

The Christian East

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

EDITED BY THE

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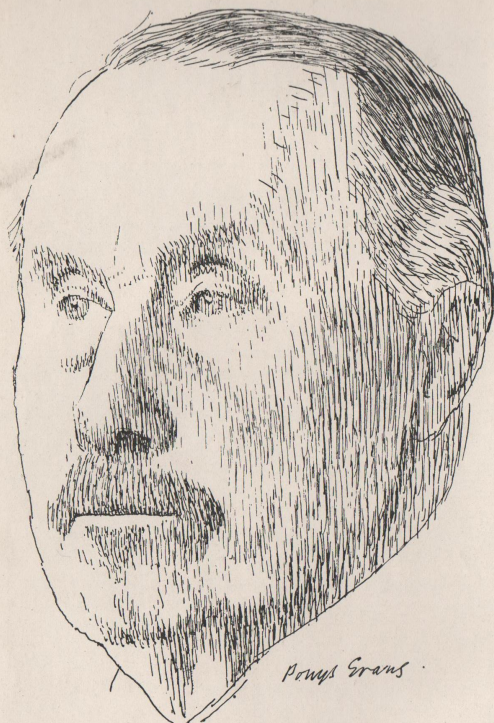
CONTENTS

No. 1.	PAGE
DESIGNATION AND CONSECRATION OF A RUSSIAN BISHOP.—By A RUSSIAN BERLIN CORRESPONDENT ..	1
THE OECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.—By JOHN A. DOUGLAS, Ph.D. ..	4
CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE ..	34
ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF GREECE.—By PROFESSOR HAMILCAR ALIVISATOS, of the University of Athens ..	40
REMEMBER RUSSIA!—By ESTELLE BLYTH ..	47
No. 2.	
THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA, A.D. 325.—By B. J. KIDD ..	49
THE CITY OF THE CREED.—By CANON DOUGLAS, Ph.D. ..	60
A RECENT VISIT TO NICÆA.—By R. F. BOROUGH, CHAPLAIN, Crimean Memorial Church, Constantinople ..	66
TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF RUSSIA, R.I.P.—By B. TIMOTHEIEFF ..	71
THE PRESENT DANGER TO THE OECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.—A speech delivered by the Lord Bishop of London at University College, London, on March 17th, 1925 ..	78
HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.—By HOFFMAN NICKERSON ..	84
METROPOLITAN MICHAEL: THE GREATEST SERBIAN PRELATE.—By D. S. MARITCH ..	91
THE PHENOMENAL RENEWAL OF EIKONS IN RUSSIA.—By J. A. DOUGLAS ..	94
ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE ..	102
CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE ..	109

THE NICÆN COMMEMORATION	113
EIRENIKON FROM THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	114
AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND ANGLO- CATHOLIC CONGRESS PILGRIMAGE, BEING THE GREAT ADVENTURE OF 1925.—By G. NAPIER WHITTINGHAM, Hon. Secretary of the Pilgrimage	116
THE GRAND DUCHESS ELIZABETH THEODOROVNA OF RUSSIA.—By MADAME ALEXEIEV	170
LITERATURE WORK IN THE NEAR EAST.—By THE REV. W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE	174
THE RUSSIAN WHITE CROSS SOCIETY AND MOTHER EUGENIA.—A SKETCH OF PAST AND PRESENT ACTIVITIES	176
CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE	185

No. 4.

A. AND E.C.A. ANNIVERSARY	193
THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.—A SERMON BY THE LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK, PREACHED FOR A. AND E.C.A. IN SOUTHWARK CATHEDRAL, 17TH NOV., 1925	197
EAST AND WEST.—A SERMON PREACHED BY CANON H. L. GOUDGE, D.D., REGIUS PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, FOR THE A. AND E.C.A. IN ALL SAINTS', MARGARET STREET, W., ON WEDNESDAY, NOV. 18TH, 1925	201
THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AND SEMINARY OF ST. JAMES, JERUSALEM.—By THE REV. H. HAROLD BUXTON	205
THE SAINT OF CORFU.—By E. KEPHALA	211
THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCHES AND ANGLICAN ORDERS. —By THE REV. C. B. MOSS	216
CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE	219
OUR BOOKSHELF	226
THE ALEXANDRIAN ELECTION.—By THE CANON J. A. DOUGLAS	233



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DESIGNATION AND CONSECRATION OF A RUSSIAN BISHOP.

By a RUSSIAN BERLIN CORRESPONDENT.

UNTIL last year, when for the first time a Bishop was elected and consecrated for Berlin in the person of the Archimandrite Tikhon—whose civil surname is Lyashenko—the senior priest of the Russian Parish of Berlin, the Russian Church had never in all its long history possessed an Episcopal Throne in Western Europe. Much less had it consummated the Sacrament of an Episcopal Consecration outside its own jurisdictional boundaries.

The Metropolitan Evlogie, Archbishop of Holm and Volniya, it is true, had been appointed in 1921 by the Patriarch Tikhon's mandate to be Metropolitan of all Russian Churches in Western Europe, but no city had been specified as that of his Throne.

In 1923 the Metropolitan Evlogie decided that the elevation of the Archimandrite Tikhon to the Episcopate was desirable and forwarded a petition to the Patriarch Tikhon for authorisation to consecrate him. The Patriarch replied in the affirmative, but his answer was not received by the Metropolitan to whom its sending only became known later through the private letter of a correspondent who had discussed the matter with His Holiness.

In August, 1923, the Russian Episcopal Council which met at Karlowicz, the Palace of the Patriarch of Jugo-Slavia, and is the highest Church authority for Russians outside Russia, decreed the erection of Episcopal Thrones in the principal capital cities within its jurisdiction, and, as the first, the erection of an Episcopal Throne in Berlin.

In consequence, the Episcopal Synod which is in continual session at Karlowicz, authorised the Metropolitan Evlogie to proceed with the consecration of his nominee, the Archimandrite Tikhon, both as Bishop of the newly-created jurisdiction and as Metropolitan Vicar of Western Europe.

In Russia itself an Episcopal Consecration is a solemnity of considerable rarity, and, being always consummated in capital cities, hardly ever takes place in the presence of the flock for whom the consecrand is designate. Nor is the Bishop designated by his future people.

The Consecration of the Archimandrite Tikhon, however, was not only consummated in the midst of his particular flock, but the fact that the latter had twice addressed a designation to the ecclesiastical authorities made his consecration a peculiarly intimate matter to those present and added personal emotion to its natural impressiveness.

By Canon Law Episcopal Consecration cannot be administered by less than two Bishops. The Metropolitan Evlogie had therefore invited Bishop Sergios, the president of the Russian Parish of Prague, to attend in Berlin for the rite.

The Russian Church of Berlin not being large enough to hold the whole Russian colony, admission to the ceremony was by ticket, among those attending being the German Ministers of Cults, of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior, together with the Anglican Chaplain and representatives of the various German Protestant denominations.

The Designation took place at 5 p.m. on the eve of the Consecration in a crowded church before the singing of the All-night Vigil.

After the Metropolitan Evlogie and Bishop Sergios, robed in mandyas and the lesser vestments, had proceeded from the altar, *i.e.*, the sanctuary, to an ambo—a platform—specially constructed in the centre of the nave, and had taken their seats, the Protodiakon conducted the Archimandrite to the place assigned him in front of the ambo. The deputy or Chancellor of the Eparchal Jurisdiction then read the Act of Designating the Archimandrite Tikhon to be Bishop in Berlin, and the latter having knelt to receive the blessing of the two Bishops, delivered the appropriate discourse to his flock. To be a Bishop of the Russian Church in the days of its Golgotha, he told them, was a hard thing. But since they had designated him three times he could not refuse what seemed the vocation of God's Holy Spirit. The circumstances of the time and of their exile moved many of those who heard his simple and touching words to tears.

The short prayers which are only recited by Bishops were then sung and the Ceremony of Designation concluded with repeated cries of "Long years to the Patriarch Tikhon, to the Metropolitan Evlogie, to Bishop Serge and to the Archimandrite Tikhon."

Next morning at 9 a.m. the Metropolitan Evlogie and Bishop Serge, in full vestments, having taken their seat on their Thrones upon the ambo before the Liturgy began, and the Royal Doors having been opened, the Russian Archimandrite John and the Greek, Leontios, solemnly led the newly-designated Bishop, robed in mandyas, from the altar and placed him in front of the ambo upon a tapestry in which was woven, as prescribed, the picture of a huge eagle, flying over his cathedral city. When, in accordance with the rite, the Metropolitan Evlogie had asked him why he had come to

him and he, standing on the eagle's tail, had replied, "To seek consecration by the laying-on of hands," the Metropolitan bade him make profession of the Orthodox Faith and he recited the Creed. That form of question and answer was repeated twice, the Archimandrite standing next on the eagle's body and finally on its head, and making at each answer an increasingly emphasised profession of the Articles of the Faith, each of which, uttered in his sympathetic and penetrating voice, moved the crowded congregation intensely.

The Archimandrite then received the Consecrating Bishop's blessing, and having been led inside the eikonostasis by the two Archimandrites, took his stand upon the episcopal eagle-carpet, and the Liturgy began.

