the world," "the creation of a wholly Christian society," but this is not so simple. It involves the definite effort to make a completely new beginning, to institute a culture which shall be consciously and intentionally orthodox. And in the Russian phrase that is merely another way of saying "completely Christian."

How different this is from what is so easily called the social gospel, may be seen from some of the proposals for immediate practical action. First a series of small organizations, each confined to one profession, doctors, engineers, journalists. These groups are to be not merely study circles—they are a sort of fraternity, whose purpose

is to investigate and attempt to put into practice the implication for Christianity in their professions. Imagine a group of Christian physicians in London or Chicago banded together in a sort of lay-order, undertaking to realize the fullness of the Christian faith in their professional life. The word lay-order is used to indicate what for the Orthodox is a self-evident feature of the organization proposed: life in the Church. To the average Christian of the west outside Roman Catholic and Anglican groups such a practical Christian organization might have little or no connection with the Church as organized in Protestantism. To the Orthodox the whole of Christian effort must be savoured with the life of the Church. These study-practice groups will be organized in closest contact with the Church and under its spiritual leadership. This is surely an approach to the problem of Christian culture, quite new for the west.

The plan proposed includes other groups beside these fellowships, some of them more like the study-groups familiar to western Christian life, especially in universities. Some of the topics proposed are the interpretation of Orthodox Church dogma for modern times, the Christian solution of pressing social problems, and the study of Protestantism and Catholicism in line with the œcumenical tendencies of our age. For all of these, parallels are to be found in England and America, although one has heard of only exceptional cases of the last named, such as those initiated in the United States by "The Inquiry." It should be noted that these study circles are not proposed for university students, as part of a whole atmosphere of theoretical education; they are to be organized by men and women in the thick of life's battles, faithful to their own Church, and striving to make their own life truly Christian in all its phases. This is a group profoundly convinced of the completeness of truth in their own Church, yet they are humbly seeking fuller acquaintance with the other great divisions of Christendom. Acquaintance must precede friendship.

In this particular point, by the way, action has preceded theory. The remarkable relationship built up between Russians and Anglicans in the past four years, of which the Fellowship of St. Albans and St. Sergius is an organized example, is almost equalled in quantity, if not in organized form, by the friendly liaison between Orthodox and Catholics in France and Belgium. Suppose Christians of the west were to take seriously the task of acquaintance laid upon them by our modern œcumenical spirit. Suppose in a hundred centres or a thousand—there could be groups of earnest men and women seeking to know more deeply the implications of their own Church connection for their daily lives and at the same time actively engaged in a better acquaintance with their neighbours of other Christian confessions. How would it affect the chauvinism which so often mars

inter-Church relations? How much easier would be the work of the next Stockholm or Lausanne conference!

One other item of special interest to western Christians must be noted. It has long been the fashion to think of the Eastern Church as passive, introspective, the monastic type in our half-derogatory Protestant use of that term. Practically every speaker in this meeting urged the necessity of Christianizing the daily life of the world. The severest self-criticism was directed against that part of Orthodox Christianity which had given insufficient attention to this phase of the Christian life. And it must be remarked that here, again, the work of the participants of the conference has preceded the enunciation of their theory. For five years most of these leaders have been active in the Russian Student Christian Movement, which has developed a well-rounded programme of religious education, of social work including such varied items as hospital visitation and dispensary work, summer camps for boys and girls, social clubs for young people and organizations of boy scouts and girl guides. All of these have been successfully carried on in the face of the almost overwhelming difficulties of *émigré* life in poverty, depression and deprivation of all national rights. The group at the conference, then, were not talking pure theory; their practice of the past five years has demonstrated the truth of their theoretical propositions.

This new conviction about the cultural implication of Christianity is based on other elements beside the bitter personal deprivation of the life of the *émigrés*. One of these facts has been the constructive observation of other Christian communities, Protestant and Catholic, with which they have come in contact. Time and again in this meeting reference was made to such observations. One summary of the essentials of Protestant and Catholic culture in so far as such exist seems worth including here. In the west the relation between culture and civilization is consonant with that between the Church and what is outside it. In Protestantism we find a separation of the religious responsibility of the individual from his participation in other phases of life. This participation is theoretically based on the strictest moral principles. It is a truly sincere effort to save religious culture from a non-religious civilization, but the salvation is purchased at too dear a price, the isolation of religion to a tiny corner of the individual's experience and the abandonment of the rest of life to the secular.

In Catholicism the truest effort to penetrate the whole of civilization by the Church is conceived as a problem of hierarchical decision and authority. In Orthodoxy this penetration is proposed from within, as a matter of the very essence of the Christian life. Even in old Russia the life of the common people, agriculture, the family, the whole commerce of daily existence was carried on, in form at

least, under the aroma of the Christian faith. As the peasant proverb has it: "Poverty we have, and obedience we have: if only we did not swear, we should be saints."

The other factor in recent experience which made this meeting necessary was, as the invitation stated, events in Russia, not merely the effort to crush religion there, but the supreme emphasis on socialism and all its allied theories. The Church in Russia, where the machinery of the Church has been completely shattered and where not even a diocesan organization is permitted, where religious literature and religious discussion are forbidden, is powerless to attack the theoretical side of these problems. Here in emigration there is freedom for thought and organized discussion. And it is clear to all that the Church in Russia must have a message for the social problems of humanity as well as for its purely devotional interests. "In the Russia of the future we must have a form of life, of modern technical civilization penetrated through and through with Christianity which will command the respect and win the loyalty of the people," was the way one man expressed a general conviction.

While not all present would agree with one speaker who insisted that "the future fate of the Orthodox Church depends on how she teaches people to solve social problems," the general tone of the meeting proves how consciously the Orthodox Church as represented in this group of prominent thinkers faces the need for new consideration of what is for the Eastern Church a newly presented problem; Christian culture or quite secular civilization? But again the distinction between the typical Anglo-Saxon approach to this problem and that of Orthodoxy must be emphasized. To the "practical" west the solution is self-evidently to be sought in the empirical. The Orthodox world will find the answer first of all in the spiritual, which must give its characteristic flavour to the whole of life. The incense is only a small part of the Church service, but it so penetrates vestments, furniture, the walls of the Church itself, that even after years of disuse, the characteristic fragrance is still discernible. So the spirit of the Church must penetrate all the phases of human life, to make a culture truly Christian.

One other note of interest to western observers was the fact that this meeting, burdened with the modern needs of the Orthodox Church, consisted almost entirely of laymen. Only one clergyman was present, although the Archbishop was only accidentally prevented from taking part. It has always been typical of Russian Orthodoxy that its greatest thinkers, even in the realm of pure theology, have been laymen. The present movement is true to tradition. Although it has the approval and co-operation of the hierarchy, it remains essentially a lay group, independent of ecclesiastical authority. Nothing could better illustrate how the essential

democracy of the Eastern Church has been preserved in practice as well as theory down through nineteen centuries to a day when the whole world tries to think in democratic terms.

The meeting resulted in no formal resolutions, no set organization. A continuation committee was appointed to co-ordinate the experimentation outlined above. As one member said, "We do not need resolutions, we need to continue our search." Both the motives behind this search, and the methods it employs, are sufficiently individual to be brought to the attention of western readers.

THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE AND NATIONALITY.

By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, Ph.D.

FOR the Orthodox all jurisdictions are *de jure ecclesiastico* and not *de jure divino*. That is to say, having in the first instance been established by the Church for the general well-being, they can always be changed at her discretion. It was thus, as the Orthodox read history, that the Fourth Œcumenical Council (Chalcedon) in 454 divided the then known world, excepting only the autokephalous island of Cyprus, into the five great jurisdictional Patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, and among them, since they were the sister mother cities of Christendom, prescribed a primacy first to Rome and then to Constantinople. That primacy was of dignity and of initiative, but in no sense of supremacy. All of the five Patriarchates were autokephalous. Of course, they were subject altogether to an Œcumenical Council of the Whole Church, but neither Rome nor Constantinople could touch their internal affairs with the tip of a finger.

Except that after the Great Schism of 1054, Rome disappeared from the Orthodox Œcumenical system and that under the Canons of the Council of Chalcedon, Constantinople took over jurisdiction provisionally in the West as having become "barbaric" lands, no change was made in the jurisdictional system set up by that Council until century XVI.

The swiftest glance at history will convince anyone that undoubtedly it was then for the good of the Church that an autokephalous Church should be set up for Russia which had grown into a mighty and independent sovereign empire and claimed to be the Eastern heir of Imperial Rome.

But how was it to be done?

The country was only a province of the Œcumenical Patriarchate as the Patriarchate of Constantinople has been designated since century VI. With the other three Eastern Patriarchates and Cyprus in helotage to the Turk, no Œcumenical Council could be called together.

If Jeremias II, the then Œcumenical Patriarch, had wished, nothing could have been easier than for him to have turned a blind eye on the needs of the Church and to have postponed the Russian question to the Greek Kalends by saying that until an Œcumenical Council authorized the removal of Russia from his jurisdiction, it must remain in it. But he himself devised the way to meet the emergency. At the risk of angering the suspicious Turk, he went to Moscow and issued there a *tomos* or bull as we Westerners call it, renouncing jurisdiction over his Russian province and proclaiming that it had been transformed into a Russian Patriarchate. The other four autokephalous churches concurred and *nem. con.* Orthodox canonists have since held that pending the meeting of an Œcumenical Council, if and when the autokephalous church from which it is to be formed consent and the other autokephalous churches recognize the act, a new autokephalous church can be brought into being.

The principle, however, remains that except by a canon of the Œcumenical Council, no autokephalous church can be deprived of any of its territory without its own consent. All readjustments made since the Council of Chalcedon are, therefore, held to have been made by *Economy* and will come up for revision, if and when the eighth Œcumenical Council meets.

As to whether Jeremias II's *fait accompli* had had valid precedents in the setting up the Patriarchates of Ipek, Ochrida and Trnovo for the mediæval Serb, Bulgar and Rumanian Tsardoms is doubtful; for, though the Œcumenical Patriarchate set them up, it is certain neither that it renounced jurisdiction over them nor that the other Patriarchates explicitly recognized their autokephaly.

But in any case, the Œcumenical Patriarchate has followed the precedent which it set in 1587 consistently.

Thus in 1765 it issued a *tomos* for the setting up of that Patriarchate of Karlowicz which was merged in 1918 with the Church of Serbia and which it judged to be desirable for the well-being of the Serbs who had trekked over the Austrian border to escape from Turkish tyranny. In the same year it issued a *tomos* for the autokephaly of the Serbs of Montenegro who had vindicated their independence of the Sultans and who are now also merged in the Serbian Patriarchate.

No other opportunity for its self-effacement presented itself to

the Œcumenical Patriarchate, however, until the opening of century XIX, when the Orthodox races of the Balkans began to achieve their own liberation from Moslem helotage. But in no case has the Œcumenical Patriarchate failed to follow the precedent which it set in 1587. As soon as a new sovereign state was established in the Balkans it recognized that the good of the whole church required the setting up of a new autokephalous church coterminous with its boundaries. Thus by the issue of a *tomos* it brought into being the national autokephalous churches of Hellas 1850, Serbia 1879, and Rumania 1885, and in doing so parted with a large fraction both of its jurisdiction and of its revenues.¹

Certainly, a good many years were taken up in each case after the independent national state became an independent sovereign state and before the *tomos* was issued, but that was inevitable not so much because complex questions of property had to be settled as because it was the Œcumenical Patriarchate's duty to see that the organic law of each church which it brought into being gave its spirituality effective independence of secular control. It had to steer between that Scylla of which Western Europe has had so much evil experience, the abuse of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction by foreigners to influence the politics of a nation and that Charybdis by which the English Church has suffered so much injury, the exploitation of a national Church by the State. But the currency of the legend—it probably owes its origin to the tendencious writers such as Dr. Adrian Fortescue—that the Œcumenical Patriarchate has always been opposed to the recognition of nationality as a basis for delimiting ecclesiastical jurisdiction is a phenomenon which passes comprehension.

To the most superficial student of history the Œcumenical Patriarchate stands out as the protagonist of nationality. Not, of course, as of canonical necessity, but as a working rule for the welfare of the Church, it has evolved almost as a principle the policy that in every sovereign state in which there exists a sufficient body of Orthodox to constitute an autokephalous church and in which the Government may be relied upon not to interfere in things spiritual, an autokephalous Orthodox Church ought to be established.

As things fell out, until after the Great War, no possibility occurred for the setting up of a new Orthodox autokephalous Church other than those carved out of its own jurisdiction. But

¹ In 1864 it issued a *tomos* for the formation of the Orthodox of Transylvania into the Patriarchate of Hermannotadt, and in 1873 for the formation of those of the Bukovina into that of Czernowicz. Both of these were merged into Church of Rumania after the War. The Church of Rumania became a Patriarchate in 1926.

in the post-War period, it has acted with consistency in declaring provisionally—even though the chaos in Russia has prevented the issue of a *tomos* by the Russian Patriarch—that the Churches of Poland 1923 and Georgia 1922, are autokephalous and that the churches of other succession states in which the Orthodox are in small minorities and the Governments of which are less to be relied upon, are autonomous, *i.e.*, subject to an appeal to itself for protection and for final jurisdiction, are self-governing. For these latter reasons also it has recently refused to issue a *tomos* itself for that autokephaly of an Albanian Church by which Ahmed Zogu had planned to get control of the spirituality and the property of the Orthodox Church in Albania where two-thirds of the people are Moslems or Latins.

The breach between the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Bulgar Church which is so often quoted as evidence of the former's hostility to nationality took place thirty-four years before Bulgaria became an independent sovereign state in 1906 and indeed before the Bulgars had won any form of independence at all from the Turks.

From its interspersion of Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs and Rumanians, Macedonia had furnished French cookery with the culinary term *macédoine* for a mixed compot of fruits. In the twenty years between the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish Wars it had been the theatre of Panslavist preparation for the next Russian push towards Constantinople. In the 'seventies the Bulgars who were ripe to throw off their Turkish helotage, were the special protégés of the Tsar Alexander II. Now by the *millet* system which before the War had prevailed from time immemorial in all Moslem lands, each Christian Church in Turkey formed a self-contained, if altogether subject, community with rights of internal self-government which, when it was protected by a strong foreign power, was very substantial. Accordingly, the directors of the Russian forward policy in the Balkans, stirred up the Bulgars to demand that they should be made an independent *millet*, that is to say, an autokephalous Church. The Sublime Porte was thoroughly frightened at the idea of providing the Panslavists with an effective instrument of permeation in the Balkans, but gave way under the threats of the Russian ambassador and in 1870 reluctantly issued the necessary *iradé* for the establishment of a Bulgar Exarchate, *i.e.*, for the erection of a new *millet* in which all who declared themselves Bulgars were to be included. Although the conditions for the erection of a new autokephalous church as set forth above had not been satisfied, the Œcumenical Patriarchate was ready to stretch a point and issue a *tomos* renouncing its jurisdiction over the lands which by history and population were

truly Bulgar, but it could not accept the demand put forward by the Bulgars at the Tsar's bidding that *wherever there were Bulgars they should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the new Bulgar Exarch.*

That demand meant the negation of the Œcumenical canonical principle that in one place there can only be one bishop and to concede it would have been a treachery. The Œcumenical Patriarchate offered, indeed, to secure that wherever there were Bulgars, what we should call a suffragan Bulgar bishop should be appointed to have care of them and that they should thereby be secured the use of their Slav language, the observance of their racial customs and so on.

The Bulgar Exarch, however, set up bishops in Macedonia and Thrace and the Pan Slavist agents got busy applying the reverse of peaceful methods to persuade the Greek and Serb peasants of the Balkan *macédoine* to register in the new Bulgar millet or church. If a village did not declare itself Bulgar, a *comitadji* visited and converted it with fire and sword. The Greeks and Serbs whose views as to what was to happen when the Sick Man of Europe died, were different from the Pan Slavists, retaliated and reconverted them. The hapless country became a chaos. The Turk took fright, indulged in the famous Bulgar atrocities and the Russo-Turkish War followed in 1875. Meanwhile in 1872 after waiting two years for a happier solution, the Sacred Synod of Constantinople, under the Patriarch Anthimos, pronounced the Bulgar claim that wherever Bulgars live they are under the jurisdiction of a Bulgar bishop, to be the error of Phyletism—from phyle, a race—or racialism. Since then the Bulgars have been in schism with the Greeks.

The tragic extirpation of all Christians except the Greeks from Constantinople and from what remains of Turkey and the readjustments of the map which have followed the Great War, have settled the question of jurisdiction in the Balkans, and the Bulgar Church may be expected to repudiate phyletism and to petition the Œcumenical Patriarchate for a *tomos* in the near future.

That done the schism will be healed to the great gain of the Orthodox Church and the peace of Europe.

The Christian East

THE LIMITS OF AGREEMENTS REACHED BY THE ORTHODOX DELEGATES TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

[*Since this article was sent to Press, authority has been given by the Bishop of Gloucester, on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the Archbishop of Thyatira, on behalf of the Œcumenical Patriarch, for the publication of the Minutes of the Delegation's Discussions with the Sub-Committee of the Conference's Committee on Unity. This important document, which is printed in extenso in next issue of THE CHRISTIAN EAST, should be studied in connection with this article, which it illustrates and reinforces.*]

IN my two preceding articles I have sketched the provenance of the Orthodox Delegation to the recent Lambeth Conference, have described the public and ceremonial side of its visit to London, and have indicated the purport and the issue of the discussions which it held with the bishops who formed the sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on Unity.

In this final article, it remains for me to deal with the *resumé* of the statements interchanged between it and that sub-committee, which, after being adopted by the Committee on Unity, were implemented by Resolution 33 (c) of the plenum of the Conference¹ as "a sufficient account of the teaching of the Church of England and of the Churches in communion with it in relation to those subjects," *sc.* to the subjects discussed by the Delegation and the sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on Unity.

As Anglican Secretary for the Orthodox and Old Catholic Delegations, I was privileged to be on duty throughout their meetings with the sub-committee. But in what I shall write below, I shall not make use of any special information at my disposal, but shall confine myself to four published documents.

(1) The Summary of the Discussions given in the Committee of Unity's Report to the Conference,¹ and the *resumé* of the Anglican and Orthodox statements which is appended to it ;

(2) The Statement made by the Patriarch to the Holy Synod of Alexandria, a translation of which is given in this issue of the *Christian East* ;

¹ *Lambeth Conference*, 1930, p. 49, S.P.C.K.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 131-140.

(3) The Report of Archbishop Nectarie to the Holy Synod of Roumania,¹ a translation of which is given in this issue of the *Christian East*;

and (4) the Narrative of the Patriarch Meletios' Visit to London by his Deacon Anthemios Rosmares which appeared in the official weekly of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, *Pantanos*, week by week throughout July, August and September.

The second and third of these are historic documents of first importance, and both demand and repay very careful study, not only on account of the distinction and weight of their authors but because each in its way is peculiarly a revealing document.

Read together with the Summary of the Discussions in the Report of the Lambeth Conference's Committee on Unity, they not only illustrate the difficulties which had to be overcome before the Anglican and Orthodox Churches could speak to each other collectively in a clear atmosphere, but also demonstrate how illusory those difficulties proved to be once, in the persons of their accredited representatives, the two Churches were face to face and opened their minds to each other.

THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS' STATEMENT.

The Statement of the Patriarch Meletios is an arresting document and of capital importance for future reference. It surveys and estimates the difficulties and obstacles which impede the approach of the two Churches towards Union. In doing so it is even more frank and outspoken in regard to disabilities on the Orthodox side than in regard to disabilities on the Anglican side. Thus it is with reticence and reserve that the Patriarch warns² the Orthodox that if the historic conflicts of the diversified Anglican "schools of thought" not only make it hard for the corporate mind of the Anglican Communion to discover itself in agreement with Orthodoxy, they make it even harder for them to express that agreement in terms which are comprehensible and conclusive to the corporate mind of the Orthodox Church. But it is also with plain words that he reminds them that while they claim that the Orthodox Church "possesses a doctrine that has been formulated by the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils,"³ they possess no official and precise statement to offer the Anglican Church in regard to those very matters, agreement on which they predicate to be the necessary preliminary of Union. Nor does he make any bones about telling them roundly that the way in which the Orthodox national autocephalous Churches reflect and subserve the quarrels and rivalries of the national Orthodox States, presents Orthodoxy in a guise which is calculated to cool the desire of Anglicans for the Union of the two Churches.

¹ *Congressul Lambeth, 1930, Raport catre Sf. Sinod, Cernauti, 1930.*

² *Statement of the Patriarch, §21, p. 188.*

³ *Ibid., §22, p. 189.*

Doubtless those Roman Catholics and other propagandists¹ who regard the idea of Anglican and Orthodox solidarity as threatening their plans with disaster, will seize on what the Patriarch says as a useful admission. But in all this, he has presented them with no controversial ammunition which they have not used to the full for years and of which they had not exhausted the use before the Delegation was conceived and his Statement was made.

On the other hand, he has rendered signal service to the progress of the Anglican-Orthodox movement by his courageous exposition of hard facts which are rarely envisaged either in England or among the Orthodox, and the general understanding of which would clear the air of those prevalent misunderstandings that impede the coming to grips with the essential problems of Anglican-Orthodox Reunion.

Of those misunderstandings none is more hurtful and none is harder to dissipate than the widespread, generalizing presupposition which exists among Anglicans that there is a fundamental opposition between the central, traditional Orthodox dogmatic position and the Anglican dogmatic position as the latter is interpreted by the historic Anglican Evangelical and Liberal Schools of Thought.

A SPECIOUS *PETITIO PRINCIPII*.

The obvious deduction from that *petitio principii* is that any and every dogmatic agreement formulated between the two Churches must conceal that fundamental opposition by the skilful use of ambiguous and evasive words and phrases.

As I ventured to state in the first of my articles, I am myself confident that that presupposition is altogether baseless and that, in fact, however contrasted may be the expressions in worship and practice which the Orthodox and the centrally minded Anglican Evangelical and Liberal give to their beliefs, their fundamental, historic and central dogmatic positions are approximately identical.

None the less, that presupposition has remained so long unchallenged that it has grown to be one of those indurated and prevalent prejudices of the effective dissipation of which one is tempted to despair.

In result, on the one hand Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals have come to take it for granted that a dogmatic agreement between the two Churches can be reached only by shifting the Anglican balance at their expense, and on the other hand, the Orthodox have come to take it for granted that no dogmatic agreement between the two Churches can be accepted by our Evangelicals and Liberals which does not compromise the Orthodox dogmatic position.

That misconception is peculiarly elusive because it originates in a generalizing assumption which in their mutual ignorance of each

¹ *Statement of the Patriarch, §§27-29.*

other when their contacts began eighty years ago presented itself as inevitable both to the Orthodox and to the Anglican, and which Roman Catholics and other propagandists have found a very effective instrument for their zeal to prevent the Union of the two Churches.¹

CAN "REFORMED" AND "UNREFORMED" CHURCHES UNITE?

That the Orthodox Churches being Unreformed and the Anglican Churches being Reformed, Union between them is unthinkable has been generally accepted a valid deduction. But the validity of the specious syllogism was not tested.

The persistent claim of the Orthodox Church is that it has never departed from the essential scriptural integrity of the Faith of the Gospel, but has rejected the Papal usurpations of Supremacy and Infallibility from the time that they began to appear and has stood fast against Romish error and innovation.

If that claim is good, it is Unreformed because it did not need a Reformation such as that which the Anglican Communion needed in the sixteenth century.

The persistent claim of the Anglican Church is that when it reformed itself, it threw off the Papal usurpation, purged itself of mediæval innovations and errors and returned to the essential Scriptural integrity of the Faith of the Gospel.

Both those claims cannot be good, unless the dogmatic positions of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches are essentially identical. But if those positions are identical, then for the very reason that the Orthodox Church is "Unreformed" and the Anglican Church is "Reformed," the Union of the two Churches must be possible.

Of course, the Orthodox can no more be satisfied with a mere assertion that at its Reformation the Anglican Church returned to the essential integrity of the Faith of the Gospel, than the Anglican can be satisfied by the mere assertion that the Orthodox has maintained it.

To pronounce that their dogmatic positions are essentially identical, they must be satisfied that their conceptions of that which is integral to the Faith of the Gospel are essentially identical.

THE TWO CHURCHES IN CHRISTOLOGICAL AGREEMENT.

As was pointed out in the first of these articles, in regard to the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity and in regard to Christology, there can be no doubt as to the two Churches being essentially in dogmatic

¹ The otherwise valuable books of that able and sedulous Roman Catholic scholar, Dr. Adrian Fortescue, must be read with the greatest discrimination, because from title page to colophon they present Orthodoxy as hardly differing from Roman Catholicism except in regard to the Papacy. As such they might rightly be described as having been written to convince Anglicans that they ought to have nothing to do with the Orthodox.

agreement. It is true that the Orthodox sustain their objection to the Anglican retention of the *Filioque* clause. But they do so because the insertion of that clause having been an arbitrary innovation upon the Œcumenical Creed, its retention is a sustained contravention of the principle that the authority of an Œcumenical Council is incontrovertible and that the spirit of Unity forbids a departure from its decrees except with the consent of the whole Œcumenical Church. As to the *Filioque* in itself, Orthodox theologians are now agreed that, though the words are capable of being interpreted as signifying that there are two "principles"—*ἀρχαί*—in the Godhead, they are used by the Anglican Churches as signifying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, a doctrine, which, as the Œcumenical Patriarch Tarrasios testified in the eighth century, is Orthodox.

Though some Orthodox theologians have thought that for example our Article VI is excessive in its precisions, no Orthodox theologian has criticized our Thirty-nine Articles as falling short of the Orthodox dogmatic standard in the matters of the Doctrine of God and of Christology. On the contrary, in the paramountcy which Orthodox Dogmatic Teaching assigns to Holy Scripture and in its conceptions of Redemption, Salvation and Justification, it is in obvious and unmistakable essential agreement with Anglican Dogmatic Teaching as expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles.

That extremely sectionally minded Anglican Liberals who are impatient of the dogmatic Christology of our Thirty-nine Articles should "distrust" the Anglican-Orthodox Movement is very natural. But to say nothing of the historic Anglican Evangelical who will find strong reinforcement in it, the centrally minded Anglican Liberal Evangelical cannot find anything essentially lacking or amiss in Orthodox dogmatic Teaching in regard to these matters.

THE RANGE AND OBJECTIVE OF THE DISCUSSIONS.

Accordingly it is in the region of that dogmatic Teaching which is expressed in the ecclesiastical articles of the Creed, in the conceptions of the Church, of its nature and mystic life, of the Communion of Saints, of the Sacred Ministry, of the Sacraments and so on, that a clear and thorough mutual elucidation of the Anglican and Orthodox dogmatic position is demanded before a decision can be made by them as to whether what is the Faith of the Gospel to the one is the Faith of the Gospel to the other.

Now, the objective of the discussions of the Orthodox Delegation with the Anglican Bishops at Lambeth was such an elucidation—not of course, a general elucidation of the whole Anglican dogmatic position, but such a particular and thorough elucidation of the Anglican dogmatic position in regard to the Sacred Ministry which might enable the Orthodox Church to decide once and for all whether

without compromise of its own dogmatic position, it could accept the Anglican Ministry as valid.

In those discussions, the Orthodox Delegation tore the heart out of the business. The four written questions¹ which they posed and the subsidiary verbal questions with which they pressed them, precluded the possibility of evasive answers. Inasmuch as they embodied the extreme hesitations of the more conservative Orthodox theologians, those questions maximized the central Orthodox position. And inasmuch as they safeguarded the tendential position of the more extreme centrally minded Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals, the answers given them minimized the Anglican approximation to the Orthodox position. It is, therefore, the more notable and remarkable that after the Delegation had done its work thoroughly and remorselessly, by announcing that it had no more questions to ask and that it was satisfied with the answers given it, it should have declared itself in effect as unanimous in agreeing that, in everything essential to the Orthodox viewpoint, the Anglican conception of the Sacred Ministry is identical with the Orthodox conception.

The *resumé* of the Statements made on either side by the Delegation and the Anglican Bishops together with the Report delivered to it by its sub-committee, was first adopted by the Committee on Unity of the Lambeth Conference and in due course was implemented by the plenum of the Conference as a "sufficient account" of the Teaching of the Church of England and the Churches in Communion with it.

On the Orthodox side, it would appear to have covered every point that deep and wise thought could have put forward and certainly gives full and unambiguous satisfaction upon the points which—as witness his admirable and attractive Report to its Holy Synod—Archbishop Nectarie had been definitely instructed by the Patriarch and Holy Synod of Roumania to press in their name.

In result, even if in their suspicions of the Orthodox Church as Unreformed the more sectionally minded of our Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals are tempted to cast about in order to find ground for denouncing the statements made by the Anglican Bishops, they will find it hard to instance any one of those statements either as evasive or as inconsistent with their own beliefs. And on the other hand—I write with every modest deference—if in their indurated prejudice that because it is Reformed the Anglican Church must be in dogmatic opposition to Orthodoxy, the most recalcitrant of Orthodox conservatives will find it hard to put his finger upon the most minute of minutiae within the range of the Discussions, upon which the Orthodox Delegation did not assume an uncompromising attitude and upon which it did not receive satisfaction upon its fullest requirements.

¹ *Statement of the Patriarch* §13, p. 184.

THE SUCCESSFUL ISSUE OF THE DISCUSSIONS.

As things were left last August the situation registered was that, in the persons of delegates officially accredited by its autocephalous churches, the Whole Orthodox Church had asked the Whole Anglican Church in the persons of the Anglican Bishops, who were detailed by the Conference's Committee on Unity, for an elucidation—a "sufficient account"—of the Anglican dogmatic position in regard to its Sacred Ministry. The purpose for which that elucidation was asked had been stated by the Orthodox Delegation to be the enabling those Orthodox autocephalous Churches which had not adhered to the acceptance of the validity of Anglican Orders by the Œcumenical Patriarchate in 1922, to satisfy themselves that that acceptance was warranted. The process of that elucidation had been governed entirely by the Orthodox Delegation which had specified the points to be elucidated in the form of searching questions. Those questions had been determined not only by the precise instructions given by the Church of Roumania to its delegate, Archbishop Nectarie, that he should withdraw from the Delegation unless they were made the chief agenda of its discussions with the Anglican bishops but by the common judgment of the Delegation which stiffened the Roumanian requirements. They had been put to the Anglican Bishops who met the Delegation, with singular and engaging charm but with the thoroughness of a skilled cross-examiner, by the Patriarch Meletios and—if I may commit a single indiscretion—as I sat and listened, I wondered why his directness did not challenge a reaction until I realized that his questions were almost exactly the very questions which *mutatis mutandis* the Anglican Bishops would have asked him.