After the Little Entrance, the Archimandrite, who had come into the nave by the Door of the Prothesis, was solemnly conducted with his Consecrators through the Royal Doors, the whole assembly loudly and emphatically testifying its assent to his consecration with threefold cries of "Axios" ("He is worthy"), knelt before the Holy Table and placed his hands upon it. To the soft and humble singing of the ancient Kyrie Eleison, the two Bishops then laid their hands upon his head and he received that Grace of the Episcopate which has been passed down through the ages in the Apostolic succession.

At that moment it seemed to many as if the Apostle, St. Andrew, who appeared to consecrate the infant Russian Church at Kiev, was bodily present in the Church.

After the prayers of the laying-on of hands had been said, the Consecrators proceeded to vest the newly-consecrated Bishop Tikhon, whose cheeks were wet with tears, in his episcopal robes and mitre, and the church rang again and again with the reiterated chanting of "Axios, he is worthy."

At the conclusion of the Liturgy, the Metropolitan Evlogie proceeded to the steps of the Royal Doors, and having spoken to the people a few words of hope and encouragement, transmitted his pastoral staff to the new Bishop with the words: "I deliver this Staff to thee as a sign of thy possession of full episcopal power and authority. Let it not only be to thee a support of thy weakness, but let it also in thy hands, as did its pattern in the hands of Moses the servant of God, strike the living waters of Divine Doctrine from the Rock and scatter the dark forces of the enemies of the Church of God."

Thereupon Bishop Tikhon, having received the Staff in his hands, took his place upon the ambo and commenced to bless the congregation, every member of which crowded to him to express their delight at his consecration and their personal devotion to him, so that he remained for a long time blessing them.

The whole ceremony occupied exactly three hours.

THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.

BY JOHN A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

IF it involved no other consequence, the expulsion of the Œcumenical Patriarch himself from their dominions on January 30th by the Angoran authorities would signify the putting a period to the masterly attitude of inactive hostility which they have observed towards the Patriarchate as an institution since the abdication of Meletios IV. in November, 1923.

At the time of writing, the end of February, it is true that nothing more than this has happened. On the ground that he was not resident in Constantinople before October, 1918 (*i.e.*, the date specified at Lausanne), Angora scheduled the Patriarch as liable to "exchange," *i.e.*, to expulsion. The Mixed Commission of Neutrals, Turks and Greeks, charged under the Lausanne Treaty with adjudicating on doubtful cases of "exchangeability," decided that in his individual capacity he was liable to exchange, but declared that, in view of Ismet's pledge at Lausanne in regard to the maintenance of the Patriarchate at Constantinople, his liability to "exchange" as a Metropolitan-Synodal was a question beyond its competence. Accordingly it refused to issue the papers necessary under the Treaty for his legal expulsion, and, except by those who had information as to what had been determined upon at Angora, it was assumed that the business was ended. The matter would be referred, according to the Treaty's provision, to the Hague Tribunal, by which, since in 1918 all Metropolitans of the Patriarchate were domiciled under Ottoman Law at the Phanar, and especially since, let alone the Patriarch, the Metropolitans-Synodal are indispensable to the functioning of the Patriarchate, the Turkish claim would be dismissed in due course. Mustapha Kemal, however, knew what, if the case reached the Hague, would happen, as well as the optimists. He had not been bluffing, but had been proceeding according to plan, his objective being a step towards the final de-hellenisation of Constantinople by making the position of the 200,000 Greeks whose presence in that city he had only conceded after a protracted struggle at Lausanne, impossible through the turkification or expulsion of the Patriarchate. If the Patriarchate could be turkified, and they remained, it could be used to destroy their Hellenic consciousness. If it were expelled, they would be left without a centre. Accordingly, in spite of the representations of Great Britain, the Turkish police roused Constantine VI. from his bed at 6.30 a.m. on January 30th, bade him dress, hurried him into the Conventional train, escorted him to the Thracian frontier, and sent him unceremoniously across it into Greece. Since then, Angora has refused stiffly even to consider a note from the Greek Government proposing that, under

the Treaty of Lausanne, the legality of its action should be referred to the Hague, Shukhri, its Foreign Secretary, informing his Parliament on February 22nd that the affair is purely internal, that there is no ground for complaint, and that he would receive no advice to accept the Greek demand for arbitration from anyone whatever. Meanwhile, the Greek Government has protested and has appealed to the League of Nations, the competence of which to intervene has been explicitly rejected by the Turks.

That, whatever be the upshot of this rough-handling of the Patriarch, things can be the same again with the Patriarchate, is clearly impossible. In the unlikely event of Constantine VI. being allowed by the Turks to return to his cathedral city, he can do so wisely only with defined guarantees. If the suggestion put out in Constantinople communiqués be adopted and a Turkish subject, acceptable to Angora, be elected in his place, it will be easy to make the institution an instrument facile and ready for the use which Mustapha Kemal designs for it.

But before considering the future, it will be well to sketch the history and characteristics which make the fate of the Œcumenical Patriarchate the concern not only of the Greek nation, nor even of the Orthodox world, but of the whole Christian Civilisation.

ORIGIN OF THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.

Under the heathen Emperors of Rome the great capital cities of the provinces were in the relation of mother cities to the churches within their spheres of influence, but their consequent jurisdictions over them were varied and ill-defined. The establishment of Christianity by Constantine the Great resulted in the working out of the ordered system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which obtained throughout the *Œcumene*—*sc.*, the Roman Empire in its widest limits—until the Great Schism of 1054 and which still obtains in the East to-day. The lines on which that system was based were settled by the labours of the first four Œcumenical Councils (Nikæa 325, Constantinople 381, Ephesus 431, Chalcedon 451), and started from the traditional jurisdictions spoken of above.

In 325 there was no central jurisdiction, but Rome was the ecclesiastical mother city of Western Europe, and, as the capital of the Œcumenical Empire of Rome, was vested with a certain pre-eminence throughout the Œcumenical Church. Alexandria was the natural mother city of the lands of Egyptian culture and Antioch of those of Syrian, both of which cultures, being comparable to the Greco-Latin, were fixedly averse to being merged in it.

Accordingly, the First Council laid it down in its sixth canon that the bishops of those three great *metropoleis* should continue in the exercise of their existing prerogatives,¹ which with the power of the

¹ The term used, *ἐκκασία*, is technical for the functions of an ecclesiastical institution.

Christian Emperors behind them, soon became full and defined rule and jurisdiction. Further, the same canon added that "the churches of the other *eparchies* should keep their prerogatives"—the reference being doubtless to *metropoleis* such as Carthage, the independent mother city of Africa, to Ephesus that of Asia Minor, to Herakleia that of Thrace, to Constantia that of Cyprus, and so on. Though they appear to have exercised less jurisdictional authority in their *eparchies*, these "other churches" and their *eparchies* appear to have acknowledged neither factual nor theoretical jurisdiction over them on the part of any of the three greater *metropoleis*.

Though—the bishops of the *metropoleis*, as all bishops and clergy, having become officials of the State, the interest of which was to strengthen their authority—their prerogatives in their respective *eparchies* were not only increased and defined, but were henceforth enforced by the secular arm, the First Council thus left the divisions of jurisdiction on their traditional lines.

In the next 150 years, however, the succeeding three Œcumenical Councils, the authority of which for the purpose was held to be incontrovertible, made radical emendations in the Œcumenical system in order to meet the exigencies of the epoch. Ephesus, Herakleia, and other autonomous *metropoleis* were subordinated to greater jurisdictions, and Jerusalem,¹ which had not been autonomous, received equality with the three great sister *metropoleis*. But neither then, nor subsequently at any time, was the inevitability of the exercise of jurisdiction by Rome in the West, of Alexandria in Egypt, or of Antioch in Syria, questioned.²

The arrangements subsisting in 325 had been the result of a natural growth, and not of legislation, which the First Council wisely recognised to be avoided unless necessary. Moreover, they were adequate and logical in their time. That they ceased to be so was primarily the direct consequence of the foundation of Constantinople as New Rome, the twin, and except in precedence, the equal sister capital with old Rome of the Œcumenical Roman Empire.

To appreciate the consequences of that epoch-making event upon ecclesiastical polity, it must be remembered that in the theory which was appropriated from the heathen Empire and was held through the Dark and Middle Ages, the Empire of Rome was unique, was divinely ordained and was destined to absorb the whole earth. In other words, it was Christendom, the dominion of the Christ,³ and the Emperor was His Vicegerent, a *mixta persona*, consecrated and

¹ The Jerusalem Patriarchate was never strictly a pastoral Patriarchate, but was raised to that dignity to be the guardian of the Holy Places.

² At one time Sicily and South Italy—Magna Græcia—were included in the Constantinople Patriarchate, their forced latinisation being one of the immediate causes of the Great Schism.

³ Lord Bryce's book, *The Holy Roman Empire*, remains the best exposition of this theory.

possessed of divine authority and power, not to intrude in the teaching or sacerdotal functions of the priesthood, but, being vested with the swords spiritual and temporal, to see to it that the Divine Law ran in Church and State, which were not separate entities, but bilateral aspects of the *Civitas Dei*.

It may be that Constantine had never envisaged the possibility that his new Rome would become the sole seat of the *Cæsares Augusti*, his sacrosanct successors and, therefore, the factual capital of the sacred Œcumenical Empire. Before his day, though in theory indivisible, the Imperial office had often been held conjointly by a college of Emperors, each resident in different areas of the Empire, and, though issuing proclamations, etc., in the names of the whole college, in fact ruling over his own territories. That division of office and responsibility had become almost customary until he himself was left sole Emperor. That he anticipated its persistence is evident from his associating his three sons with himself as *Cæsars*, and in his will naming them as conjoint Emperors. That the arrangement of a Western Emperor in Old Rome and of an Eastern Emperor in New Rome would be the permanent order must have been his expectation.

In the event, however, the barbarian invasions which had already commenced before the fourth century, submerged the West when it was lost to the direct rule of the Empire. When, in 476, Odovacer, the Goth, forced the last Emperor in the West to resign, he sent the Imperial insignia to Zeno in Constantinople as a token both that he recognised his own kingship to be subordinate to him and that he was left sole ruler of the Œcumenical Empire.

Constantinople, which, as the sister capital of Christendom, must have held a splendid destiny, was thus left its sole Metropolis. While Old Rome, first in the hands of the barbarians and then recovered, 552, to be for a century and a quarter the jealous satellite of its younger sister and rival, kept its sabbaths of relative desolation and insignificance, its material prosperity knew no limits.

The populous and intensely wealthy lands of the East, such as Egypt and Asia Minor, poured their riches into it. As the administrative and economic centre of the Empire, its influence exceeded that of Old Rome in the reigns of the early *Cæsars*. But above all that—and while Constantine had laid it out to be so, his successors equipped it with incomparable buildings and ransacked the earth to find artistic treasures and renowned monuments to adorn it—as the city of the residence of the Emperor, the Augustus, the sacrosanct Vicegerent of Christ, it was *ab incepto* a Sacred City. Vikings spoke with awe of it as Mucklegarth. The heathen Russians knew of it as Tsarigrad, the Empress City, and in the end were won to Christianity by the accounts of the almost supernatural glory of its magnificence and of the worship of its great Mother Church. The ephemeral

princedom and kingship, which sprang up in the West, did not reckon themselves valid until they had received a delegated authority from its far-away Emperor, who could not have sent a single *spatharios* against them. Like Odovacer, our own Egbert sought and obtained recognition from it, and wore the Eikon of its Augustus of the day on his royal robe.

The might, glory and world-wide renown of Christian Byzantium and its Sacred Empire may be read in the writings of that modern school of historians, of whom Charles Diehl is the chief and which, like excavators, have dug through the layers of prejudice and belittlement which were the product of Latin *odium theologicum* and caused Gibbon and his successors to make a caricature of its story.

When, therefore, though its decision was grudging in the West, by its third canon the Second Œcumenical Council—Constantinople, 381—gave its bishop or, (since Ephesus and Herakleia had in practice passed under his jurisdiction, as he was already beginning to be called its Archbishop and Patriarch, the second place of ecclesiastical honour at the Old Rome), it was only adjusting the Œcumenical system to urgent existing facts. And, when the Fourth Œcumenical Council (Chalcedon, 451) defined that decision further in its 28th canon, which, like the sixth of the Second Council was cavilled at west of the Adriatic, no one within the limits of the existing rule of the Œcumenical Empire could or did question seriously the wisdom and rightfulness of its action.

Moreover, the decision of Chalcedon, which has neither been superseded nor supplemented by any Œcumenical enactment, not only made *de jure* the Patriarchate which the Archbishop of Constantinople already exercised *de facto*, and so placed that city in the same category as the existing four great *metropoleis*. It also gave him jurisdiction—a most important function—over “the churches among the barbarians”—*sc.* outside the theoretical bonds of the Œcumenical Empire.

A century and a half later, *circ.* 591, in expression of the fact that the Western Patriarchate, though still in theory within the *Œcumene*, having all but passed from the direct rule of the Emperor, the functions of initiative, communication, etc. within the Œcumenical Empire were exercised by the hierarchy of the remaining and factual Œcumenical Metropolis, John the Faster, the Patriarch of Constantinople of the day, adopted the style of Œcumenical Patriarch.

That development, which, though also received grudgingly at first in the West, was accepted in the East as right and proper, and ultimately won Œcumenical acquiescence, like the adjustment of ecclesiastical organisation effected by the Council of Chalcedon in recognising the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 451, was no more than the legalisation of existing facts.

By the end of the sixth century, therefore, the offices and function

of the successors of St. Chrysostom on the episcopal throne of New Rome had received broadly their present definition.

As Bishop of Constantinople, or rather as Archbishop—for the City had local suffragan bishops who stood in a peculiar subordination to him—he had pastoral jurisdiction over its clergy and people, and as Patriarch he had metropolitan jurisdiction over the population of a vast territory. In addition to these two offices, he exercised a certain undefined function as the ecclesiastical centre of unity within the realm of the Sacred Œcumenical Empire, and on that account was charged also with jurisdiction over whatever Christianity existed outside the frontiers of Christendom, *sc.* of the theoretical dominion of Christ's Vicegerent, the Emperor.

The many vicissitudes of the thirteen subsequent centuries have made no essential change in those three characteristics.

THE BREAK UP OF ŒCUMENICAL UNITY.

The policy of the Empire, which from the fourth to the ninth centuries used the Church as an instrument to denationalise and to hellenise its peoples of non-Hellenic cultures, ended in the fifth century by provoking the adherence of the Egyptians and Syrians, at least in name, to the current Christological heresies. The consequence was a schism within the Empire which has become permanent—the Coptic and Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Churches of to-day, representing the mass of the people of Egypt and of Syria, which was organised by the end of the century into a rival Œcumenical Church with its Patriarchates Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, and the Orthodox Church of to-day, in those countries, with its three Patriarchates representing the minority, the Melkites (Syr., *melek*, king) as they were called from their obedience to the Emperor. That this, the first open rupture in the unity of Œcumenical Christianity, became incurable, was due to the rise of Islam in the seventh century.

The founder of that religion, it should be noted, declared that Christianity, though afterwards perverted, had been a true revelation and was a preparation for it, and accordingly appropriated to it the concept by which the Sacred Œcumenical Empire regarded itself as an unique, providential, divinely ordered theocracy, destined to extend its rule over the whole earth.

Community of culture and of speech—Arabic and Syriac are closely akin and both were largely spoken in Egypt—made possible the amazing ease with which the first five Khaliphs of Mohammed imposed Islam upon Egypt and the Syrian lands from Babylon to Palestine. By the end of the seventh century, though they failed in their supreme task of capturing Constantinople, the whole of non-hellenic Christendom in the Near East was within their dominion,

and was lost for ever to the rule of the Œcumenical Cæsar. Those conquests were primarily due to the fact, that as the people of Constantinople were afterwards to prefer deliberately the Sultan's turban to the Pope's tiara and for all their sufferings were never to recant their decision, the Egyptian and the Syrian had welcomed the Green Flag in order to escape hellenisation.

The break up of the Œcumenical Empire in the East was followed by the emergence of a second rival, Christendom in the West.

The practical final abandonment of Old Rome by Constantine Pogonatos at the end of the seventh century facilitated an evolution from the chaos of centuries in Western Europe, which culminated in Charlemagne's Consecration by the Pope and Self-Coronation as Cæsar in St. Peter's on Christmas Day, 800 A.D. In theory, he and his successors claimed to be the Western colleagues of the Emperors in the East. In actuality, however, they never received more than a lip-recognition from Constantinople, where the increasing ascendancy of the Papacy in Western Europe, coupled with the formulation of its claims to universal supremacy, made their Empire to be regarded not only as upstart but as schismatic in origin and character. In the two centuries of bickering which ensued, the sharp antithesis of East and West was always material and sometimes formal, so that the final excommunication of the Œcumenical Patriarchate by the Papacy in 1054 only set the seal to a Schism which has remained secular, its root cause having been not the *Filioque* but the Papal claim to supremacy *de jure divino*.

Viewed from the ecclesiastical angle, that Great Schism meant that thenceforward Christendom was divided into three mutually exclusive Churches, each claiming to be the only true Church, namely, the Churches of the East in Communion with the Œcumenical Patriarch, the Papal Obedience and the Egypto-Syrian Church. On the other hand, viewed from the political angle, its result was that, just as the Melkites, being a minority of a minority in those territories of the three lesser Patriarchates which had become Islamic, the flock of the four Eastern Patriarchates which were within the actual boundaries of the Œcumenical Empire had been left almost entirely Greek, or at least of Hellenic culture, so now, the Communion with the West having been lost, the Orthodox Church, as the Constantinople Communion came increasingly to be called, was in danger of being, not international, as was the Papal Obedience, but almost entirely national.

In other words, it was threatened, in effect, with being confined to the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and if that jurisdiction had not been extended beyond the frontiers of the Œcumenical Empire, would have included only Greeks or hellenised allogenes.

The Bulgars and Slavs, however, who had settled in the Balkans, as also the Slavs of Russia, had been converted to Christianity in

the ninth and tenth centuries, and under the 28th canon of Chalcedon, "as Churches among the barbarians," had been incorporated in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Bulgar and Serb Tsardoms which sprang up and gave place to each other from the twelfth century to 1453, each set up their own Patriarchates, the former at Trnova, the latter at Ipek. But Russia remained content to receive its Metropolitans from Constantinople, and the policy of the Empire having changed from hellenisation to permeation by religious and cultural influences, not only Russia but also the Balkan Tsardoms regarded themselves as within the orbit of Constantinople and were content to acknowledge the Œcumenical function of its Patriarch.