The answers given and elaborated by supplementary questions had been exactly those which the most sceptical members of the Delegation had not expected to receive but which they had agreed would satisfy the maximal requirements of their home authorities. Consequently, after four discussions, the Delegation had decided unanimously that it had nothing further to ask and that the elucidation of the Anglican dogmatic position in regard to the Sacred Ministry had demonstrated its essential identity with the Orthodox position.

The Delegation, however, had decided¹ that it could not be content with the statements of individual Anglicans or groups of Anglicans. It had needed to report to its home authorities that the elucidation of the Anglican dogmatic position made it by the sub-committee, had been implemented by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference, *i.e.*, by the totality of the Anglican Episcopate. The fourteen Anglican Bishops who had answered their questions had included representatives of every Anglican school of thought. They had themselves formed a sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on the Unity

¹ *Statement of the Patriarch* §6, p. 183.

of the Church, a large body, the personnel of which, under the Chairmanship of the Archbishop of York numbered no less than 73, *i.e.*, nearly a fourth of the plenum of the Conference, and included such watchful and active leaders of Anglican Liberalism and Evangelicalism as the Bishop of Ripon and the Bishops of Bradford and Croydon. That committee had not only adopted the *resumé* of the statements in which the elucidation had been summarized but had also identified itself with the sub-committee's Report of its discussions with the Delegation of which that *resumé* was an epitome.

Finally in its Resolution 33 (c) the plenum of the Conference had implemented the elucidation as a "sufficient account" of the teaching of the Anglican Churches in regard to the matters discussed.

In sum, when the Delegation dissolved, its members were able to report, each to his home authorities, that it had tabled the request for an elucidation of Anglican dogmatic teaching upon those points on which some of the Orthodox Churches required satisfaction before accepting Anglican Orders as valid, that that elucidation had occupied the field of its discussion with the Anglican bishops exclusively, that it had probed the answers given it by every supplementary question which occurred to it and that one and all of its members had expressed themselves as fully satisfied with the elucidation made.

All that being so, it can hardly be otherwise than that on their side the Orthodox autocephalous churches will proceed either at a Pan Orthodox Pro Synod, or by individual action to implement the declarations of the Delegation.

As I pointed out in my first article, the key salient in the advance of two Churches towards Union is the mutual acceptance of ministries; if, therefore, as under the circumstances we are entitled to do, we may expect the collective acceptance of the validity of Anglican Orders by the Whole Orthodox Church in the near future, the achievement of the Delegation will have been to have cleared away that difficulty and to have opened the road to the solidarity between the two Churches which must precede the final discussion of their Union.

TWO GOVERNING PRINCIPLES OF DISCUSSION.

But far-reaching and historic though that achievement seems likely to prove, I venture to be sure that the Delegation rendered an even greater and more remarkable service to the cause of Reunion by the method by which it got past the prejudices and misconceptions of which I have spoken, and bringing the Anglican and Orthodox Churches as it were face to face in a clear atmosphere, demonstrated that on all dogmatic points essential for the purpose in hand, *sc.* essential for the mutual acceptance of Ministries, they are in adequate agreement.

In particular, in that method it proceeded on two principles which, if they be adopted as governing precedents, will, one way or the other, make future discussions unambiguous and decisive.

When stated, both those principles are obvious and it is apparent that discussions which are not governed by them must be futile, if not mischievous.

None the less, it is the case that the indurated prejudice as to Anglican and Orthodox dogmatic agreement being impossible, has been reinforced no less among the Orthodox than among Anglicans, just because without being aware of the fact, they have not applied those two principles in the past.

Both of them are described by the Patriarch Meletios with his usual downrightness in sections 21 and 23 of his Report. They are: (1) *To use technical English theological terms as equivalents for technical Greek theological terms is to invite misunderstanding and, therefore, attempts to reach dogmatic agreements must be made in other than technical language and* (2) *that the dogmatic position of both churches must be stated in terms of their central dogmatic traditions and that, over and above the precisions of the Ecumenical Councils, nothing should be put forward by the representatives of either church which is not supported by the general consensus of its theologians.*

Strictly, no doubt the latter of these principles ought to be stated first but in my own experience, at least in the initial stages of discussion, the ignoring the former is the more mischievous.

NO EXACT ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS FOR MODERN GREEK THEOLOGICAL TERMS.

If the General Reunion discussions which have happily been to the fore since the Great War, have not taught us the danger of using terms which cover conflicting conceptions, nothing will ever teach it us. To realize how great a setback can be inflicted upon the drawing together of the Churches by the attempt to rush matters by drafting formulæ of agreement which admittedly conceal unreconciled contradictions, it is necessary only to read the Declaration which the Orthodox made at Lausanne in 1927.¹ Plainly, such formulæ can lead nowhither. The paragraphs² in the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on the Lausanne Reports, which urge that no progress can be made in Reunion discussions until the significance of primary terms such as Church, churches, Union and so forth be fixed are unchallengeable.

Every Scylla has its Charybdis.

If technical terms can be so used as by covering disagreement to

¹ *Faith and Order, Lausanne, 1927*, pp. 382-5, S.C.M., 1927.

² *Report of the Archbishops' Committee on the Lausanne Reports*, p. 17, Church Assembly Press and Publications Board, 1930.

suggest agreement where there is no real agreement, *they can also be so used as by concealing agreement to suggest that disagreement exists where there is no real disagreement.*

Happily, both the Orthodox Delegation and the Anglican Bishops with whom it held discussions, were well aware that they had to safeguard themselves against that danger.

There is need here neither to dwell upon the difference of categories in which Greek Theology and Latin Theology developed nor to show that even in the first centuries the Greek and Latin theological terms which were commonly used in translation of each other, by no means always possessed identity of content.

If it be conceded for our present purpose—and it is a great concession—that so long as the Church was undivided, those stock Greek and Latin theological terms which had become specialized as equivalents for each other, were broadly and adequately so equivalent, there can be no question but that in the past nine hundred years they have ceased to be so.

Though Greek Theology has acquired many new terms since the death of St. John Damascene, the backbone of its terminology remains that which it was in the ninth century. Certainly, it has stereotyped new *nuances* into the contents of many patristic terms, so that it is remarkably unsafe for an English patristic scholar to translate mediæval or modern Greek theological books simply on the strength of his familiarity with the writings of the Greek fathers. For whereas many theological terms were used by the Greek fathers with varying shades of meaning, in modern Greek Theology those terms are used with simpler and more precised meaning. So that, if an Anglican translator who, rendering a term used in modern Greek Theology, does not know the precise shade of meaning in which that term is now used, selects that particular shade of meaning from its many possible shades of meaning which suits his theological outlook, he risks making a very misleading translation.

None the less—for neither in form nor content has Orthodox theology undergone a period of marked change or development—and broadly speaking, as the Orthodox use them, the patristic terms which have been passed into mediæval and modern Greek Theology possess much the same contents as they had in the days of the Ecumenical Councils.

On the other hand, whatever may be judged of it, Western Theology has been the reverse of static for the past nine hundred years. In consequence, just as a composite photograph presents a single picture, but a picture which is the result of many exposures, so particular Latin terms which, in the age of the fathers, were broadly equivalent to particular Greek terms, have come to possess a significance which, as it were, is the resultant composite expression of all the phases, mediæval, scholastic, post Tridentine and so on, through

which Western Theology has evolved and which have produced twentieth century Roman Catholicism.

Among Roman Catholics, when precised authentically, those terms have a single and fixed significance. When used popularly, they have a wider and less determinate significance. Construed by Protestants, they often have a significance which Roman Catholics repudiate.

But with whatever significance they are used at the present day, they have ceased to be actually equivalent to the Greek terms to which a thousand years ago they were adequately equivalent and, if used nowadays to translate those terms as they are used in mediæval or modern Greek Theology, at the least they risk misrepresenting that Theology and on occasion compel it to negate itself.

THE SCHOLASTIC INFILTRATION INTO ORTHODOXY.

The Fall of Constantinople and the final wiping out of the Eastern Holy Roman Empire in 1453 consummated the complete subjugation—Russia and those parts of Greece which were held by Latins, only excepted—of Eastern Christendom to Islam. Russian Theology does not really begin until the seventeenth century, and under the grinding conditions of Moslem helotage, even a meagre training of the Orthodox clergy became difficult, so that anything like active Orthodox theological movement became paralysed for at least two centuries.

In consequence, throughout the sixteenth and seventeen centuries many Greeks, with Roumanian, Serb, Bulgar and other Orthodox, pursued their theological studies in Italian and other European universities. Moreover, the opportunity of the weakness of the Orthodox Church was not unnaturally utilized at the end of the sixteenth century by the Jesuits and by other Papal propagandists for a persistent and uncompromising proselytization. Also large numbers of Orthodox youth resorted to the schools¹ which were established in Constantinople itself and in other Orthodox centres within the Turkish dominions by Papalist religious orders.

The infiltration of scholastic influences into the current Orthodox theology which resulted in the seventeenth century was considerable. Although the number of Orthodox writers who were actually inoculated with scholastic conceptions was relatively few, a vogue of stating Orthodox teaching in scholastic categories set in among Greek theologians, and—a distinctive Russian theology only becomes notable in the latter half of the seventeenth century—for a time permeated the writings of Slav theologians. The region of that

¹ Roman Catholic propagandists in the Near East enjoyed not only the prestige of the protection but the full support of France, the kings of which received and exercised the right and function of a Protectorate in the interests of the Papacy in the Turkish dominions. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that, in spite of French anticlericalism, Republican France remains as tenacious of that prized and politically valuable Protectorate as was ever Royalist France.

infiltration was confined very largely to the doctrine of the Sacraments, and even in that region its process was neither complete nor universal. None the less, it came about that a more or less settled Greek terminology was gradually improvised whereby to express Latin scholastic sacramental concepts, such as substance, accidents, matter, form and so on.

So foreign to each other, however, were the logical deductions of scholasticism and the free categories of Orthodoxy, that, with few exceptions, terms which could be wrested for use as equivalents to the Latin terms adopted by scholasticism, were absent from Greek terminology and had to be borrowed from the Real philosophers. Of the few terms which were available, none that were of importance was current in Greek Theology before the Great Schism.

In consequence, on first reading Orthodox theological documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, indeed, many Orthodox dogmatic treatises of the present day,¹ the impression is given that Orthodox dogmatic teaching is cognate to Scholasticism—an impression of which Roman Catholic writers such as Dr. Adrian Fortescue, doubtless in all good faith, make great use in their contention that dogmatic agreement between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches is out of the question.

THE AVOIDANCE OF SCHOLASTIC TERMS IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

As has been remarked above, the usage, without careful definition, of technical terms which have different significances to the parties in a dogmatic discussion, can produce the appearance of disagreement where agreement exists no less than of agreement where disagreement exists.

The avoidance of such confusion in the Delegation's discussions at Lambeth was peculiarly necessary not only in order to reach an issue but to make that issue understandable by the general Anglican and Orthodox public.

The play of Western theological development during the past thousand years has deprived many Greek and Latin theological terms of the equivalence which they possessed approximately in patristic times. None the less, those Greek and Latin terms still continue to be used as reciprocally equivalent, and ignoring the shifting of the significance of the Latin terms, most English translators of modern Greek theological works continue to render the Greek terms by the stock English equivalents of those Latin terms which were formerly their equivalents.

¹ This is particularly the case with modern Greek theologians (see the "Lectures on the Sacraments," in Gavin's *Modern Greek Orthodox Thought*). Since the initiative of Philaret of Moscow in the middle of the last century, the Slav Churches have been persistent in their effort to rid themselves not only of Latin scholastic terms which have come into their languages as loan words, but also of Greek loan words which have acquired scholastic associations.

The result, of course, is that Orthodoxy is presented to the English reader in a quasi-Latin verbal dress which invites its confusion with Roman Catholicism and which, since the English terms have often acquired predominantly mediaeval and scholastic associations, saddles Orthodoxy with the very categories and conceptions which in general it strenuously rejects and repudiates.

In framing its questions, the Delegation, though not with absolute success in the second of them, was at pains to avoid the possibility of such misunderstanding.

In short, the Delegation got at the minds of the Anglican Bishops and the Anglican Bishops got at its mind, because each side was careful to explain exactly what it meant by the terms which it employed.

But the task before the Delegation and the Anglican Bishops was more than to reach agreements. They had to express their agreements in statements which could not be misconstrued by the ordinary reader. And, in particular, they had to remember that if a suggestion of scholasticism could be read into those statements, extreme sections of Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals would be stampeded into an unreasonableness which might be deaf to any subsequent disclaimer.

THE ALEXANDRIAN SYNOD'S RESOLUTION.

How successfully they obviated that danger is evidenced not only by the fact that the statements of the *resumé* remained without public challenge or serious criticism from the most extreme Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals until the publication of the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution accepting Anglican Ordinations in January last.

When I sat down to make the official translation of that Resolution, which in due course was authenticated for publication,¹ I felt that I was wholly inadequate to my task. In it the Alexandrian Holy Synod had declared that in the statements made by the Bishop of Gloucester and other Anglican Bishops to the Delegation and duly implemented by the plenum of the Conference as "a sufficient account of the teaching"² of the Anglican Church, it had found a "complete and satisfying assurance" upon the four points until it received an elucidation of which, in common with the Roumanian and other Orthodox autokephalous Churches, it had deferred taking a decision upon the possibility of the acceptance of Anglican Orders as valid from the Orthodox point of view.

¹ For the Greek original and my translation see p. 184. The Archbishop of Thyatira collaborated with me.

² The "genuine account" of my translation instances the perils which beset the translator. In his account of the Delegation's visit in *Pantanos* the Deacon Rosmares renders "sufficient" by *ἀκριβής*. Now *ἀκριβής*, which is a very common word in modern Greek with many nuances, has for its central meaning generally *accurate*, which is just what I take it the "sufficient account" of the Lambeth Conference Resolution meant. In order to escape misconception, we decided to render it by *genuine*. To have done so by *precise* would have violated its significance.

But it had epitomized those four points by terms three of which, while in Greek they are devoid of mediæval scholastic associations, have stock English equivalents which suggest those associations.

As I rendered them, those four terms are :—

- (1) The Apostolic Succession.
- (2) The Real Reception of the Lord's Body and Blood (in the Eucharist).
- (3) The Eucharist being a *thusia hilasterios*.
- (4) Ordination being a *Mystery*.

Of course, the two last of those renderings are transliterations and not translations.

THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

Certainly Apostolic Succession is as etymologically exact an equivalent for *ἀποστολική διαδοχή* as it is by traditional usage a conventional equivalent. But Apostolic Succession is also both the etymological and the conventional equivalent for *Successio Apostolica*. As such it not only covers, but is very liable to be taken as presenting, that mediæval and scholastic theory which is popularly conceived as postulating that any man upon whom under any circumstances three bishops—or even one bishop—so consecrated themselves, have laid hands with the intention to make him a bishop, *eo ipso* receives indelibly the character of a successor of the Apostles, and with that character powers which under no circumstances can lapse or be forfeited.

The case, however, is not only that the mediæval and scholastic theories of the *Successio Apostolica* have no place in the stream of Orthodox tradition but that they are incompatible with the General Orthodox conception of the *ἀποστολική διαδοχή*.