FROM THE GREAT SCHISM TO 1453.

From the Great Schism to the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. in 1453, the history of the Œcumenical Empire is the history of an extraordinary struggle to persist, conducted with amazing vigour and tenacity, against two powerful and inexorable enemies and rivals—Islam on the East and Papal Europe on the West.

The mission of destroying and of replacing it, which had been tacitly abandoned by the Arab Khaliphates after their two abortive attempts to capture New Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries, was resumed by the Turks, who began to appear as the sword of Islam in the eleventh century and established themselves in Asia Minor, *sc.* in the really Hellenic lands and within the confines of the Œcumenical Patriarchate itself. The first Turkish conquests were of the so-called Seljuks, who, after the preliminary devastations and massacres which are necessitated by the Turkish character, settled down at Nikæa and elsewhere and surrendered to those more humane Arab influences of Islam, which were themselves derived from the Syro-Egyptian cultures. The Seljuk Sultanates were extinguished by the Crusades, but the sack of Constantinople by Innocent IV.'s Crusaders in 1204 and their occupation of the Metropolis of Eastern Christianity, with the substitution of a puppet Papal Emperor and a puppet Papal Patriarch for the legitimate Emperor and Patriarch who fled to Nikæa, the City of the Creed, and waited there until the usurpation had passed, broke the Œcumenical Empire's strength in its own homelands.

The history of the last three centuries of the Œcumenical Empire's existence is the history of little more than of its continually growing weakness and shrinking until its limits became little more than the famous walls with which, far back in 406, Theodosios II. had girded Constantinople. While its Latin enemies filched its territories and harassed it to the maximum of their ability from the West, the Ottoman Turks, so-called after their thirteenth-century eponymous hero and Sultan Othman, took up the old task of Islam

on the East. Through the lack of Turkish mental capability to give it, the *coup de grâce* was indeed delayed until the 29th May, 1453, when the Ottoman Sultan, Mohammed II., stormed Constantinople and the Œcumenical Empire was at last, after eleven hundred and twenty-seven years, extinguished in the blood of the last of the Palæologi, Constantine XIII., who fell in the breach of the hitherto virgin walls of the Œcumenical Metropolis.

That happening, which even though it may be said to have contributed to the Renaissance of Western Europe, has proved a memorable catastrophe to Christian civilisation, closes the first volume of the History of the Œcumenical Patriarchate.

By the end of the sixth century the Throne of Byzantium, which before Constantine had been that of a simple suffragan bishop, had been transformed by the evolution of historical processes into the equal sister of the Throne of the Old-World Capital, and had become the Throne of the recognised Metropolis of that varied Eastern Christendom which was practically identical with the Sacred Œcumenical Empire. Schism, first with the non-Hellenic Eastern Christianities and then with Old Rome and the West, having divided Christendom into three Churches, each with the pretension to be exclusive of the other two, it was left alone as the centre of unity and primatial see of a Church, which, though it could still claim, in the technical sense, to be Œcumenical, was isolated and, except for its recent barbarian converts, was both Greek altogether, and, as to nineteenth-twentieths of its people, within the Constantinopolitan Patriarchal jurisdiction.

Much exaggeration and some nonsense has been written about a "Cæsaropapism," which is said to have characterised the Œcumenical Empire, and to have made the Œcumenical Patriarch a puppet of the Emperor.

The concept of a single theocratic world state—an Empire which was Christendom—of which Church and State were not contrasted divisions but bilateral expressions of the one entity and in which the Emperor existed as a *mixta persona*, a Vicegerent charged with seeing that all law conformed to the Divine Revelation and that the Divine Law obtained in every activity and relation, has happily vanished from the earth. But in their 1100 years the Emperors rarely overstepped the proper limits of that theory and such intrusions as they made into the region of the spiritual were for the most part successfully resisted by the clergy of their dominions, led by the Œcumenical Patriarch. A summary of the history of the Œcumenical Patriarchate under the Empire thus shows that, allowing for the Patriarch being the second person in the vast and complex administrative machinery which the Imperial tradition had created, his offices and functions were essentially the same in 1054 or 1453 as after the latter date or as they are to-day.

THE EFFECTS OF TURKISH RULE UPON THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.

The Turkish Conquest subjugated the Œcumenical Patriarchs and their historic flocks to a grinding helotage, but, while in no way invalidating my last remark, had three effects which, without touching its theory, produced great alterations in the life of the Orthodox Church and possessed great implications for the Œcumenical Patriarchate itself.

I. While the Arab conquest of Egypt and the Syrian lands had reduced communication between their Orthodox population and Constantinople to a minimum, and in the three centuries previous to 1453, the setting up of the Bulgar and Serb Patriarchates, which claimed to be autonomous, had cut the non-Greek Balkans off from the Patriarchate, the greater part of its own jurisdiction in Asia Minor had been for two centuries in the hands of the Turks.

The fall of Constantinople restored the Patriarch to his proper flock, and the Balkan Tsardom, being overwhelmed before the final cataclysm, the Bulgars, Slavs and Roumanians came again under his Patriarchal jurisdiction. Further, Sultan Selim I., who, taking over the succession from Mutawakkil, the last of the Eastern Arab Khaliphs, transmuted the Turkish Sultanate into a putatively universal Turkish Khaliphate, having added Egypt and the Syrian lands to his dominions in 1516, the three other Eastern Patriarchates were thus again in the same Empire with Constantinople. The exercise of the Œcumenical function of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, which had been made easier by that fact, was further facilitated by the *millet* arrangements which will be described below.

II. On the other hand, while solidarity among the Orthodox within the Khaliph-Sultanate was restored, communication with the rest of the Christian world became thenceforward always difficult and sometimes perilous. The Constantinopolitan Patriarchate was thus cut off in a large degree from Russia, a portion of its immediate jurisdiction. This isolation from a portion of its actual territory was intensified by the fact that the Russian Grand Prince, Ivan the Terrible, having married the niece of Constantine XIII., declared himself the heir of the Byzantine Empire, and, adopting the title of Tsar, initiated that tradition which made the recovery of Constantinople and the reconsecration of St. Sophia the hope and calling of the Russian Tsardom. If fear of the Russian Tsars sometimes mitigated the oppression of their Christian helots by the Turks, it also made the latter perpetually suspicious of every communication between the Œcumenical Patriarch and his Russian flock. In consequence of this, no less than of the growing magnificence and power of the Tsars, the Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II., acting in concert with his three brother-Patriarchs, proclaimed, in

1589, the already practically autonomous Church of Russia to have become an autokephalous and sister Patriarchate and its Metropolitan to have taken the place of the Patriarch of Old Rome in the College of five Patriarchs specified at Chalcedon in 451.

Apart from the special rich and vitalising contributions which Russian Church life, Russian thought and Russian mysticism left free to evolve for themselves, have made to Orthodoxy, and apart from its repercussions in general European history, the erection of the Russian Patriarchate, with its ultimate power and numerical majority in the whole Communion, delivered the Orthodox Church from the danger of becoming simply ethnical.

The precedent so set was followed in the seventeenth century by the constitution of the Serbs, who trekked into the Austrian dominions with the successor of the old Patriarchs of Ipek, and of the Roumanians in Transylvania, into the autokephalous Patriarchates of Karlowicz, Hermannstadt and Czernowicz, and in the nineteenth, on the carving of sovereign national states out of Turkey in the Balkans, by that of the erection of autokephalous Metropolitan Churches for Serbia, Greece, Roumania and Bulgaria, their co-nationals in Turkey, of course, remaining under the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Since the Great War two of these latter, having absorbed their co-nationals in Austria-Hungary, have declared themselves Patriarchal, an elevation which connotes simply an increase of extrinsic dignity and of intrinsic authority.

There is no canon law to the effect, but it is now held as a broad rule of economy that in any sovereign state which possesses an Orthodox majority, the Patriarch or Synod of the mother Church assenting, the local national Church should receive autokephaly. Where there is no Orthodox majority, the national Church becomes autonomous, *i.e.*, remains subordinate to its recent centre of jurisdiction, or becomes so to the Œcumenical Patriarchate—there is a controversy as to which—but otherwise exercises the fullest internal freedom.

These recent developments have given the Orthodox Church as nearly a supra-national character as is probably realisable.

III. In the ancient world, and especially in the Near East, communities of different and highly contrasted religions were not only included in the same state, but were interspersed in the same localities. In consequence, since these several religions were racial in character as well as in origin and their distinctions were manifest not only in outlook and *statuts personnels* but in language and even in dress, and since, just as the relations of a pig-eating Hindoo with a cow-eating Moslem are usually confined to-day to necessary business and so on, and the two do not live side by side easily, the peoples of different religions in an ancient State formed each what in reality

was a little world of its own. That meant that, while they must not transgress the laws or prejudices of the nation among which they dwelt, non-indigenous minorities were allowed inevitably not only freedom to practise their rites, but also to have their own systems of education, their own religious judicature to administer their laws of marriage and inheritance, and so forth. Religion, therefore, in its wider and old-world sense included the whole of a man's personal as opposed to his civic life, and every city and countryside contained religious communities, each with legally established internal autonomous economy. Obviously, that system was a natural and spontaneous *modus vivendi*, and not a concession to Statecraft. Nebuchadrezzar could transplant the Jews, but to convert them into Babylonians did not enter his head, and its refusal to legalise the early Christian communities, whatever the motive, was the ground alleged by heathen Rome for legalising their persecution. From time immemorial, therefore, the criterion of nationality as contrasted with citizenship in the East has been Religion.

The recognition of those elementary and imperious facts explains the ease with which Egypt and the Syrian lands passed to Islam, and why the relatively small armies of Mohammed's first five Khaliphs were received by the non-Orthodox majorities everywhere as deliverers from hellenisation. There is no instance in history of the sudden forced, wholesale conversion of a civilised nation from its own religion to that of a conqueror. Just because a nation cannot change its ideology and customs at any bidding, an attempt of that type produces invariable resistance, if only the resistance of sheep.

In Egypt and the Syrian lands it would have been met with a desperation which, without help from the Byzantine Army, would have broken the impact of Islam. Moreover, the native Christians removed, those countries would have been desolate wildernesses, and Islam needed their culture and their industry. Permeation and infusion were the only policy possible.

On the other hand, if, as has been said, Islam had taken over the character of an Œcumenical Empire, it had taken it over with a vengeance. It was the Dar-es-Salaam, the House of Peace, pre-ordained to fight against the Dar-el-Harb, the House of War, *sc.* the rest of the world, until it had subdued and absorbed it. Those who by predestination did not enter it, must be wiped out.

The setting the conquered Christian the choice of death or conversion was evaded, and their good-will won by the provisions that when Christians—and Jews—submitted to the Green Flag, they should not only be spared their lives but safeguarded in their religion, *i.e.*, in their nationality, and that an agreement with a Christian must be held binding on a Moslem until the former broke it.

The monks of Sinai still possess a letter sent them by Mohammed, bearing his own sign-manual and said to have been dictated by him

to the Khaliph Ali, his son-in-law, which guarantees toleration to the Christian *Din*, i.e., Religion in that wider sense, which includes education, *statuts personnels*, judicial arrangements, and so on.

Possibly that document—which Selim I. knelt to kiss as the most precious relic in Islam—is spurious, but, with the germane texts in the Kur'an, and the charters issued by Mohammed's first five Khaliphs to the Christian communities of Persia as well as of Egypt and Syria, it forms a fundamental of the Shari'at, sc. the Sacred Law of Islam, which is itself an explication of the Kur'an by the Ulema or doctors of Islam, and with which the laws of every true Moslem State must conform.

Accordingly, it was not from statecraft, but under the inexorable Shari'at that, from the earliest Moslem times, the Christians of every country, brought under the Green Flag, have invariably been offered and have received "capitulations" which permitted them to remain Christians, to retain their churches, and to organise themselves into legal communities for the conduct of their educational system and the administration of their *statuts personnels*. Such communities, the respective spiritual heads of which must, by Mohammed's prescription, preside over and represent them to their Moslem masters, were known as *millets*, i.e., languages, and their members as *rayah*, i.e., cattle of the herd.

Such Christian *millets* were, of course, nowhere in equality with Islam. In a Moslem land a Christian had no rights, for rights could be possessed only by a Moslem. If the Christian received the toleration prescribed by the Shari'at, he must reckon it a concession of mercy and condescension. If he were heavily taxed, if he disliked the regulations for dress or demeanour laid down for him by his masters, if occasionally he were subject to harsh treatment, he must remember that he only lived at the good pleasure of Islam, and that he was a being essentially inferior to the Moslem.

Still, if the toleration of the Shari'at, as applied to the Egyptian and Syrian Christian, permitted their grinding oppression and degradation, no Arab Khaliph, other than mad Hakim, the Druse, ever spoke of abrogating it altogether, and even he was compelled by his Ulema to abandon his plans for destroying the Christian *millets*. It was probably far more through apostasy for the sake of obtaining the advantages of being Moslem than through any actual persecution or fear of persecution that the numbers of the Christians of Egypt and the Syrian lands sank from many millions to a few hundred thousand.

The Ottoman Sultans who conquered Asia Minor piecemeal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had greater need of Christian *rayah* than had the Arabs of the seventh century in their conquests, for their numbers were exiguous, and they themselves, in their ignorance of commerce, agriculture and the arts of settled life, were as much lower in the cultural scale than the Arabs as were the Greeks

of Asia Minor of the thirteenth century superior to the Egyptians and Syrians of the seventh century.

They were also shrewdly conscious of the danger of driving the Greeks with their great tradition of arms and the Armenians with their extraordinary native courage to despair. Above all they knew that the one thing they had to fear was that the Greeks might be driven by harsh treatment to make that surrender to the Popacy—the abortive 'Union' Ferrara-Florence, 1438-9, was familiar—which would bring Western Europe to their rescue. Accordingly, at every stage of the growth of the little Ottoman Sultanate, founded in Bithynia by Ertogrul, to its final conquest of Constantinople, it granted the Christians the capitulations enjoined by the Shari'at until in 1453 its Christian *millet* coincided with the Œcumenical Patriarchate and that hierarch was the *millet bashleri*, i.e., its head.

Subjugation to the Turk, therefore, brought it about not only that the Œcumenical Patriarchate recovered effective oversight of his own proper Patriarchate but that he was placed at the head of the Christian *millet*—the *Roum millet* as it was called in Ottoman parlance—first in that Patriarchate and subsequently in the three other Eastern Patriarchates.

The functions with which the Œcumenical Patriarchs became invested as heads of the *millet* were described during the Conference at Lausanne by the Turks and lesser organs of our Press, such as the *Daily Mail*, and other apologists as "political." They were so in no reasonable sense. That Lord Curzon and his British colleagues at the Conference not only allowed the misleading use of the term to pass unchallenged but actually employed it themselves, must astound those who have considered the matter.

In England to-day, as in France and other Western countries, we who scarcely trouble to know the religion of our neighbours and are latitudinarian in regard to inconsistencies, have plentiful experience of the hardships inflicted by a single state law for questions relating to *statuts personnels*, such as divorce, and by a single state system of education. In a Moslem State with a considerable Christian minority, or *vice versa*, such a legal equation is impossible. In India we have always conceded Moslems their special schools, law courts, etc., under their own management. France, which had set out to make French citizens of the Algerines in 1892, by bringing them under ordinary French law courts, had to abandon that cherished project and to restore the independence of the Moslem community in such matters. And so on. A polygamist Moslem cannot administer the marriage law of Christian monogamists. Moslem inheritance rests on the Arab tradition as adapted in the Kur'an, Christian on Roman as adapted from the Bible. Moslem education is governed entirely by the Shari'at, and to educate Moslems and Christians in

the State schools of Turkey is to educate the latter in a Moslem atmosphere.

The "political" functions with which the Patriarchate was invested in 1453 were simply those religio-social functions which no Moslem could be conceived as exercising towards the huge Christian population which had surrendered to the rule of the Sultans. They were these:

- (1) Supervision of the judicial administration of the *millet's* marriage and testamentary laws;
- (2) Supervision of its educational system;
- (3) Supervision of its charitable and ecclesiastical endowments;
- (4) Its representation to the Sultan.

The first four of these functions were not arbitrary, but constitutional, and *mutatis mutandis*, had been exercised by the Œcumenical Patriarchs under the Emperors. Before 1453 bishops in their dioceses had exercised them in the first instance and the Patriarchs in their Patriarchates had supervised their actions. The simple change was that, whereas the Œcumenical Patriarch had acted as the Emperor's assessor in the final appeal, he was now with his Synod the sole Supreme Court, and that he made his representations not to the Christian Emperor but to the Moslem Sultan. Indeed, Mohammed, the Conqueror, showed practical wisdom in allowing the great officials of the Empire, such as the Grand Logothete or Recorder, who had dealt with matters involving *statuts personnels*, to be perpetuated in the Œcumenical Patriarch's Court.

Under the Turks, therefore, the Œcumenical Patriarchs were not only able to exercise their ecclesiastical functions in a measure greater than that possible to their immediate predecessors, but through their functions as *millet bashleri* became in a real sense the symbolic head of their nation.

FROM 1453 TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Though holding an office of great practical importance and authority the Œcumenical Patriarch continued to exist under the Turks only because he was indispensable to his masters.

The admiration expressed by writers such as Voltaire at the tolerance with which the Sultans permitted the Patriarch and the *rayah* to live their lives and to enjoy the exercise of their religion in Moslem Turkey was altogether as misplaced as the regrets of Tala'at and the Young Turks that the old Heroes of Islam had not exterminated them were based on an impossibility. Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the attempted elimination of the Christian *millet* would have evoked a desperation which, without the help of Russia, would have eliminated the Turk himself. But apart from all that, open contempt for the Shari'at would have produced a revolution in Islam itself.