Of course, the Orthodox possess external or canonical criteria deciding whether the Orders of an individual ministry or the Ministry of a particular non-Orthodox Church, can be pronounced to be in the Apostolic Succession. Whether or not, theoretically, those criteria could be dispensed with; for practical purposes no Orthodox theologian is prepared to consider the possibility of dispensing with them. But to the Orthodox mind, the external or canonical side of the Apostolic Succession is quite secondary to its internal or spiritual side. The Orthodox know nothing of an *Ecclesia Docens* and an *Ecclesia Discens*. To them the Ministry is an organ of the body of the Church but is in no way to be treated as an institution that can be contrasted with it. At his consecration a Bishop does not receive an indelible *character*. He receives a *charisma*, but he receives it for an office and for the functions of that office. When there arises the question of accepting in his orders a bishop or other minister who accedes to Orthodoxy, the decision turns upon the conception of the office and function of a

Bishop in the Church from which he derives his Orders far more than upon whether the necessary canonical and external criteria were satisfied in his consecration.

A very large, if not a preponderant, stream of Orthodox theological opinion holds traditionally that however indisputable the criteria of the external or canonical side of his ordination, a bishop or other minister acceding to Orthodoxy may be treated at discretion as not being in Orders and the reconsecration of Bishops of the Roman Obedience is not unknown among the Orthodox.

In short, the Orthodox Apostolic Succession has nothing mechanical about it. If Orders is a link with the Apostles, it is so because since the Bishops are the chief pastors to whom under the One Shepherd the feeding and the rule of the Flock is committed, and by whom the Faith is to be safeguarded and precised by the Holy Spirit working in the whole body of the Church, their office and function are identical with the office and function which Christ committed to the Apostles.

The four questions the answers to which the Alexandrian Holy Synod describe as having been “ a complete and satisfying assurance ” as to the *ἀποστολική διαδοχή* were directed to ascertain whether (1) its Episcopate is the organ by which the Anglican Church precises and safeguards the Faith and whether Orders is held by the Anglican Church not to be the appointment of the Ordinand to a particular post but the conferring of a special *charisma* upon him for the office and function to which he is called by the Spirit working in the Church, and (2) the Anglican rites of Ordination and Consecration with their strict requirement of Prayer and the Laying on of Hands by canonically consecrated Bishops are devised in order to preserve and to demonstrate the unbroken succession in the Anglican Church of those three Orders of ministers, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, “ which, it is evident, have been in Christ's Church from the beginning.”

Accordingly, to translate on the equation *ἀποστολική διαδοχή* equals *Successio Apostolica*, which in turn equals Apostolic Succession, is to risk making the ordinary Anglican imagine that the Alexandrian Holy Synod was satisfied and assured that the Anglican Church is committed to the quasi-mechanical, mediæval scholastic theory of Apostolic Succession. Whereas that as to which it was satisfied and assured was that the Anglican Church is essentially in agreement with Orthodox dogmatic teaching, by which the office and function of the threefold Ministry of Bishop, Priest and Deacon have been sustained by the operation of the Holy Spirit in Christ's Church since the days of the Apostles and that that sustentation is truly and conclusively symbolized by the Laying on of Hands with Prayers by bishops who, in that they have received the special *charisma* and in like manner have been set apart for the episcopal office themselves, are rightly to be recognized as Successors of the Apostles.

If, then, I translated *ἀποστολική διαδοχή* by Apostolic Succession,

I felt that I ought not to have translated that which can only be rendered by a periphrasis, but in transliterating it ought to have appended a long note which would have shown that the essential dogmatic requisite of the Orthodox Church for the recognition of our Orders is one which only an extremely sectionally minded Anglican Evangelical or Liberal could refuse to meet and which minimizes the demand that *mutatis mutandis* a very large section of Anglo-Catholics might put forward.

It was the same when I came to translate the Greek terms which I rendered by (1) "a Real Reception of the Lord's Body and Blood" and (2) "as to Ordination being a Mystery."

ORDINATION A "MYSTERY."

In regard to the latter, the Latin *Sacramentum* being the stock equivalent for the Greek *Mysterion*, the equation seems inevitable, *Mysterion* equals *Sacramentum* equals Sacrament.

But two considerations forbade me to translate on that equation. On the one hand, the mediæval and scholastic analysis of a Sacrament with its categories of form, matter, minister, recipient, etc., has always been repudiated and rejected by a great body of Orthodox theological opinion as an unscriptural and unprimitive innovation and almost certainly is to be reckoned not as among the *theologoumena*¹ of Orthodox dogmatic tradition, but at most as a personal opinion. Therefore, if I had translated *Mysterion* by *Sacramentum*, I must have appended a long note explaining that the Orthodox Delegation had been so far from asking whether the Anglican Church accepted the categories of the Latin mediæval and scholastic theory of the Sacraments, that if the Anglican Bishops had stated that theory as embodying the Anglican dogmatic tradition, the Delegation would almost certainly have declared that agreement was out of the question and that further discussion would be purposeless.

On the other hand, in considerations of this kind, the point of departure often determines the plane of thought.

Even the Anglican definition of a Sacrament as the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual Grace tends to give over-emphasis to the necessity of the fixed externals which are ordained as necessarily concomitant symbols of the imparting of inward and spiritual Grace by the Holy Spirit in the Sacraments. If no Orthodox theologians envisage even the theoretical possibility of dispensing with those externals, all Orthodox theologians begin by thinking of a *Mysterion* as the imparting of Grace—of a *charisma*—by the working of the Holy Spirit, to the faithful who seek it from the Saviour. If they look for the externals, they look for them as *canonical* symbols of the covenanted mercies of God, *i.e.*, as symbols which are necessary

¹ See below p. 169.

because being found in Holy Scripture they have always been observed and required in the Church.

In consequence, if the deduction that where and when the outward and visible signs of a *Mysterion*—*i.e.*, of a Sacrament—are to be found fully and faithfully completed, there and then the covenanted grace or *charisma* must *eo ipso* be imparted, were pressed upon them, they would almost certainly reject the logic and would extricate themselves from the discussion as having led them into planes of thought and reasoning foreign to the traditional categories of Orthodoxy.

Thus for the great body of Orthodox theologians the point of departure in regard to Orders—*mutatis mutandis* it is the same in regard to Baptism and the other five ordinances which they cover with the particular term *Mysteria*—is that a special Grace or *Charisma* is given and is received therein. Their concern is as to the whence and the wherefore of that *charisma*. As to its whereby, its how and its when, they possess neither dogmatic precisions nor a precisising tradition. That there never was a time since the days of the Apostles when the characteristic external features of an Ordination were not the Laying on of Hands with Prayer and its minister a bishop, is agreed by them all, and nothing short of a decision by an Œcumenical Council could induce them to treat its being other than integral and necessary to the external side of the *Mysterion* as an open question.¹

But while they are practically unanimous in regarding the canonical, external side of Ordination as indispensable, their vital concern is rather its internal, spiritual side, *sc.* with the giving and receiving of the special *charisma* for the work and office of a Bishop, Priest or Deacon.

How greatly the categories of Orthodox sacramental thought are in contrast with Scholasticism is well illustrated, indeed, by the words which in the Orthodox rite accompany the Laying on of Hands: "The Grace of God, which ever maketh the weak strong and filleth the empty, chooses and calls N. the most religious sub-deacon to be deacon. Therefore let us pray on his behalf that the Holy Spirit may come to him."

In that "form" no words such as our *Receive the Holy Ghost* can be interpreted as fixing the moment of the giving and receiving the *charisma* and, certainly, the main stream of Orthodox dogmatic teaching makes no such precision.

"THE REAL RECEPTION."

Just because Real Reception is not a stock Anglican term, the mere utterance of which challenges party prejudice, the translation of

¹ The opinion of Professor Dyovouniotes of Athens that the acceptance of non-episcopally ordained ministers is not outside the range of economy (*Ta Hepta Mystira*, p. 162-3, Athens), appears to demand the premise that the necessity of the Laying on of Hands is not a dogmatic necessity.

pragmatike metalepsis was less difficult than the translation of *apostolike diadoche* and of *mysterion*.

In modern Greek, *pragmatikos* is used in ordinary speech for real in the sense of actual, factual. But the modern usage of *metalepsis* is absolutely confined to sacramental Communion in the Eucharist and—the *meta* carries the same mystical significance as the *cum* in communion—would have better been rendered by an *act of communion* than by *reception* or *participation*, its nearer linguistic equivalents.

I translated, however, not by "*Real Act of Communion*," but by "*Real reception*," for this reason.

The assurance which the Delegation needed for the purpose in hand was that the Anglican Church does not hold that the Eucharist, being a mere commemoration by figurative representation of the Last Supper, the Bread and Wine "become unto us the Body and Blood of Christ" only in an emblematic sense but that it holds that, the Eucharist being an actual extension of the Last Supper by perpetual representation, the Bread and Wine "become unto us" the true Body and the true Blood of Christ in a mystic or sacramental sense.

Thanks to the excellent first hand knowledge of the Anglican complex possessed by several of its members, the Delegation was well aware of the quicksands between which in putting its question it had to steer.

If it could not be satisfied with an answer which could be construed as covering a Memorialist or purely subjective Receptionist conception of Christ's Body and Blood, it had to make its enquiry in a fashion which the Anglican Bishops could not misconstrue as asking them to accept mediaeval and scholastic conceptions.

As the Patriarch Meletios records in his 21st section, it knew that "Anglicans have no hesitation in accepting St. John Chrysostom's statement that the Bread and Wine are made to be¹ Christ's Body and Blood by the operation of the Holy Ghost, but they reject the term, Transubstantiation (*metousiosis*) as being bound up in Scholastic Theology with materialistic conceptions."

Now, it is true both that the infiltration of Scholasticism to which reference has been made above, produced a certain adoption of Scholastic terminology and of Scholastic logic by Orthodox theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that both continue to have vogue in a measure among present day, and especially among Greek Orthodox theologians. In consequence, as has been observed, it would be easy by a careful selection of terms and phrases to formulate the traditional dogmatic teaching of the Orthodox Church in language which would give the impression

¹ The *poiountai* of the Alexandrian Resolution equals *fiant*. See also Archbishop Nectarie's Roumania rendering of it, *devin* equals *become*.

that, to all effects, it is identical with that of modern Roman Catholicism.

In fact in a transliterated form the word Transubstantiation actually crept into Orthodox Theology in the Middle Ages and is still used by many Greek theologians as equivalent to the term *metousiosis* which first appears in Greek Theology in the last decade of the thirteenth century.¹ In general as Roman Catholics use the term Transubstantiation and as the Orthodox use the term *Metousiosis* they are the reverse of equivalent but rather belong to different categories which are in antinomy.

The Patriarch Meletios, of course, wrote his statement for Orthodox readers, and if he coupled the terms Transubstantiation and *Metousiosis* as alike unacceptable to Anglicans, it was to show that in spite of the difference between the Roman Catholic conception of Transubstantiation and the Orthodox conception of *Metousiosis*, the ordinary Anglican identifies them.

Alike by its linguistic value and by its theological usage Transubstantiation predicates an elemental change *in* the Bread and Wine which the Orthodox regard as repugnant both to Holy Scripture and to the dogmatic teaching of the Fathers.

On the other hand, *metousiosis* predicates a mystical change of the Bread and Wine, a change which, to use the language of our 28th Article, is "only after an heavenly and spiritual manner."

Thus, as is well known, extraliturgical services of devotion and adoration of the Reserved Sacrament are altogether foreign to Orthodox tradition and practice and, though I have myself contended² that in principle the Orthodox could neither condemn them nor require their abandonment by Rome as a condition of Reunion, I am bound to admit that I have been taken sharply to task, therefore, by Orthodox theologians of authority.³

It is thus that no less for those Greek Orthodox theologians who employ Transubstantiation as an equivalent for *Metousiosis*,⁴ than

¹ Since the above was written, I have received a letter, dated March 11th, 1931, in which Archbishop Chrysostom of Athens says, "I do not omit to repeat what has been repeatedly said, that the Orthodox Church may use certain terms which are also in use in the Latin Church. That, however, in no way means that there is also a corresponding agreement of Orthodox doctrine with the scholastic interpretations of the Middle Ages. The Orthodox mind, for instance, though it uses the term '*Metousiosis*,' employs it in the meaning of the terms '*metapoïsis*,' '*metarrythmisis*,' which are used by the old Church, and does not ascribe to it the known Latin interpretation." The *meta* in *metapoïsis* and *metarrythmisis* denotes that the "becoming" or "change" is after a spiritual and heavenly manner.

² *The Orthodox and Reservation*, Faith Press, 1928.

³ During the visit of the Delegation, the Patriarch Meletios gave frequent emphatic and incisive expression to his regret that such services obtain in some Anglican Churches. I record this not because I agree with the general Orthodox opinion, but as illustrating their outlook in the matter.

⁴ The Greek Dyovouniotes says the "Western Church uses it to expound 'its theory of the mode of the change,' but the Eastern Church 'simply to state the fact of the change.'"

for those who have followed Philaret of Moscow¹ in ruling it out of Russian theology, the purpose of Reservation is for the Communion of the Sick.

So far as I know no Orthodox theologian has demurred to the generalization of our 28th Article that, "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up or worshipped."

Accordingly, in regard to the Bread and Wine becoming Christ's Body and Blood, the maximum requirement which the most stringent of Orthodox Theologians could require is far more than met by section 8 in the Declaration² which was made by some of us in 1922 to the Ecumenical Patriarch. That section runs:

"We affirm that, by consecration in the Eucharist, the bread and wine, being blessed by the life-giving power of the Holy Spirit, are changed and become the true body and the true blood of Christ, and as such are given to and received by the faithful. . . . As to the actual manner of the change, and of the mode of the presence, no doctrine on this point is laid down by any Ecumenical Council, and therefore, while believing the fact, we do not venture to define the mode. There is here a divine mystery which passes human understanding."³

The Delegation was aware, however, that to speak of the Bread and Wine being "changed" suggests to many Anglicans the mediæval scholastic theory that by the utterances of the priest of the words, Take eat, This is My Body, etc.,⁴ a change is effected in the Bread and Wine, their "substance" becoming Christ's Body and Blood and only their "accidents" of extension, colour, taste, etc., remaining.

Accordingly, it refrained from the use of terms such as *metathesis*, *metabole*, *metapoiesis*, which we translate change and which signify that the Bread and Wine are made to be the Body and Blood of Christ by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Nor because of the association of the phrase in Anglican domestic controversy did they use *pragmatike parousia*, i.e., actual or real Presence.

All that they required to ascertain for their immediate purpose was

¹ His almost dramatic deletion of the transliteration of *Transubstantiation* from the Russian version of Mogila's Catechism, which as (see p. 180) among seventeenth Orthodox documents is peculiarly tinged with scholastic phraseology, should reassure those Anglicans who imagine that the Orthodox Church has adopted the "materialistic conception, bound up in Scholastic Theology" with the term *Transubstantiation*.

² Avowedly that Declaration gave no more than the interpretation of the Anglican position held by those who signed it and did not claim to speak for the whole Church of England.

³ G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity*, 1920-24, p. 92.

⁴ As is well known, the Orthodox hold dogmatically that the Bread and Wine become the Lord's Body and Blood not at the utterance of these words, but on the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, which in their Prayer of Consecration precedes ours, the Words of Institution.

that Anglicans speak of the Bread and Wine becoming Christ's Body and Blood, not in a figurative but in a real, if mystical, sense.

Therefore, they avoided raising the question of a change in the Bread and Wine and reached their end by asking whether in the Anglican Church the Consecrated Bread and Wine are regarded as still remaining Christ's Body and Blood after Communion.