Consequently, the most fanatic Sultans never failed to do lip-

service to the prescription of the Founder of the Kaliphate. With that limitation, however, they treated their *rayah* as roughly as they dared from the first, and again and again violated the letter of its provisions. Thus, as his Ottoman predecessors had done in every city which they captured, Mohammed II. seized the finest churches in Constantinople, and with them St. Sophia, in 1453, and turned them into mosques. In 1514 Selim I. did the same by all the Christian churches in the city except one. Twice, at least, in 1515 and in 1624, the Sultan of the day, and his Divan, prepared to massacre the Christian *millet* out of hand, and was prevented only by the plain warning of the *Ulema* that Islam would not tolerate so open a violation of the Shari'at. In general the larger letters of the capitulations were observed, but within their limits the oppression of the *rayah* by the Turks was grinding, persistent and altogether degrading—e.g., a *kharatch* or poll tax had to be paid annually by every Christian for leave to continue to "wear his head"; churches must not have bells; a Christian must not sit without permission in a Turk's presence; special forms of dress; the riding of a horse or carrying a gun were forbidden to the *rayah*; once every five years the blood tax of one boy out of every five under seven was collected from the Christians, and the children so selected were brought up as Moslems; whatever the outrage, a *rayah* could not be accepted as a witness against a Moslem; a Christian, an apostate to Islam, could only return to the faith of his fathers at the price of death, and a *rayah* who repeated the *takbir*, "There is but one God and Mahommed is His Apostle"—as witness the solemn decision of the Sheikh-ul Islam as late as 1908 in the case of a girl age 12—was such an apostate; and so on.

Thus the Christian *millet* constituted a sort of underworld, interspersed with the Moslem, but in quite another plane. This Turkish bondage, though it varied in different times and places, produced through its grinding misery a shrinkage of the *millet* comparable to that which, as has been noted above, had been going on in Egypt and Syria from the seventh century. The estimate which I have given elsewhere, is that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the *rayah* had been reduced to from a fourth to two-fifths of their numbers in 1353. As to how far that result ensued from apostasy or from the taking of its womenkind into harems it is impossible to gauge, but the fact that the Turks are not prolific, but none the less increased their numbers throughout the period, points to considerable conversions, while throughout the country there are still communities of Stavriotes, of cryptic Christians who, from fear or for its advantages, outwardly accepted Islam.

The marvel, indeed, is that the crass stupid brutality of the Turk, when he is cruel, being to that of the Arab as a scorpion to a whip, the *millet* persisted at all. The explanation is to be found in the tenacity with which its Greek element clung to its intellectuality,

a characteristic which accounts also for the swiftness with which, once the National State had been constituted in the peninsula, its people took their place among the most progressive nations of the Modern World. Any intelligent visitor to Turkey before the War must have noted the effects of the excellent educational system with which—as distinct from American and other Western colleges and schools—the Patriarchate had equipped its *millet*, but of which the Sultans had allowed the growth grudgingly, the usual danger of suspicion and jealousy on the part of a dominant race towards progress on the part of a subject race making its erection appear dangerous.

Those were not conditions under which wise and strong Patriarchs would attempt great things. Their business was to hold the *millet* to its faith and to the consciousness of its nationality and so to preserve their people from extinction. Several were deposed at the Sultan's whim, and others were maltreated or murdered in his panic. Some, no doubt, were weak and venal, but very many were men of ability, courage and sagacity, and we may reasonably be inclined to reckon the finest chapter in the long history of the Patriarchate to be those centuries of severe repression, in which they showed infinite patience and often no small heroism. Under the Turks the Patriarch's strength has always been to sit still.

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The Balkan Wars of Liberation which, with the French Revolution and British Constitutional Progress, were the fruit of the European Liberal Movements of the eighteenth century, brought about a transformation in the organisation of the Orthodox Church without touching the theory which it had derived from the 28th canon of Chalcedon and has conserved immutably. As has been noted above, on the constitution of the several National Balkan States, the Œcumenical Patriarchate passed over its jurisdiction within their areas to autokephalous National Churches, each of which, being freed from Turkish repression, is producing in its theological schools, its slowly reviving monasteries, its local church life, art and literature, its own special contribution to modern Orthodoxy. In consequence the Orthodox sodality of many nationalities—Greek, Russian, Jugo-Slav, Latin-Rouman, Bulgar, Albanian, etc.—is capable of making an unique and varied, if unified, contribution to a future common Christianity of the world.

If that transformation involved a narrowing of the territorial jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, it also heightened its significance as the Centre of Orthodox Unity; but in no way did it relieve its urgent duty of static quiescence. Even with their economic dependence upon the Christian *millet* and with the satisfaction rendered by their possession to their pride and luxury, the sanctions of the Shari'at had been only just adequate in the past

to restrain the outbursts of the fear of suspicion felt by the Turks towards their *rayah*, who at the close of the eighteenth century still formed the majority of their Empire.

The successful risings of their helots in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the Balkans roused them to a frenzy of passion and panic which, the Slavs and Roumanians being confined to countries where there were few Moslems, but the Greeks being interspersed as a majority or an appreciable minority throughout Thrace and Asia Minor, which were at the heart of their Empire, knew no limits against the latter.

The word was passed round, accordingly, that the *rayah* had forfeited their capitulations by rebellion, and the Greek victories of 1824-5 were followed by the letting loose of an armed rabble in every great city to massacre its Greek community, with the help of the soldiery. The people of Christian Chios, for example, were extirpated or sold into slavery—lads and girls from the island were sold in Smyrna for a piaster, less than 4d. !—to the number of 10,000, and upwards of 40,000 Greeks were butchered in Constantinople and Smyrna before the indignation of the European ambassadors, especially the threat of armed intervention by the Russians, compelled Mahmoud II. to order a halt.

The next fifty years were years of respite to the Christian *millet*—thanks to the minatory attitude of Russia and to the facts that, while the Sultans dared not alienate the British and French sympathy which at that period alone stopped the Tsars from revenging 1453, the Greeks themselves preferred what, it appeared, would only be a temporary prolongation of the Sultan's rule in Macedonia, Thrace and the Smyrna vilayet to the absorption of Asia Minor and the Balkans into the Russian Tsardom.

The shifting of the European Balance of Power which ensued upon the setting up of the German Empire under the hegemony of Prussia, ended that position. Gladstone's passionate denunciations, first of the Bulgarian atrocities, and then of the Armenian, deprived the Sultans of British protection, and the rôle of Turkish protector, thus abandoned, was assumed for Germany by Bismarck secretly and by William II. openly, it being made clear that armed intervention to punish massacres of Christians would entail an European War.

The Sultan of the period, Abd-ul-Hamid, who displayed preternatural acumen in gauging just how many *rayah* he could massacre with safety, was no more than the exponent of that policy of extirpating Christianity from the Turkish Empire which had been suspended in 1825, but which the loss of more than half the Balkans had stereotyped in the mind of the governing classes among the Turks.

If anything mitigated the hatred of the Young Turks for the Red Sultan, whom they finally deposed in 1910, it was that they out-heroded him in that policy. The Balkan Wars of 1912 which cost

Turkey Salonika, Macedonia, West Thrace and the Aegean Islands, stiffened their minds, so that to Tala'at and his colleagues the freedom of dealing with the *rayah* behind the fog of the Great War was not the least of the inducements which led them to enter it.

There is no need to give details here of the sending heralds in 1915-6 through the Armenian countryside to announce that those of that doomed race who did not embrace Islam would be deported, of the march of the death-columns, of the ineffably horrible fate of women and children, or of the doing to death in one way or another of more than a million Armenian *rayah*—men, women and children.

The thing which needs stressing is that, though the Young Turks were mostly materialist atheists of the lowest Paris *boulevardier* pattern, and though they openly avowed their intention of rectifying the costly mistake of "the old Turkish heroes" in allowing Christians to survive and be forefathers to the rebels who had dismembered their Empire, they claimed that it was their duty to extirpate the *rayah* in the name of Islam, inasmuch as, while tolerated under the Shari'at, they had been false to the capitulations, and had attacked the Kaliph in the rear when he was engaged in a *Jihad*—it will be remembered that one had been proclaimed—or Holy War against the Allies. *Post hoc, propter hoc.*

It is the case that some thousands of Armenians did join the Grand Duke Nicholas in his first victorious invasion of Turkey, and though the decision to uproot the Armenian race from its homeland had been taken a month before, that fact served to silence the protests of the more devout Moslem Turks as well as to strengthen the propaganda of the Khaliphate agitation in India.

King Constantine being the Kaiser's brother-in-law, and being determined to keep Greece, which might have changed the course of the War in its earlier stages, and certainly played a no small part in bringing about the Turkish *débâcle* in 1918, and German policy having a great use for Greece, the Greek *rayah* were safeguarded by William II.'s influence until King Constantine had been expelled from Athens and, Mr. Venizelos being in power, Greece entered the War in 1917 on the side of the Allies.

Turkey was then suffering from the preliminary defeats and weariness which preluded Allenby's great drive and in the end made her sue for a separate peace, and the Kaiser still desired to make things easier for his brother-in-law's restoration, but those factors were insufficient to restrain Tala'at and his Cabinet from ordering extensive Greek deportations on the Armenian pattern. The work was in progress, nearly half a million Greek *rayah* having been marched from their homes and more than a hundred thousand having perished by hardship and the sword, when the Armistice caused the flight of the Young Turks and Constantinople was occupied by the Allies.