The answer that they continue to be "regarded sacramentally,"¹ satisfied them that the Anglican dogmatic position leaves no room for Memorialist or purely subjective Receptionist theories.

That is why in its Resolution the Alexandrian Synod speaks of the Orthodox requirement as to Christ's Presence in the Eucharist having been met by a satisfactory statement not as to the change of the Bread and Wine but as to their Real Reception.

"THUSIA HILASTERIOS."

If the renderings which I gave to *diadoche apostolike* and *pragmatike metalepsis* in the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution are patient of misconstruction, it was impossible to find a rendering for *thusia hilasterios* which would not raise a hornet's nest.

After all, *Apostolic Succession* is familiar enough to English ears to which it carries no necessarily controversial significance. If unfamiliar, *Real Reception* is self explanatory and could challenge no one except the extreme Memorialist.

It was very different with *thusia hilasterios*, for which a dictionary translation gives only *propitiatory sacrifice* or *expiatory sacrifice*.

To use either was out of the question.

Expiatory Sacrifice being novel to the ordinary reader would have frightened them even if accompanied by a lengthy excursus on Expiation.

Propitiatory Sacrifice certainly belongs to ordinary English speech. But it would be hardly possible to apply a term to the Eucharist which would be more provocative to extremely sectionally minded Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals. With even careful safeguards as to its meaning, few Anglicans of any school of thought would be happy in using it.

For if, as the Patriarch Meletios was warranted in saying in the 21st section of his report, "The Anglican Church agrees with the Orthodox doctrine that the Eucharist is a *thusia hilasterios*," it is also true that "it refuses to use the term *propitiatory* in stating that doctrine inasmuch as its association suggests the errors of Purgatory and of the transition, at the Pope's pleasure, of souls from Purgatory to Paradise."

Of course, I do not take responsibility for the attribution of such

¹ Of course, the Lambeth Conference used, and the Orthodox understood, *regarded* in the sense of "held to be."

conceptions even to the popular mediæval and scholastic doctrines of the Eucharist and of Purgatory. Nor is it my business to demonstrate here that the Tridentine precisions of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice are incompatible with the main body of Orthodox dogmatic teaching upon it.

My present concern is limited to showing that *thusia hilasterios* carries with it none of those materialistic conceptions which, rightly or wrongly, *sacrificium propitiatorium* calls up to English minds and that if instead of transliterating it in my translation of the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution, I had rendered it by *propitiatory sacrifice* I should have made that Synod misrepresent itself, no less than the Delegation and the Lambeth Conference.

As has been emphasized above, the Delegation's question on the Eucharist was not drafted to ascertain whether Anglican dogmatic teaching is fully in agreement with Orthodox dogmatic teaching, but was drafted in a minimal form in order to ascertain that sufficient agreement exists to warrant the Orthodox Churches in accepting Anglican Orders.

As I pointed out in the first of these articles and, as will be evident to anyone who reads the masterly summary of the history of the Orthodox investigation into the Validity of Anglican Ordinations¹ which, not because I am its translator, but because it interprets the Orthodox mind most lucidly, I am bold to urge my readers to buy, a prime cause of the hesitation of Orthodox theologians to declare Anglican Orders to be in every way capable of acceptance has been a lingering doubt as to whether the Anglican Eucharist is not a "nude commemoration" of the Last Supper.

To remove that doubt finally, all that was necessary was for the Lambeth Conference to declare explicitly (1) that the Anglican Church believes the Bread and Wine to become Christ's Body and Blood, not in a figurative sense but even though mystically and in a heavenly and spiritual manner, in very fact, and (2) that it holds that the Eucharist is indeed a sacrifice, again not in a figurative sense, but in the sense that in it the minister and the people who conjoin with him in its Celebration do not merely commemorate the Sacrifice of the Cross but are conjoined with Christ in presenting anew "that full perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction" which He consummated, once and for all thereon.

As has been noted above the first of those two requirements was met, as I venture to believe, adequately and conclusively by clear statements which the Bishops who made them were confident that, except the extremely sectionally minded, all Anglicans would agree. Those statements went no farther in precision than to satisfy the Delegation that the Anglican Communion does not teach a Memorialism or a

¹ *The Validity of Anglican Ordinations*, Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Metropolitan of Athens, Faith Press, 1931, price 2s.

purely subjective Receptionism, but teaches that the Bread and Wine become the very Body and Blood of the Lord not in a figurative sense but in a sense in which their reception is to be described as a *Real Reception* of the Lord's Body and Blood.

In like manner, the Delegation accepted its second requirement as adequately and conclusively met by this quotation from the Reply of the English Archbishops to Leo XIII., "We truly teach the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and do not believe it to be a 'nude commemoration' of the Sacrifice of the Cross. We continue a perpetual memory of the precious death of Christ who is our Advocate with the Father and the propitiation for our sins, according to His precept, until His coming again. For first we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; then next we plead and represent before the Father the Sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we plead and represent before the Father the Sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we confidently entreat remission of sins and all other benefits of the Lord's Passion for all the whole Church; and lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblations of His creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take its part with the Priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice."¹

As is recorded, however, by the Patriarch Meletios,² the Delegation had formulated its requirement in the question, Does the Anglican Church accept that . . . the oblation of the Divine Eucharist is a spiritual *thusia hilasterios* for the living and dead? And, as is recorded in the summary of the Discussions,³ that question at once evoked a plain statement that "it had been necessary for the Church of England to guard against the error that the one Sacrifice offered by Our Lord on the Cross, could, in any way be repeated."

In other words, the Anglican Bishops made it "plain," as the Patriarch Meletios puts it, that Anglicans will not apply "propitiatory sacrifice" to the Eucharist and repudiate the "materialistic conceptions" attached to *sacrificium propitiatorium*.

The Orthodox, however, reject those materialistic conceptions with a vigour no less than any Anglican's. In general, the rendering the Eucharist with a special intention of any kind whatever is unknown among them. In particular they approve our 31st Article's trenchant condemnation of "the Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain and guilt."

For them the offering of the Eucharist is a *thusia hilasterios*, a propitiatory sacrifice in the sense and only in the sense that in every Eucharist Christ Himself, Who is the only Priest and Victim—ho

¹ As quoted in *The Lambeth Conference*, 1930, p. 136.

² Section 13. The question is not given in *The Lambeth Conference*, 1930.

³ *The Lambeth Conference*, 1930, p. 136.

anapheron kai ho anapheromenos—represents and pleads in fact and in deed the propitiation which He Himself wrought once and for all upon the Cross. As they use the term, it can have no need to be safeguarded against the idea of a mechanical *opus operatum* and any materialistic conception.¹

In putting the above question, the Delegation was not asking for a full and precised statement of Anglican teaching on the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Its purpose was simply to make sure that the Anglican Communion accepts the Eucharist not merely as a sacrifice in figure but as a sacrifice in fact.

Accordingly, it was satisfied that its requirement had been met by the answer recorded and the Alexandrian Synod summed up that answer as a satisfactory assurance that Anglicans regard the Eucharist as a *thusia hilasterios*.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.

Since, as has been noted above, the rendering the Eucharist with any special intention whatever is foreign to Orthodox tradition, the *thusia hilasterios for the living and the dead* of the Delegation's question could not in any sense have been analogous to Mass for the Dead.

But that it was not analogous to it is plain from the fact that the Delegation was satisfied with the answer that "in the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice the Anglican Church prays that 'by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion,' as including the whole company of faithful people, living and departed."

Orthodox dogmatic teaching does not categorize the state of the departed and among the major innovations upon the primitive Faith with which the Orthodox indict Rome, is its Purgatorial doctrine. Orthodox theology has no terms corresponding to Church Militant, Church Expect, Church Triumphant. Indeed, the Orthodox mind cannot bear to conceive of the living and the dead as divided by sharp lines from each other.

In personal prayers and extra-liturgical services, prayer for departed individuals and for all the Departed is offered among the Orthodox

¹ That which the Delegation intended to cover by the term and, *ex sequitur* that which the Alexandrian Synod intended to cover, is shown by the statement of the Patriarch Meletios recorded in the Minutes of the Discussions, see next issue. "The Patriarch stated that the Orthodox doctrine was that one propitiatory Sacrifice was once offered for the whole world by Christ to the Father; that in the Eucharist that Sacrifice was presented to the Father. The Eucharist might therefore be called the offering of that Sacrifice, and the uniting with that Sacrifice on Calvary of those partaking in the Eucharist. But such an offering was in no sense a repeating. No Orthodox theologian ever taught that a priest celebrating the Holy Liturgy obtained by his action remission of sins, for that was the work of the Divine Mercy and if the Anglican Church wished for an Orthodox formulary repudiating Roman doctrine on that point and on the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, it could be provided."

and at times in terms which very many Anglicans would not admit. But whatever customs of the kind have been developed in popular practice, the living and the departed are bound together inseparably for the Orthodox in the mystic unity of the Whole Church. Each prays for all and all for each. The dead child for the living mother, the saint departed for the sinner in earth and the sinner for the saint. The concept of the Epistle to the Hebrews¹ prevails in reference to the Blessed Virgin herself and the Apostles "that they without us should not be made perfect." The Eucharistic Sacrifice is pleaded alike for them and for the sinner living or departed, if not for "the remission of sins" at least for the other "benefits of Christ's Passion," to wit their consummation in Bliss and Grace in the day of the Lord's Appearing.

Lex orandi, lex credendi! The sense in which the Delegation asked whether the Anglican Church accepts the Eucharist as a *thusia hilasterios* for the living and the dead is defined by the Intercession which the celebrant offers immediately after that Epiklesis or Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Oblation of the Eucharist which the Orthodox unanimously regard as marking the consecration of the Bread and Wine to become Christ's Body and Blood.

That Intercession runs: "We offer this Reasonable Service for them that have gone to their rest in Peace, Forefathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Ascetics and every righteous spirit made perfect in faith. Chiefly for our all holy, immaculate, highly blessed, glorious Lady, Theotokos and Evervirgin, Mary. And remember all those who have fallen asleep in hope of the resurrection of life eternal and give them rest, O our God, where the light of Thy countenance watcheth over them."²

Then it goes on to intercede for the living.

It is inconceivable that any Anglicans, except those who, being stampeded by their fear of that Romish doctrine of Purgatory which the Orthodox repudiate as emphatically as even our 22nd Article, condemn any and every prayer for the Departed, can challenge the statement of the Anglican Bishops which satisfied the Delegation or can reject as unscriptural the type of prayer for the Departed quoted above.

THEOLOGOUMENA.

I make no apology for the ample elbow room which I have appropriated in elucidating the terms employed by the Alexandrian Synod to sum up, and to sum up not for Anglicans but for the Orthodox, the Anglican answers to the Delegation's question.

The terms *Apostolic Succession, Mysterion, Real Reception, a thusia hilasterios for the Living and the Dead* have aroused a very under-

¹ Heb. x. 14.

² *The Divine Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*, F. E. Brightman, pp. 47-9, Faith Press.

standable anxiety among others than those who are represented by the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, and from every point of view it is desirable that there should be no misapprehension as to what the Anglican Communion was committed by the Lambeth Conference and as to what it was not committed.

But over and above that, what I have written will serve to illustrate the importance of the two principles which the Delegation adopted in the Discussions.

As to the first, enough has been said above to show that while the usage of technical terms can easily produce the semblance of disagreement where no disagreement exists, a study of the *resumé* of the statements interchanged by the Delegation and our Bishops shows that a real and unambiguous agreement was reached at Lambeth by the avoidance of such terms.

The Patriarch Meletios' frank speech emboldens me to write very plainly in regard to the necessity of the second, viz., that in the discussion of Union between the Orthodox and Anglican Church, over and above the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils, nothing should be put forward by the representatives of either, unless it is supported by the general consensus of its theologians.

That that principle was adopted also by the Anglican Bishops who conferred with the Delegation is no less obvious from a study of their statements than it was inevitable from their personnel which included representatives of every central school of thought in Anglicanism.

It is true that the existence in the Anglican Communion of contrasted schools of thought, which are often in the collision of sharp controversy, has led some Orthodox students of Anglicanism to the conclusion that the Anglican Church is a "comprehensive" Church in the sense that it does not possess a dogmatic tradition capable of precision, but authenticates as legitimate alternatives dogmatic positions which are in irreconcilable contradiction.

It is also true that they have been guided into and reinforced in that conclusion by Anglican writers who have declared such "comprehensiveness" to be both characteristic of the Anglican Communion and desirable in itself.

If the Anglican Communion may be described as comprehensive in the sense that it is tolerant of opinions which lie outside its dogmatic position, it cannot be described as comprehensive in the sense that all dogmatic teaching is alike to it.

Thus, there is every reason to be confident that, if and when the particular Anglican schools of thought get together in a clear atmosphere and, avoiding that technical terminology which furnishes our domestic controversies with their flags and munition, compare that which they respectively hold to be the dogmatic teaching of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles, they will agree (1) that

they share a common basic dogmatic position which is clearly formulated in those documents and (2) that fundamentally their mutual contradictions and oppositions consist in the conflicting interpretations which, in the light of Holy Scripture and of Christian tradition, they give to that position.

If this be so it is evident that the Anglican Communion does possess a central dogmatic position and, even though the less centrally minded members of the particular Anglican "schools of thought" regard their own interpretation of that position as exclusive, the more centrally minded regard other interpretations than their own as legitimate, if mistaken—provided always that those interpretations do not overthrow the essentially Scriptural and Catholic central dogmatic position which is the basis of Anglicanism.

In other words, we may categorize the broad stream of Anglican dogmatic teaching as consisting of (1) a central and authentic body of dogmatic teaching which is recognizable and can easily be precised and outside which the Anglican Communion requires its members to assent to nothing, and (2) a body of provisional opinions which interpret that central current and which, until a decision upon them is authoritatively precised, cannot be condemned but cannot be required of anyone.

Of course, I do not contend that the broad stream of Anglican dogmatic teaching is absolutely identical with the broad stream of Orthodox dogmatic teaching.

Even after excluding those extreme Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical and Liberal opinions which, though in apparent antinomy to authentic Anglican dogmatic teaching, are tolerated in the Anglican Communion, much in the nature of provisional opinion is left in the former which, if not incompatible with, is foreign to the latter.

The fact which I desire to bring into prominence here is this.

The Orthodox Church no more possesses an authenticated and precised summary of its dogmatic teaching than does the Anglican Communion. That is to say, over and above the limited dogmatic precisions of the Œcumenical Councils, the Orthodox Church possesses no dogmatic precisions whatever, and beyond that which the general Orthodox consensus pronounces to have been taught as authenticated by Holy Scripture and taught by the Fathers, nothing is to be accounted as belonging to the dogmatic teaching of the Orthodox Church.

The strictness with which the line must be drawn between Orthodox precised dogma and the theological opinions even of the weightiest of the Fathers is set out by Professor Zankow in this summary of the Russian Bolotov's investigation of the matter: "In his 'theses' he set forth the following: First, 'dogma' is the truth as determined by an Œcumenical Council. Second, 'theologoumenon' is the theological opinion of one or many of the holy fathers of the undivided

Church. The content of the *theologoumena* is probable truth: anyone may adhere to a given *theologoumenon* until a competent church court has decided it to be faulty; just as on the other side, no one can demand that a theologian should accept a *theologoumenon* as his private opinion. Of course, the number of the fathers who accept a given viewpoint of this nature has no significance as to its validity; still, the greater the number who defend such a statement, the greater the probability of its truth. Third, and last, comes private theological opinion. In comparison with a *theologoumenon*, private opinion has no authority. Each one is free in his personal opinion, but limited by the requirement that private opinion shall not conflict with dogma. The dogmas are: 'necessaria,' the *theologoumena*, 'dubia': 'In necessariis, unitas in dubiis, libertas.'"¹

Of course, that categorization in no way warrants the inference that the Orthodox Church is a comprehensive Church in the sense that it is open to its members to hold and to teach any and every opinion which approves itself to them.