In October, 1918, the air was full everywhere both of President

Wilson's Fourteen Points and of the Doctrine of Self-determination. Greece had taken the Allies' part at the most critical moment. The Armenians had fought for them. Both nations had suffered intense agonies. More than a million folk of their blood had been done to death in consequence of their decisions. French and British statesmen had declared that Turkey must pay the penalty of her treachery in 1914 and of her brutal treatment not only of her *rayah* but of their soldiers taken prisoner in Mesopotamia and Palestine or at the Dardanelles. It seemed altogether certain that when the final settlement was made, the cities and territories in which the Greeks predominated in numbers as in economic importance, such as the Constantinople, Smyrna and Trebizond vilayets and as Eastern Thrace, would either be allowed to incorporate themselves in the Kingdom of Greece or would receive autonomy under the aegis of the League of Nations, and that the Armenian refugees would be restored to their own homelands.

Those anticipations, however, were destined to be rudely disappointed. The Christians of Constantinople received the Allied Fleets as deliverers, flagged their houses, and lined the streets to cheer their Union Jack and Tricouleur—the deceptive tokens of a Liberation which had been dreamed since 1453 but had not in fact arrived. At the insistent request of M. Clémenceau and Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Venizelos sent Greek forces to occupy Smyrna and its hinterland. Europe, and with it the Turks, expected news every day of the reconsecration of St. Sophia as a symbol that the Turkish Tyranny had passed for ever.¹

The Sultan and the Old Turks at Constantinople were amenable enough to the wishes of Sir H. Rumbold and his colleagues, and a single British Sergeant with a straw in his hand could have ruled Asia Minor.

But nothing happened, and, as the months dragged on, it became plain that the Allies were at variance among themselves over the Near East.

U.S.A. was sick to death of President Wilson, and American concession-hunters were getting ready for an economic exploitation push which, according to Mr. Bierstadt,² was in essence more Imperialistic than the Imperialism which the Trusts were stirring the American Puritan States to discover and combat in the Allies.

Having seized the purely Greek Dodecanese in 1912 and being jealous of potential Greek maritime power in the Levant, Italian chauvinism was determined to prevent the union of Greek Epirus with the Hellenic State and to get the Greeks out of Smyrna.

¹ It is stated that to the great wrath of his Foreign Office M. Clémenceau yielded in April, 1919, to Mr. Lloyd George, and assented, but used an ecclesiastical *démarche* that the Church belonged by right to another Confession than the Orthodox, so to withdraw.

² *The Great Betrayal.* Hutchinson, 1925.

French tradition had always visioned a paramount rôle in the Near East for France and on account of its fruits in cultural and political influence, the historic French Protectorate of Papal interests in the Turkish Empire was valued by the Masonic half of France no less than by the Roman Catholic. Moreover, the Quai d'Orsay, always in rivalry with Downing Street in the Near East and with a new ambition to make France the first Moslem Power in the world, was thoroughly suspicious of the predominant part played by the British Armies in the Syrian campaigns and of the leadership assumed at Constantinople by the British Navy. Always more friendly to Turkey than to Greece, French diplomacy now regarded the latter as the cat's paw of Great Britain, and set itself to oppose its expansion.

In England, the fictitious Indian Khaliphate agitation which was strong only because it aided the Swaraj movement, reinforced the lingering clubman's superstition that, the Turk being a gentleman, his *rayah* are not worth considering, and the strong anti-Orthodox ecclesiastical influences which were making themselves felt in Government circles. War-weariness was everywhere, the Unionist Party was naturally desirous of bringing the Coalition to an end, and Mr. Lloyd George, who was committed to the policy of "cutting out the Turkish cancer," had lost his mandate from the country. Finally, MM. Clémenceau and Poincaré, embittered by the veto given at Versailles to Marshal Foch's plans in regard to the Rhine, were looking forward to getting more sympathy from his successor, and the francophil Northcliffe Press was working for his overthrow.

The Near Eastern question thus became involved both in Paris and in London with Mr. Lloyd George's personality. When procrastination could be protracted no longer, and the Sèvres Treaty was published in August, 1920, it was plain to all who followed events that, though he had been strong enough to win a victory in its production, its ratification would be very difficult.

In effect, its provisions gave Greece the Greek lands of Turkey in Europe up to Chataldja (*i.e.*, all except Constantinople) and the Smyrna vilayet. U.S.A., France, and Italy were to receive as mandated territories those three parts of Asia Minor in which the *rayah* were numerous.

France and Italy took possession of their share, but President Wilson's critics prevented America doing so.

The long delay had had its effect, and Mustapha Kemal, who had already formed the Turkish Nationalist Party at Angora, now repudiated both the Treaty and the Sultan, and, having gathered a following, became a rallying centre to the disbanded Turkish Army. Even in 1920 a relatively small force could have dealt with him, but nothing was done. Italy first and then France withdrew from Asia Minor and left him their munitions. The Bolsheviks entered into alliance with him and supplied him with money and stores. Con-

cessionaries became his champions in Europe, and, in return, though the goods were never delivered, received large promises from him. Guns, stores, and instruction officers were shipped him from France and Italy. And so on.

He thus became the pith ball of the occult anti-Greek and anti-Lloyd George coalition, and by a series of extraordinary events was changed in a couple of years from an adventurer into the Dictator of a restored Turkish State.

His great hour came in September, 1922. Smarting under his failure to bring Mr. Lloyd George to heel in the business of the Rhine, M. Poincaré, who had succeeded M. Millerand as French Premier, put the overthrow of the former as a first end. In England the weariness of the Coalition had become nausea. Finally, the Greek Army was at sixes and sevens in its division of allegiance between Mr. Venizelos and King Constantine, and on its Smyrna front no general could trust his staff and no colonel his rank and file.

Accordingly, every conceivable factor conspiring to help him, Mustapha Kemal broke the Greek lines at Afium Kara Hissar in September, 1922, and swept down on Smyrna with the deliberate intention of purging it of its predominant Christian and Greek tradition and people.

Details of the Smyrna holocaust are unnecessary here. It will be enough to say that, the city having been sacked systematically for three days, under the eyes of American and Allied ships of war, as of the *Daily Mail* and other correspondents, and 100,000 at least having perished by massacre, the Greek and Armenian quarters having been burnt out, 160,000 men and lads were marched up country to disappear from human ken, and relief ships were permitted to carry the surviving 300,000 women, children and old men away to Greece and other ports of the Levant. Many thousand Smyrniate women and girls are supposed to be still in slavery in the Asiatic hinterland.

Paris, inspired by M. Poincaré, was inclined to believe that, if Smyrna had been burned, its own people must have burnt it, and beflagged itself in Kemal's honour. In London the Rothermere Press, faithful to the Northcliffe tradition, set the pace and, seeing in the bankruptcy of Mr. Lloyd George's Near Eastern policy the instrument to break his Government, the various political groups, opposed to the Coalition, acclaimed the Turkish achievement.

Whatever Mr. George's shortcomings, it will always be quoted to his credit that, with Lord Curzon, he stood firm at the psychological moment. When Ismet Pasha, with Nur-ed-Din, who had presided at Smyrna, in the rear and Kemal in the conning-tower, moved up to Mudania near the Marmora, he preferred the risk of an armed conflict with the Turks in which at best England would have received no help from France and Italy, to handing Constantinople over to them.

The wire fence set up by Sir Charles Harrington in Bithynia saved the situation, and instead of the possible sack of the city, which was still, as Gibbon styled it, the Metropolis of Eastern Christianity, the Allies met the Turks in conference at Lausanne.

Bazarlik is a sacred recreation to the Turks, and when the Conference was opened, as might have been expected, they indulged themselves in an orgy of haggling, their success in which, if they had not been aware of the intention of the Allies to make an agreement with them at almost any cost, would have amazed them. When they went to Lausanne, they had real hope of the retrocession of Greek Western Thrace and of Adrianople, but there was another matter in which they cannot have expected the Allies' complaisance. As soon as the Minorities question was reached, Ismet announced Kemal's decision to expel whatever *rayah* remained in his New Turkey. The barbarity of uprooting the unhappy remnant of an ancient civilisation and adding some hundreds of thousands of miserable peasants and townsfolk to the two millions who were already strewn destitute and dying over the non-Turkish Near East appalled the most hardened statesman at Lausanne, and many weeks elapsed before the Allies acquiesced in it. When they did, Lord Curzon secured a slight concession, which, if the Turks had realised how near they had been to getting the full licence they had asked, they would not have made—Christians who had been in residence in the Constantinople district before October, 1918, were to be suffered to remain. That bargain, however, had no sooner been struck than a fresh and furious bazarlik began, Ismet tabling the inexorable resolve of his Government to expel the Ecumenical Patriarchate, alleging that it had always been a "nest of anti-Turkish intrigues."