On the contrary, the body of the *theologoumena* or theological opinions of the fathers with which as a *lex credendi* the Liturgies and other Orthodox Service books must be coupled, prescribe the general limits in which Orthodox theological thought may move.

A particular doctrine as to which there is something like agreement among the Orthodox that it is supported by the consensus of Orthodox *theologoumena*, is to be received, at least provisionally, as in effect a dogma.

Where those *theologoumena* differ the Orthodox are free to choose between them as a matter of personal opinion.

Nor, as is evident from the trend of modern Orthodox thought, are theological development and restatement in the light of modern science precluded in regard, for example, to the traditional doctrines of Revelation and of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture.²

In his 23rd section, the Patriarch Meletios dwells upon the difficulty in which, through lack of an "official statement of Orthodox doctrine," the Delegation found itself. As he put it, the Confessions of the seventeenth century, with their infiltration of scholastic terminology and of scholastic theology, are of "limited authority, and of modern theologians some are 'latinizing,' others are 'pro-

¹ I quote from Professor Stefan Zankow because, though like nearly all translations, it sometimes misses the *nuances* of the original and must therefore be read with care. Dr. Lowrie's translation of his *Das Orthodoxe Christenthum des Ostens*, Berlin, 1928, is published by the Student Christian Movement under the title, *The Eastern Orthodox Church* (see p. 40 of which for the above), at 5s., and so is available for the English reader.

² That even so severely conservative a theologian as the Greek Androutsos finds room for the Higher Criticism is noted by Gavin, *Modern Greek Theological Thought*, p. 22 and *passim*.

testantizing.'" Accordingly, so that in future Union discussions, the Orthodox representatives may be equipped with such "an official statement," he urges that one should be prepared forthwith for endorsement by the forthcoming Orthodox Pro-Synod.

Undoubtedly, if the formulation of that statement be undertaken, it will be no light task. The dogmas of the Œcumenical Councils are relatively very few and precise only certain Christological and kindred doctrines. The corpus of *theologoumena*, or theological opinions of the fathers, is great. To eliminate from it that which is to be regarded as no more than the personal opinion of a given father and to precise that which being established as in effect of the general consensus of the fathers, must provisionally be taken as dogma, would appear to be a formidable enterprise. Moreover, in spite of the general Western misconception which obtains alike among Protestants and Roman Catholics, Orthodox Theology is alive, and therefore evolutionary, and not static. Mediæval and modern Orthodox theological thought cannot be sponged off the slate and, in however safeguarded a degree, must be an interpretative witness of what is that deposit which in its faith and practice is claimed to have been preserved in Orthodoxy without "innovation, addition or diminution" from the days of the Apostles. Nor can the restatements of tradition which are called for by the empiric science of the twentieth century be ignored.

To forecast the contents of the "official statement of Orthodox doctrine," desiderated by the Patriarch Meletios, is hardly within the province of an Anglican, and especially of an Anglican who has been privileged to be nominated as a member of the Conjoint Orthodox and Anglican Commission which is appointed to continue the Union discussions begun officially between the two Churches at Lambeth last July.

None the less, it may safely be predicted that, if such an "official statement" be placed in our hands, to quarrel with it as incompatible with the central historic Anglican position will tax the ingenuity of the most extremely sectional of Anglicans and will be effected only by the repudiation of Hooker and other "fathers" of Anglicanism.

In vindication of that prediction, it is not necessary to go back to the diversities which are already developed in the writings of Bessarion and Theophylact of Bulgaria, or other Orthodox theologians of authority, between the Great Schism and the Western Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Just as in the corpus of Anglican theology from the sixteenth century onward, there are shadings off to the right and to the left

until, if reconcilable with the extreme position, the positions reached are in open conflict, so in the corpus of Orthodox theology from the sixteenth century onward, developments of thought, of terminology and of formulation have produced "schools of thought" which may be reconcilable with the common content of the *theologoumena* of the fathers, but which are in open opposition with each other.

To take, for example, the five so-called Symbolic Books of Orthodoxy. The fifteenth century Confession of the Œcumenical Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios is an apologetic drawn up for Mahommed the Conqueror; the late sixteenth century Letters of the Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II. are a polemic in controversy with the Lutherans of Tübingen; and the Confession of the Patriarch Metrophanes Kritopoulos of Alexandria, Cyril Loukar's disciple, who studied at Oxford, is an exposition of Orthodoxy, composed for the Western world.

Though they differ often in the details of the statements of Orthodox dogmatic teaching, that which has to be reconciled between them, or which has to be subtracted from them in order to arrive at that on which they are agreed, is relatively small.

The same stands true of the other two, the mid-sixteenth century Confession of Peter Mogila and the Confession of the Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem (1682), both of which were compiled as negatives of Calvinism.

But when we compare the earlier group with the later, we find ourselves taken into another theological world of Scholastic categories, Scholastic methods of presentment and Scholastic terminology and definitions.

I have not instanced the contrasts of the five Orthodox "Symbolic Books," because those documents have any peculiar authority. In fact, they are received as no more than venerable documents illustrative of the interpretations of the central, traditional Orthodox dogmatic position which were current in their day and which every Orthodox theologian is free to accept, restate, amend or reject at his discretion. I have instanced them, because, while prior to the sixteenth century, the interpretations of that central dogmatic position had already produced embryonic "schools of thought" among the Orthodox, those "schools of thought" have been extraordinarily evolved and others have appeared during the past three centuries. For although it is true that the conditions of the Greek nation's helotage to the Turks prevented much theological movement in the Greek Churches until the concluding decades of the nineteenth century, Russian theology, from the time that it comes into distinctive being in the middle of the seventeenth century, has been as diversified as it is rich and copious.

It is thus that, while readjusting and correcting the excessive

scholasticisms which render the Catechism of Mogila and the Confession of Dositheos almost incongruous with the central tradition of Orthodox dogmatic teaching, an important school of modern Greek theology is characterized by categories which are hard to distinguish from scholastic categories and nearly always by a methodology and terminology which reflect marked neo-Latin influences.

On the other hand, in Russian theology, with which both for volume and diversity modern Greek theology is not comparable—although, *mutatis mutandis*, an important Russian school of thought derives from that interpretation of Orthodoxy which was produced among the Greeks by the seventeenth century mediæval and scholastic infiltration—the predominant schools of thought have consistently endeavoured to eliminate Latin influences and to return for the starting point of their developments to the simplicity of the central, primitive, traditional Orthodox tradition, *i.e.*, to the consensus of the *theologoumena* of the fathers.

Accordingly, while in the writings of Philaret of Moscow and his successors, scholasticisms and neo-Latinisms are, if not eliminated, at least attenuated so as to be not easily discernible, when we come to study the neo-Russian School of which the great lay theologian Khomiakov¹ was the originator in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, we find everything Latin and Scholastic repudiated and dismissed with an emphasis even greater than everything Lutheran and Calvinist.

In itself, the Slav mentality recoils temperamentally from preciseness and exults in mystic and intuitive experiences, which are incapable of precise expression. In consequence, however loyally it may sustain the position assumed by the representatives of Orthodoxy in the controversies of bygone centuries, it is always in revolt against the logical deductions alike of Roman Catholicism and of Protestantism and always reverts for its starting point to the common and unprecised element in the *theologoumena* of the fathers.

The Anglican reader who desires to test this account of the oppositions between the Orthodox schools of thought to-day, will be wise to compare Professor Zankow's *Eastern Orthodox Church*² with Dr. Gavin's *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Thought*,³ which are the only two concise works of the kind in English.

Professor Zankow is cautious to state nothing as integral to the Orthodox dogmatic position, which is a development upon the common content of the *theologoumena* of the fathers.

Dr. Gavin affords us a picture of the sharp controversy which has obtained for the past thirty years between the two chief Greek schools of thought.

¹ Khomiakov was wont to say that, inasmuch as it also imposes its logical deductions as binding, German Protestantism is the correlative of Roman Catholicism.

² Student Christian Movement, 1929.

³ Mowbray's, 1923.

announced the economic acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Great Church of Constantinople and invited the other autocephalous churches to accede to that acceptance. Then, on January 10th, 1925, the Patriarch Miron Christea wrote, hopefully and kindly, but quite definitely, to the effect that his Synod must delay its decision until it was satisfied upon two points: (1) Does the Anglican Communion hold that the Church is a visible society, the members of which are recognizable? (2) In general is the Anglican conception of a *sacrament* cognate to the Orthodox conception of a *mysterion*? and in particular does the Anglican conception of Ordination satisfy the Orthodox conception of a *mysterion*?

On receiving the invitation to take part in the Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference, the Roumanian Synod accepted it with the greater eagerness because it opened the prospect of a decision one way or the other upon those two points.

Accordingly, Archbishop Nectarie came to London last June reinforced with definite instructions to insist that the Delegation should concentrate upon those two points as the agenda of its discussions with our bishops.

The prompt and unanimous acceptance of that *tesa Romana* or Roumanian thesis as soon as he posed it to them, by his colleagues of the Delegation demonstrated the absurdity of suspecting any of them as being ready to make a dogmatic compromise and brought them together.

At the Delegation's meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber with the Archbishops' Eastern Churches Committee, on July 9th, the Patriarch Meletios proposed that the Roumanian thesis should be the subject for the Delegation's discussions with our Bishops.

In due course, that proposal was communicated to and accepted by the Anglican Bishops, and the two points of the Roumanian thesis were stiffened and elaborated into four questions, the answers to which were unanimously agreed by the Delegation to be satisfactory and were implemented by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference.

In sum, Archbishop Nectarie's Report shows that the scope of the Delegation's enquiries was confined solely to the Roumanian thesis, *i.e.*, to the final removal of Orthodox hesitation on Anglican Orders, and that after stating in maximal form the requirements for their acceptance by the whole Orthodox Church as indicated by the Roumanian Patriarch, the Delegation was satisfied with the Anglican answer.

The question of Union between the two Churches which otherwise was not touched upon was left for the next Lambeth Conference.

If any Orthodox autocephalous church is not satisfied with that which satisfied the Delegation, but desires a further authoritative statement before accepting Anglican Orders clearly, that statement also can only be made by the next Lambeth Conference.

THE FOUR MEETINGS OF THE DELEGATION WITH THE ANGLICAN BISHOPS.

While I was writing the preceding paragraphs I received authority to publish the official minutes¹ of the four discussions held between the Delegation and the Anglican Bishops. Those minutes speak plainly for themselves and, though perhaps they render some of it superfluous, bear out what I have said in this article about the doctrinal statements in the *resumé* and render further comment upon them unnecessary.

THE CONJOINT DOCTRINAL COMMISSION.

A few words, however, are desirable concerning the Conjoint Orthodox and Anglican Commission to the setting up of which the Delegation agreed at its first meeting with the Anglican Bishops, and as to the Suggested Terms of Intercommunion which at the same meeting, though with the reserve that in many particulars they would require to be filled in, the Patriarch Meletios pronounced to be admirable.

Necessarily, the Conjoint Commission is not envisaged as plenary, and its function can be no more than that of investigation and of liaison.

A priori, the Orthodox side of the Delegation cannot be content with a statement of the Anglican dogmatic position made by the Anglican side of the Commission. To be accepted by it as an authentic exposition of the Anglican position such a statement must be affirmed either by the totality of the Anglican Episcopate, or synodically by each and all of the Anglican Churches. But even if the Orthodox side of the Conjoint Commission should declare itself satisfied that such a statement establishes a fundamental identity between the Anglican and Orthodox dogmatic positions, that declaration will be nothing in itself, unless and until it is implemented either through a Pro-Synod of the whole Orthodox Church or by the individual action of each and all of the Orthodox autocephalous Churches.

Of course, the above observation does not evacuate the Conjoint Commission of importance. On the contrary, once that which it is not being set up to do is realized, the moment of that which it is being set up to do becomes unmistakable.

If those Orthodox autocephalous Churches which hitherto have withheld their accession to the Ecumenical Patriarchate's acceptance of Anglican Orders in 1922 fail to implement the Delegation's unanimous declaration that it was satisfied with the Anglican answers to the questions by which it posed the Roumanian thesis in its maximal essential form, then the task of the Conjoint Commission will be something of an *opus Penelopeium*.

¹ Section II of the "Report of the Sub-Committee of the Lambeth Conference's Committee on Unity" (*The Lambeth Conference, 1930*, pp. 131-9) is a condensation of these Minutes.

It is true, indeed, that admirable and scientific though that picture is, he has made the mistake of concluding that what is common to those two schools must necessarily be integral to the general Orthodox position.

Moreover—he is at pains to state that he is unacquainted with Russian and other non-Greek theology—his general presentment of the dogmatic teaching of the whole Orthodox Church assimilates it unwarrantably to modern Roman Catholicism.

For instance, he deduces an equation of Metousiosis with Transubstantiation.

None the less, he is master of his particular subject. For example, he shows us Professor Androustos on the one hand contending that, in the Eucharist, Christ is present “really and actually *under* the forms of Bread and Wine,” and on the other hand, Professor Dyo-vouniotes challenging such an interpretation as being “based on the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation,” as pronouncing it one that “cannot be accepted in the Eastern Church,” and as protesting that “Our Lord said: ‘Take eat, *this* is my body,’ not ‘*under this* is my body.’ . . . If we repudiate in every way the Protestant attempt to interpret these words to mean *this* ‘represents, stands for’ . . . how much less may we dare to substitute *under this* for His word, ‘*this*’?”¹

However far apart the various Orthodox “schools of thought” may be, and however sharp at times the controversies of their exponents, the Orthodox laity knows nothing of them. Nor are the clergy troubled by them. That the Orthodox Church thus escapes the mischief which is done in the Anglican Communion by party spirit, by party nomenclature and watchwords and by party conflicts, is due no doubt in the first instance to the fact that oppositions between Orthodox “schools of thought” do not find expression in contrasted forms of public worship, or of private religious practice.

A striking diversity of church ritual as of private religious practice differentiates the Greek from the Russian, the Roumanian, the Bulgarian, and the Serb. But the ritual and customs of all the autocephalous churches are unaffected by the particular theological positions of the individual clergy, which are rarely anyone’s concern except their own.

Again, Orthodoxy has known no cataclysms such as our Reformation, and Orthodox schools of thought have diverged from the common position imperceptibly by theological development.

But undoubtedly the great prophylactic in Orthodoxy against the disease of “party” has been the corollary to the principle of oecumenicity, that the Church being the organ of love, its unity must be broken neither by demanding as of Faith the acceptance of any-

¹ Gavin, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-1.

thing which is not explicit in the *theologoumena* of the fathers, nor the forbidding as heresy any interpretation of those *theologoumena* which does not overthrow them.

In effect, the Orthodox Delegation put its questions at Lambeth last July in a minimal form that summarized those *theologoumena* which it held to determine the essentials of a valid Ministry. As the Patriarch Meletios puts it in his 6th section, the answers which it desiderated were not to give “that which is advanced individually as the Anglican position by this or that individual,” but were to give a summary—to borrow the term¹—of the corresponding Anglican *theologoumena*.

If the answers which the Delegation received satisfied it, and if they were endorsed by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference as giving a “sufficient account” of Anglican teaching, we may well be hopeful that the exploration of other dogmatic regions will show the Anglican Church as it is to be in dogmatic agreement with the Orthodox Church as it is.

At any rate, those Anglicans who have been perturbed by the Alexandrian Synod’s use of the term “propitiatory sacrifice,” may dismiss as chimerical the notion that the Orthodox Church is going to ask the Anglican Communion to accept a mediæval, scholastic theory of the sacraments, an *opus operatum* by the mere Laying on of Hands in Ordination, Transubstantiation, the Eucharist as a *sacrificium propitiatorium*, or any such thing.

ARCHBISHOP NECTARIE’S REPORT.

We cannot be sufficiently grateful to Archbishop Nectarie for the timely publication of his Report to the Roumanian Synod.

Unlike the Patriarch Meletios’ statement, it does not survey the problems of the Orthodox and Anglican approach towards Union, but it is no less revealing than that document to which it is complementary and with which it is of comparable importance.

Read together the two make the story of the Delegation easily intelligible and confirm what I have written in this and my preceding articles.

The Roumanian Church took over two years before replying to the Ecumenical Patriarch’s Encyclical of 28th July, 1922, which

¹ One is tempted to dream of the change which would come over British religious life if, just as all Orthodox schools of thought diverge from common *theologoumena*, so all Anglican schools of thought set themselves to converge in the formulation of common *theologoumena* beyond the acceptance of which they would demand nothing as *de fide* and no interpretations of which, that did not overthrow them, they would regard as heretical. If the Lambeth Conference of 1930 solved the S. Indian problem by the Orthodox principle of Economy, the Lambeth Conference of 1940 may resolve our party antinomies by use of the Orthodox principle of *theologoumena*.

Plainly, it will be the business of the Anglican personnel of the Commission to convince its Orthodox personnel that until the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Churches of Roumania, Hellas, Bulgaria and Poland and the Serb Church follow the example of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and, implementing the statements of the Delegation, declare that they accede to the Œcumenical Patriarchate's acceptance of Anglican Ordinations, further discussion of dogmatic agreement between the two Churches can be no more than theoretical.

But whether or not the Delegation's declarations be implemented collectively or particularly by the whole Orthodox Church, it will be the function of the Conjoint Commission to compare the respective Orthodox and Anglican dogmatic positions and, either to pronounce them irreconcilable or to draft an *esquisse* of agreement between them for confirmation or rejection on the one hand either by an Orthodox Pro-Synod or by the Synods of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, and on the other hand either by the next Lambeth Conference or by the appropriate organs of each and all of the Anglican Churches.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE CONJOINT DELEGATION.

A preliminary appointment of the Anglican personnel of the Conjoint Anglican and Orthodox Commission has been communicated to the Press, and consists in the Bishop of Gloucester, whose designation as its chairman was indicated by his distinction as a scholar, by his devotion to the cause of Reunion, by his peculiar position in the Anglican-Orthodox Movement and by the general confidence which, except the extremely sectionally minded, all Anglicans repose in him, by the Archbishop of Dublin who, as witness the minutes now published of the Discussions of the Delegation and the Orthodox Bishops, while committed altogether to the general cause of Christian Reunion, exercised the role of the *Cunctator* in the Discussions and is certain to continue to exercise it, by the Bishop of Gibraltar who, over and above his special theological ability, has had first hand contact with every type of Orthodoxy, by the Bishop of N. Indiana, who represents the American Church, which after all is more practically concerned in the matter of Anglican and Orthodox solidarity than any other of the Anglican Churches, by Professor Goudge of Christ Church, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Divinity in that University, whose detachment from theological party and persuasive impartiality are irresistible, by Canon Grensted, Professor of the Philosophy of Religion at Oxford, a typical Anglican Evangelical theologian and, however unworthily, by myself. Both as a former Chaplain at Athens and as the domestic Chaplain of its Chairman, the Rev. Philip Usher has been designated as the Commission's Anglican secretary.

In regard to the Orthodox side of the Commission, it is known that

the Œcumenical Patriarch has appointed "that admirable prelate" as our Archbishop has styled him, the Metropolitan Germanos of Thyatira as its own delegate and as the Orthodox Chairman. The Metropolitan Leontios of Paphos is to be the delegate of the Church of Cyprus, which he represented in the Delegation, and our old friend Mgr. Nicholas, formerly Metropolitan of Nubia and now of Ermopolis, who represented it at Stockholm in 1925 and at Lausanne in 1927, and is a *persona gratissima* to us all, has been nominated as the Delegate of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Metropolitan of Taikkala has been nominated to represent the Church of Hellas.

THE "SUGGESTED TERMS OF INTERCOMMUNION."

This document was drawn up in 1921 by the present Bishop of Gloucester with the help of Canon Brightman, at the request of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee. It describes the *filioque* as an illegal interpolation and prescribes that though the Anglican Church may maintain it, as it were, as its local Creed, the Œcumenical Creed must be recited without it whenever Anglican and Orthodox meet together.

Otherwise, it assumes no difference of dogmatic teaching between the two churches but proceeding largely on the sound principle of *lex orandi, lex credendi*, affords a framework for detailed agreements between them.

Its contents were not discussed with the Delegation, which, however, welcomed it and stated that its members would recommend its careful and favourable examination both by the Synods of their respective autokephalous churches and by the forthcoming Pro-Synod of the whole Orthodox Church.

THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS ON THE DELEGATION'S VISIT.

A Statement made by His All-Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria to the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate in regard to the contact in London of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches.

Translated by CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, Ph.D.,
from *Pantænos* of Dec. 11th and Dec. 18th, 1930.

(1) Since the official contact of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches which took place last July in London on the occasion of the Lambeth Conference constitutes an ecclesiastical happening of especial importance, I feel that in laying the official records of (our) particular discussions (with its members) before the Holy Synod I ought also to put it in possession of the personal conclusions and judgments which I reached as a member of the Orthodox Delegation.

(2) At the session of our Synod in the spring, when we decided to accept the invitation which his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosmo Lang had addressed to the whole Orthodox Church through the occupant of its primatial Throne, his All-Holiness, the Œcumenical Patriarch Photios, we were all conscious that it opened the possibility of a remarkable advance in the mutual approach of the two Churches. Accordingly the Synod judged that the personal participation of the Patriarch of Alexandria in the Orthodox Delegation would not be an over-emphasis of what was in hand.

Its practical result, however, exceeded our anticipation.

(3) All the particular Orthodox Churches, as soon as they received the invitation and—for the necessary time would not have been available—without arriving at a mutual agreement, were urgent to notify their participation in the Delegation which thus was constituted of delegates of the Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Serbia, Rumania, Cyprus, Greece and Poland. The absence of delegates from the Churches of Russia and of Georgia alone prevented the totality of the autocephalous Churches of the One Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church being represented in the Delegation. None the less, the consciousness was there that in spirit those Churches also took part in our prayers and discussions for the blessed work of Union.

(4) In spite, however, of this eagerness on the part of the Orthodox Churches for contact with the totality of the Anglican Bishops, none of the Delegates appeared to expect any concrete result from that contact.

Some of them, indeed, had plainly prepared themselves for the defence of the purity of Orthodox dogmas, as if they suspected some of their brethren and fellow ministers of the sacraments of a disposition to make concessions upon it.

(5) Happily there was no need of lengthy conferences among ourselves in order to establish the general conclusion that all the delegates were devoted champions of the religious tradition of our forefathers and that the Delegation neither intended to deviate—nor indeed could have taken warrant to do so—in an iota from Orthodox dogma, but that on the contrary it understood its mandate on the one hand to be the manifesting clearly through its contact with the Anglican Hierarchy the eager desire of the whole Orthodox World for the Union of the two Churches, and on the other hand a conjoint examination with that Hierarchy of certain dogmatic positions, not of the Orthodox Church but of the 'Anglican Communion' as to whether the difference between them is essential or a matter of verbal expression.

¹ [The Greek *Omologia* corresponds more strictly to *Confession*, but the Patriarch has translated Communion by it in his excerpt from Resolution 49, see §16. So I use it here and throughout.—J.A.D.]

(6) And further it was obvious, both that for the purpose in hand it was necessary to ascertain not that which is advanced individually as the Anglican dogmatic position by this or that Anglican minister, but that which the totality of the Anglican bishops agrees to be that position, and which the corporate mind of the Anglican Church accepts as such, and also that for the achievement of real Union, the necessity is not the covering of differences by means of an accommodation of well chosen phrases, but rather their elucidation through the objective criterion of revealed truth as it was believed throughout the centuries of the Undivided Church, everywhere, always and by everybody, according to the ancient definition of dogma.

(7) The spiritual atmosphere in which we Orthodox found ourselves in the English capital, was, as it were, redolent with the fragrance of the love and honour in which the Orthodox Church is held. The clergy and laity, alike in their official and private capacity, vied with each other in demonstrating in a fashion altogether spontaneous, their sentiments of esteem and of warm cordiality towards the representatives of Orthodoxy who were their guests. The reverence for the office of the Patriarch of Alexandria displayed by the general body of the faithful of the Anglican Church as they knelt with one accord to receive his blessing or at his passing through their midst during processions, was practical proof that in their hearts they believe that office to be a feature of the living body of the One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

(8) In this spontaneous reverence which everywhere and on every occasion was displayed invariably by the laity towards the Orthodox Hierarchs, we ought to discern on the one hand the source of the eager desire for the union of the Anglican with the Orthodox Church and on the other hand the potentiality of that Union. In the soul of that laity there exists no trace of doubt or uncertainty but that the Orthodox Church holds stewardship of the Apostolic Traditions and of the Grace of Christ. It is grieved and distressed when it hears or perceives that we Orthodox refuse to allow it to be a sharer in our Mystic Table. For the very reason that it regards itself as Orthodox, the idea that the Orthodox ought to be proselytized to Anglicanism is altogether foreign to its mind.

(9) On our side, in spite of our rooted prejudices as to there being a difference and even a contradiction in many things between the two Churches, we Orthodox Delegates were affected by the influence of this devout environment. When we took part in their services which were at the same time impressive and stirring, we were stirred ourselves. For as we remarked the devotion with which they were rendered and perceived the reverence with which they were read and sung, we conceived the conviction that they also are a "Camp of God." And, indeed, God's work is done by

as many of "either Camp" as labour sincerely and in simplicity of heart, for the Union of them both in one Flock under the Shepherd, our Lord Jesus Christ.

(10) It was under the influence of such reflections and experiences that after the ceremonies in the Cathedrals of Canterbury and of London, we Orthodox Delegates came together with Anglicans and enquired into the differences which separate the two Churches first at a semi-official and preliminary conference in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey and then in four official conferences in Lambeth Palace.

(11) The preliminary conference consisted of a meeting of the Orthodox Delegation with the permanent Committee of the Archbishop of Canterbury for Relations with the Eastern Churches of which the Chairman is the Right Reverend Doctor Gore, formerly Bishop of Oxford, a fervid enthusiast in the cause of Union. At this meeting the points of difference were formulated on either side which were to be elucidated at the official conferences in Lambeth Palace between the Delegation and the Committee of the Conference. For our part, we judged it to be altogether necessary to enter upon the sphere of dogma on which Union depends. On the other hand, they gave preference to certain questions involving mutual ministrations which are of pressing urgency.

(12) If through the shortness of the time available, the official conferences were limited to four, there was no need of more; for their purpose was not a detailed examination of all the differences (between the two churches) but an experimental exchange of opinions upon some of them. The preference of the Orthodox Delegation was given to those points of possible disagreement which present themselves prominently as set forth in the writings of Orthodox theologians or in the official documents of Orthodox authorities.

(13) In precised form the following questions' were put forward by us:

(a) Does the Anglican Church accept Ordination as a Mystery and its being a link in unbroken succession with the Apostles?

(b) Does it accept that the Bread and Wine become the Body and Blood of Christ? and that the oblation of the Divine Eucharist is a spiritual *thusia hilasterios* for the living and the dead?

(c) In the Anglican Church what is the body which decides authoritatively upon differences as to the Faith?

¹ [On account of the importance of the exact sense, I quote the Greek:

(a) Δέχεται ἡ Ἀγγλικανικὴ Ἐκκλησία τὴν χειροτονίαν ὡς Μυστήριον καὶ τὸν κατ' ἀδιάκοπον διαδοχὴν αὐτῆς σύνδεσμον μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων.

(b) Δέχεται ὅτι ὁ Ἄρτος καὶ ὁ Οἶνος γίνονται Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα Χριστοῦ καὶ ὅτι ἡ προσφορά τῆς Θείας Εὐχαριστίας εἶνε *thusia pneumaticḗ* ἰλαστήριος ὑπὲρ ζώντων καὶ θανόντων.

(c) Ποία εἶνε ἐν τῇ Ἀγγλικανικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ Σῶμα τὸ ἐγκύριον ἀποφαινόμενον ἐπὶ διαφορῶν Πίστεως.

(d) If a member of the Anglican Church shall have preached in contradiction of the Faith of the Church, what is his *status* in the Church? and how is it decided?

(14) Before these questions, however, we put the question as to whether the "Terms of Intercommunion," published in 1923 by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Eastern Churches Committee, were regarded by the Lambeth Conference as expressing the mind of the Anglican Church. These Terms deal with the Christian Faith, with the Canon of Holy Scripture, with the Writings of the Fathers and the Traditions of the Church, with the Creeds and Œcumenical Councils, with the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the uncanonical interpolation in the Creed, with Customs in the Church, with the number of the *Mysterios*, with the Divine Eucharist, with Orders and with sacred Ikons.

Of these Terms we discussed only those which have reference to the Ministry and to the Divine Eucharist. But it was of importance that we should know whether they are regarded as expressing the Spirit of the Anglican Church in order that they might afford us a starting point for our conference.

(15) The Anglican Bishops with whom we conferred, belonged to every tendency or school of thought in their Church, *i.e.*, to use designations easily understandable by the Orthodox, to the (Roman) Catholicizing, to the Protestantizing and to the phil-Orthodox. This composition of the sub-committee of the Conference, when the distinguished position of its members in the Anglican hierarchy is further taken into consideration, added greater value to the answers which it gave to the questions put before it by the Orthodox Delegation. Moreover, we are bound to attach even greater weight to the fact that the Conference itself, which consisted of 308 Bishops, endorsed those answers with its authority by resolving that it recorded, "Its acceptance of the statements" of the sub-committee "as a sufficient account of the teaching and practice of the Church of England and of the Churches in communion with it."²

(d) Ἐὰν Μέλος τι τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας κηρυχθῆ κατὰ τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὅποια καὶ πῶς καθορίζεται ἢ θέσῃς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Of these four questions only (a) and (c) are actually given in the summary of the discussions in *The Lambeth Conference, 1930*, where, p. 134, they appear in a slightly different form. Their Greek version as given by the Patriarch is the original which was handed in to the sub-committee by the Delegation. In it I have transliterated *ἰλαστήριος* and have not translated it by *propitiatory* because the Orthodox use of the term in no way involves the conception usually attached to a *sacrificium propitiatorium*.—J.A.D.]

¹ [S.P.C.K. In English, 1921, and in Greek and Russian, 1925.

² [I have quoted the actual text of the Lambeth Conference's Resolution 33 (c) and not retranslated the Patriarch's Greek translation of it, in which he rendered "sufficient account" by *ἀκριβῆς ἀπόδοσις* which in my judgment is a fair rendering of it. An *ἀκριβῆς ἀπόδοσις* is a generally accurate and not an *exactly* accurate account and that, I take it, is what is meant by the Conference's Resolution. The Archbishop of Thyatira, however, preferring "genuine account," I have adopted it in my translation of the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution re our Orders.—J.A.D.]

(16) The Conference was under the necessity of prefacing that endorsement with the remark that "not having been summoned as a Synod to issue any statement professing to define doctrine" it "is therefore unable to issue such a formal statement on the subjects referred to in the *Résumé* of the discussions between the Delegation and the Anglican Bishops." For, as it stated in another resolution, the Churches which constitute the Anglican Communion are "bound together not by a central legislative and executive authority but by mutual loyalty"¹—to which resolution is appended that they are so, "awaiting the time when the Churches of the present Anglican Communion will enter into communion with other parts of the Catholic Church, not definable as Anglican."

(17) That when all the Bishops of the Anglican Church come together for Conference under the presidency of their Primate, they should deny themselves the authority of being a Synod, does not enter easily into the understanding of us Orthodox. That is why we put forward our question, "In the Anglican Church what is the body which decides authoritatively upon differences as to the Faith?" The answer given that, although the co-operation of the Clergy and the Laity is not excluded, "It is the Bishops," corresponds with the organic structure of the Anglican Church in which in imitation of the English Parliament each particular autokephalous Church is administered either by two Bodies, the Council of the Bishops and the Council of the Representatives of the Clergy and the Laity, or by a single Body consisting of Bishops and the Representatives of the Clergy and the Laity. The organic laws, however, of the particular Anglican Churches prescribe that dogmatic questions and matters of public worship are to be raised and decided by the vote of their Bishops alone. Therefore, since priests, deacons, monks and laymen are not precluded in the Orthodox system from expressing an opinion in Synods, and for several Orthodox Churches ratification of terms of Union by the legislature would be required, the Orthodox Delegation declared itself agreed that on this point we are near to agreement; for it was convinced that there would be no difficulty as to agreement upon the Orthodox dogma that in the Church the highest authoritative functions belong to an Œcumenical Synod.

(18) As an evidence of tendencies making for Orthodoxy in the Lambeth Conference, we should indicate its decision as to the Scheme for the Union of the Protestant Churches in S. India with the local Anglican Church.

The matter under consideration touched the very existence of Christianity in India where the leaders of the Churches have announced their conviction that Church Unity is a necessity for

¹ Lambeth Conference, 1930, Resolution 49.

the progress of the Gospel and that otherwise the ground which has been gained is in danger of being lost. To bring about that Unity, they were agreed on the one hand that on Union the existing ministers of the Protestant Churches should be accepted without reordination, on the condition that no one in future should enter upon the ministry of the Sacraments without ordination by an Anglican bishop, but on the other hand that the tendency of the Scheme should be to secure the predominance of the Faith and Practice of the Anglican Church. Those Anglicans who advocated the acceptance of the Scheme, emphasized the fact that their objective was, through a timely concession by Economy, to establish permanently on the bases of Anglican dogma that unity which is vitally necessary. The question was burning and it was on account of it that occasion arose for the discussion of Economy which took place during the exchange of views by Anglicans and Orthodox and in the course of which it was made plain that the proposed act of *Economy* has no precedent in the history of the Orthodox Church. In the result, though the Lambeth Conference expressed its recognition of the necessity of a united front in India, it refrained from pronouncing formal approval of the actual Scheme of Union on the ground that it was resolved to avoid anything which might break the solidarity of the Anglican Communion. In effect that may be taken as an intimation that, on entering into Union with the Protestant Churches of S. India the autokephalous Anglican Church of S. India will cease to be regarded as a member of the Anglican Communion.

(19) The above are the brighter features in the general lines of the picture of the relations of the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches as they were made apparent by the opportunity of the Lambeth Conference of 1930. On the other hand that picture presents features which are darker and which put limits to our sense of optimism. Of these some are the results of the historic past of the Anglican Church, others of the present condition of the Orthodox World and others again of the hostility displayed by Roman Catholics and by some Protestants to the Union of the two Churches.

(20) The past of the Anglican Church has been stormy and much troubled not only on account of its enslavement in a foreign subjugation but by reason of its internal upheavals against authority and of disruptive party struggles which are analogous to those which rent our own Church in the periods of Arianism and of Ikonoclasm; and that past continues to-day to influence its thought and its movements. A lively desire for the recovery of the purity of the teaching of the Undivided Church is there, but the parting of the highway which leads to it into a road towards Papalism and a road towards Orthodoxy, creates an indecision as

to the choice of one or other of them. Rome stands by the signpost at that parting of the way, making the most both of the allure of a past of common traditions and ways of religious life, and of the fascination of its present evolved, world-wide, ecclesiastical, monarchical rule. In complete contrast Orthodoxy is not in evidence there. In regard to its dogmatic teaching, it is unknown; in regard to its ways of religious life, it is misinterpreted; and it is attacked by the enemies of Union as a corpse, that is corrupt and full of superstition. The ferment which began through the Oxford Tractarian Movement of a century ago, combines with this to create a certain bitterness of mutual opposition between the two elements—the Roman Catholic and the Protestant—which, without being welded perfectly together, were united in the days of Queen Elizabeth to make the Anglican Church as it is. Moreover, the precedent set by Newman who initiated the Oxford Movement for the vindication of the Holy Apostolic Church as being without a Papacy but—and his example has been followed in many cases—who died a Papist, on the one hand naturally arouses the Protestant School of Thought to counter-activity and on the other hand not only involves those charged with the supreme pastoral function in the Church in grave anxieties but renders them averse to making authoritative declarations in those cases in which through fear of the allure of Rome the current exposition of dogma has become expressed in a manner liable to misinterpretation.

(21) It is by a conspectus of this inner situation of the Anglican Church that a clear explanation is to be found as to why it is that it avoids dogmatic decisions and prefers "comprehensiveness," which indeed it regards as a thing specially to be desired of itself. Terms which have become known through the controversies of the past as being bound up with the errors of the Roman Church, it rejects categorically. Though at the same time, the doctrine which the Orthodox Church uses them to express, is itself accepted by it. Thus, *e.g.*, it agrees with our doctrine that the Eucharist is a 'propitiatory' (hilasterios)¹ sacrifice for the living and the dead, but it refuses to use the term "propitiatory" in stating that doctrine inasmuch as its association suggests the errors of Purgatory and of the transition at the Pope's good pleasure of souls from that Purgatory to Paradise. Again, Anglicans have no hesitation in accepting St. John Chrysostom's statement that the Bread and Wine are made to be² Christ's Body and Blood by the operation of the Holy Ghost, but they reject the term transubstantiation

¹ See above note on Section 13.

² [*Poiountai* equals *fiant*. It is noteworthy that Archbishop Nectarie translates by *devin* which equals become. See p. 162.—J.A.D.]

(metousiosis)¹ as belonging to Scholastic Theology and being bound up with materialistic conceptions.

(22) The relation of the Church of England with the State as it has been established in the past is a further obstacle to Union. Not only because the 39 Articles and the Prayer Book constituting a law of the State can only be revised by a law of the State, but because the history of the recent rejection of the Revised Prayer Book by the House of Commons shows conclusively that in its teaching the Church is restricted by the relationship which obtains between it and the State. The Episcopal Church of America has been freed from those restrictions and in its development has consequently assumed an expression which approximates more closely to that of Orthodoxy.

(23) For the lessening of those difficulties the Orthodox Church ought to extend a helping hand. An official statement of Orthodox doctrine which clearly defined its position between the contradictions of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism would strongly reinforce the attraction of Orthodoxy. The fact that we have to refer Anglicans to the Orthodox Confessions of the 15th and 16th centuries² and to the writings of Orthodox theologians who are received as possessing authority, constitutes a weakness in our position.

For those Confessions are imperfect and have a limited authority, and those theologians, having no certain guides beyond the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils, sometimes contradict one another and at other times demonstrably incline either to Roman Catholicism or to Protestantism. In result, when an Orthodox delegate engages in an official discussion with Anglicans he finds himself frequently embarrassed by the fact that while he cannot produce a formulated summary of the Doctrine of his Church, he starts with the claim that he speaks in the name of a Church which possesses a doctrine that has been formulated by the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils.

¹ [The Patriarch here uses transubstantiation and metousiosis as interchangeable. Very many Russian theologians differentiate sharply between metousiosis (transessentiation) and transubstantiation. About 1840, Philaret, of Moscow, ordered the term transubstantiation which had come to be used in a transliterated form in Russian text-books and catechisms to be struck out and presuschestvlenie, the exact etymological equivalent of metousiosis, to be submitted. Modern Greek theologians, however, generally use transubstantiation and metousiosis as interchangeable. But see my remarks on p. 163.—J.A.D.]

² [His All-Holiness refers to the so-called "Symbolic Books," sc. the Apologia of Gennadios Scholarios, 1453, the Letters of the Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II. to the Lutherans of Tübingen, 1585, the Confession of Metrophanes Kriopoulous circ. 1630, the Confession of Peter Mogila circ. 1640, and the Confession of Dositheos which was incorporated in the Acts of the Council of Bethlehem, 1682. The positions assumed in these books are often highly contrasted and sometimes appear to be in complete opposition. They indicate the width of the stream of *theologoumena* which are optional in the unprecised region of Orthodox dogma. Although these Symbolic Books are received with reverence by Orthodox theologians, they are received by them rather as important historical documents which must be studied critically and as in no sense binding in their *theologoumena*.—But see my own preceding article.—J.A.D.]

(24) The Rumanian theologian, the late M. Dimitrescu, developed the need of an official Orthodox Confession very eloquently at the Pan-Orthodox Conference of 1923 in Constantinople and such a Confession is an indispensable requirement for the progress of the negotiations for Union of the Orthodox with the Anglican or, indeed, with any other Church. Accordingly the drafting of such a Confession so that a General Orthodox Council may find it ready prepared and may invest it with the highest Pan-Orthodox authority, is one of the most pressing duties of the approaching Orthodox Pro-Synod.

(25) The very difficulty with which we approach the undertaking of the holding a General Synod itself constitutes an obstacle to the work of Union. It is now twelve years since the Anglicans were told that a General Orthodox Synod is imminent and that it will give an official reply to their desire for Union. Of course, there is no lack of good reasons to justify the delay, but it is none the less true that the Romeward current among the Anglicans draws strength from the fact that there is a general perception of the powerlessness of the Orthodox Church to convene a General Council in accordance with its doctrine that both in its particular jurisdictions and as a whole the Government of the Church is on the synodical principle. This powerlessness of ours to convene a General Council is interpreted as the outcome of a spirit of excessive racialism which has made its way into the Orthodox World. Indeed, in this spirit of division among us Orthodox, many Anglicans of authority see a further obstacle to Union, namely, national rivalry. For, accustomed as each of the Orthodox laities is to regard its particular Church and Nation as being one and the same, it is bound to carry its national rivalries into the consideration of the problem of the Union of Churches and to scrutinize as to what particular advantage it stands to gain for its Nation, or its neighbours stand to gain for their Nation, from any given Union.

(26) Further the Anglican Church is but little known in the complex of the Orthodox Church as a whole. The great majority of the Orthodox laity confuses it with Protestantism and fails to understand how it is that while we combat Protestant heresies, we discuss Union with it. Moreover, there are not a few among the responsible leaders of Orthodox public opinion who, when they hear talk of Anglican High Church, Broad Church and Anglo-Catholic Church parties, imagine that that nomenclature signifies the existence of separated and self-constituted Anglican Churches and ask with which of them there is a project for our Union. Accordingly, inasmuch as it is to be assumed as a principle that Union must come not alone as the fruit of mutual understanding between those who exercise the supreme pastoral function in the two Churches, but no less as the fruit of the mutual knowledge of their

peoples, it is easy to perceive that in this respect also the path to Union is not without obstacles.

(27) And further, over and above these difficulties which originate from Anglicans and Orthodox themselves, must be added those which originate from sources that are inimical to their Union, namely from Protestants and Catholics. There can hardly be need for me to say that the Union of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches is regarded with ill will by those engaged in the propaganda of the claims of the Papacy to be the divinely constituted and supreme monarchy in the Church. But the same is true also of those Protestants who are engaged in winning adherents for those Churches known as "Free Protestant Churches" and who being at variance with the Anglican Church in their common country, do not scruple to accuse the Orthodox Church of being even worse in its superstitions than the Roman Catholic Church. Their only purpose in this is to distract the mind of their rival. Roman Catholics, however, also regard the movement for our Union with the Anglicans with ill will because they suspect it as being directed against their Church, that is to say in effect against their principles.

(28) Of course, from the fact that, since in its theory the Papacy interprets itself as a Unique World Empire, it has adopted the programme of bringing every denomination of Christianity, large or small, into subjection to the sceptre of the Pope, it follows naturally, that it looks upon every act of Union other than with itself as being counter to its plans. None the less, though the consideration that their Union would make them stronger to resist the attacks of Roman Catholicism must find a place in the Orthodox and the Anglicans' plans of defence, the paramount motive in their movement for Union is not fear of Rome against which both Churches have conducted each its own defence successfully for centuries, but is the longing for each other's help in the field of the Lord and therein for the advance of the spirit which seeks General Christian Union.

(29) For if to the Roman propagandist every act of Union other than with his own Church signifies a setback, to the Orthodox and to the Anglicans who desire union and not annexation, it signifies a lessening of the distance to the goal of the realization of our Lord's Prayer, "That they all may be one." Moreover (it is our belief), that when once convinced that there exists a surer road to General Christian Union than the road of subjugation, Rome itself will retrace her way and accept that position which she held in the Undivided Church and which both Orthodox and Anglicans keep vacant for her. None the less, the simple objectives of the Orthodox and the Anglican have no appeal to the Papalist's mentality. In their movement towards Union, he can see only an activity directed against his own Church and will endeavour

to paralyse or retard it by any and every means—and he has many such at his disposal—ecclesiastical or political. It is the special duty of those who are engaged as leaders in the work of our movement to keep this fact anxiously in mind, but everybody who is interested in the movement's favourable issue must do the same in order not to be unprepared for the shock of reverses.

(30) The above difficulties originate in human inability; but, in spite of them, the work is predestined by Heaven to develop until to the Glory of Christ our God, it reaches the blessed consummation of our longing. Both the present Primates of the two Churches, the Œcumenical Patriarch Photios and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosmo Lang, are Pastors worthy of their mission. In the Theological Commission which, according to the proposal of the Anglicans and Orthodox who conferred at Lambeth, they are now engaged in constituting with a *personnel* of theologians of authority drawn from both Churches, they will supply the movement with a suitable controlling executive. If the judgment of Photios the Great that "In cases where the thing disregarded is not a matter of faith and does not involve a falling away from any general or catholic decree, where different customs and usages are observed in different places, a man who knows how to judge would be right in deciding that neither do those who observe them act wrongly, nor those who have received them break the law" be accepted as a postulate of their discussions, then with the aid of the prayers of both Churches, there will be no difficulty in finding the road by which we shall be guided into Unity of Faith and the knowledge of the One Lord Who is blessed for ever.

✠ MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

¹ [This passage is quoted as supplying the right principle in Term IX on the Variety of Customs in the Church in the Suggested Term of Intercommunion, p. 9, S.P.C.K., 1921.]