Since, as has been said above, Lord Curzon did not challenge the statement, and since in the present crisis British journals—*e.g.*, the *Daily Mail* in a surprising criticism of the Archbishop of Canterbury for interpellating the Government in the House of Lords—have spoken of "political" action on the part of the Patriarchate as if it were proved and incessant, it may be well to take this chance of saying that the thing is a mare's nest which has been constructed from the exercise of the religio-social functions of the Patriarchate. I have gone over Turkish history most carefully for the purpose, but while I find that Patriarchs were beheaded, or otherwise done to death, deposed and maltreated, for offences such as refusing to consent to Christian girls entering harems, for not producing a sufficient tribute, for baptising a Moslem and so forth, I have not found a single instance of a Patriarch conspiring against the Turkish State or even of abetting one of the ceaseless Turkish conspiracies against the Sultans. Cyril Lukaris was bowstrung on the untried charge of being in league with Europe, but historical research has shown conclusively that the charge was a Jesuit inven-

tion. Gregory V. was hung at his own door on Easter Day, 1825, a hundred years ago next month, as a signal for the massacres which revenged the Greek War of Liberation and initiated the extirpation of the *rayah*, now all but accomplished. But the Turks themselves vindicated his martyrdom on the oriental principle which punished the guilty members in the person of the innocent head, and admit that he had done his best to prevent the rising. In fact, the Patriarchs from 1453 to 1918 have been reproached for their over-submissive passivity under Turkish oppression, but until the present need no one had dreamed of suggesting that they had risked political activity, and it was a common pre-War Russian complaint that their influence bolstered up the moribund Turkish Empire and did not aid the Liberating Tsars. It is true that during the period of the Allied occupation the Patriarchate comported itself as if the Turkish flag was to be withdrawn for ever, and issued vigorous denunciations of the massacres which were going on in Asia Minor, but the doing the former was natural and the doing the latter was its manifest duty. In any case, the Lausanne Treaty contains an express amnesty of such actions, and since its signature the Turks admit that they have had nothing of which to complain on this score.

From the description of the *millet* system, given above, it is obvious that the freedom to expel the Ecumenical Patriarchate claimed by Ismet was tautology for the withdrawal of his reluctant concession in the matter of the Greeks of Constantinople. Without schools other than Moslem, with Moslem judges to try their *statuts personnels* causes, and without a centre the *rayah* could not carry on their community life.

From what has been said above as to the constitution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, it will also be plain that for the Archbishop of Constantinople a willing removal from his Cathedral city is impossible.

That, if ejected by *force majeure*, he should take refuge in some other place, should there, as by *duress*, carry on his functions and so preserve the life of his Throne, has the precedent of the Patriarchate's Avignon in Nicæa during the Latin intrusion from 1204-61. But the doing so in the twentieth century might clearly bring an end to the Patriarchate, and would certainly have a marked effect upon it.

The civilised world grasped that fact, and Ismet's announcement was followed by a storm of indignation. The Archbishop of Canterbury, wise but courageous as always, took public action. The Archbishop of Upsala, British and American Protestant Confessions, and other religious leaders supported him. In his own words, Lord Curzon received more protests on the matter than on any subject during the whole Conference. In the end he put down his foot sharply. The civilised world, he told Ismet, would be "shocked at the destruction of so famous, historic and ancient an institution." He would

hear no more of the plan. The Patriarchate might be shorn of its "political powers," but must remain at Constantinople in the plenitude of its spiritual functions.

Ismet on the spot saw that, unless he yielded, the Conference was over and that that would mean the end of his bankrupt and disordered nation, and though Kemal at Angora wired him not to give way, like Nelson in the Baltic he shut his eye, and, taking action before he knew of the message, accepted the British ultimatum.

Accordingly, the Lausanne Treaty provided:

(1) That the Christian Minority within the new Turkish State should be "exchanged" for the Moslem Minority in Greece, *i.e.*, that on the one hand the Greek State should be free to expel the unwilling Moslem Minority in its confines, people whom it had no will to expel and who enjoyed great prosperity and equality of citizenship with their Christian co-nationals, and that, on the other, Kemal should be free to seize the property of the unhappy survivors of the Red Harvest and to thrust them out of their fatherland.

(2) That the *rayah* who had been in residence in the Constantinople vilayet before the Allies flew their flags over that city should be entitled to remain in it, and to exercise their religion in the wider sense of the term, and should receive complete amnesty for any acceptance of, or assistance rendered to, its occupation by the Allies.

By an unfortunate and blameworthy omission no mention was made in the Treaty of Ismet's pledge as to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the giving of which was simply recorded in the Minutes of the Conference.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

The Patriarch Gerasimos, who had shown himself very submissive to the Porte during the War, and was reckoned Royalist and Germanophil, having abdicated after the Armistice, Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Brusa, whose death at the Ritz Hotel, London, will be remembered, and Nikolaos, Metropolitan of Caesarea, successively administered the Patriarchate as *locum tenentes* until December, 1921.

In this long vacancy of the Throne nothing of importance happened at the Phanar except that in 1919 the Holy Synod resolved unanimously that in future the Sultan's *berats* permitting a Patriarchal Election and confirming it should neither be asked nor accepted.

In Asia Minor, however, Kemal had set to work steadily to glean where Tala'at had reaped, and to destroy not only the remnant of the *rayah* but also their churches, as, *e.g.*, he had already looted and burnt—October, 1921—the famous seventh-century Church of the Holy Trinity at Nicæa, which even Mohammed II. had left to the *rayah*.

At the same time, the Bolshevik Living Church being undoubtedly the prototype, he had proceeded to set up a Turkish Orthodox Church

for future use. Mention has been made of *rayah* who in whole areas of Asia Minor had gradually lost the use of their native language through disusing it in fear of their masters. A priest, Papa Eftim, being found to act as its head, Kemal enrolled, more or less forcibly, a few thousand of these Turkophone *rayah* in a Church which repudiated the Ecumenical Patriarchate, made Turkish its liturgical language, and declared itself to be altogether happy under Moslem rule, and for later a genuine Bishop, the Metropolitan of Rhodopoulis, was found to be the head. This Church, Kemal destined to supplant the Ecumenical Patriarchate and to be the instrument for turkifying or oppressing whatever *rayah* he might be constrained to retain in his New Turkey.

The project was necessarily pigeon-holed after Ismet's surrender at Lausanne, as will be seen, but was not forgotten.

In December, 1921, a Patriarchal Election being at last held, Meletios IV., who, under Mr. Venizelos' régime from 1917 to 1920, had been Metropolitan of Athens, was elected to the Ecumenical Throne.

During his short Patriarchate of less than two years, Meletios IV. showed great vigour in action, and, for example, initiated the Acceptance of Anglican Ordinations in July, 1922, held a Pan-Orthodox Conference to draft far-reaching reforms in Orthodox practice, proposed the Convention of an Eighth Ecumenical Council for 1925 and, under the 28th canon of Chalcedon, 451, claimed to exercise jurisdiction over the Church of Poland and the Churches of Bohemia and the Baltic Succession States. On the other hand, he alienated Conservative Orthodoxy by the drastic nature of the Reform Programme of his Conference, and greatly embittered the Russian exiles, who contended that those Churches remained subject to the Moscow jurisdiction. At the same time his prominence as a Venizelist and miso-Turk made him a *persona ingratis* at Angora, an attempt to kidnap him being actually made in July, 1923, by Turkish police, who accompanied a riotous mob led by Papa Eftim's agents to the Phanar, and were only foiled by Sir Charles Harrington's ordering the Irish Guards to that quarter of Constantinople.

In consequence, he withdrew to the *skete* of Mylopotamos, Mount Athos, which is itself a *stavropegeion*, or peculiar, of the Patriarchate, and is within the Greek State, shortly before the signature of the Treaty, and finally abdicated in November, 1923.

A full account of the complex procedure of an election to the Ecumenical Throne was given by Archdeacon Malthouras in the CHRISTIAN EAST of July, 1921. The illegal excess of the legal 40 days of widowhood which had occurred between the abdication of Gerasimos and the election of Meletios IV., had been caused by the protest of certain Royalist Metropolitans, who knew that if an election were held a Venizelist would be chosen, that without the representatives from the dioceses of Asia Minor prescribed in the Organic Law of the

Patriarchate, the necessary Electoral College of the first instance could not be constituted.

After Meletios IV.'s election had taken place, some Greek canonists had, indeed, questioned its validity on that ground, but his recognition by the other autocephalous Churches removed their hesitation. The difficulties, however, of holding the election of 1921, had been greatly increased by 1923. Not only were the dioceses of Asia Minor, their people being dead or scattered as jetsam and flotsam outside their own land, unable to send representatives to help constitute the Electoral College, which by the prescription of the Organic Law of the Patriarchate should prepare the list of eligibles to be submitted to the Synod, but no diocese outside the Constantinople vilayet could do so. Further, of the 81 Metropolitans of the Patriarchate, 53 held dioceses in the Greek State and only 14 were actually resident in Constantinople, the other 67 standing no possibility of being permitted by the Turks to attend in person.

The difficulties were surmounted by recourse to a postal ballot, in which all the Metropolitans of the Patriarchate took part and resulted in the election of Gregory VII. by a very large majority, the validity of the election being again established by its recognition in all the autocephalous Churches.

The new Patriarch had been Gerasimos IV.'s Protosynkellos, or chancellor, in the diocese of Chalcedon, and, while not opposing his colleagues, had taken no active part in the anti-Turkish manifestos between 1918 and 1923. His election, however, was received with sullen, if silent hostility at Angora, and, though he was not interfered with, he had received no recognition from the Turks at the time of his death from cancer in December, 1924.

Since the Turks re-occupied Constantinople in October, 1923, they have carried the policy of extirpating the *rayah*, initiated in 1825, to its fulfilment, and Kemal has justified his title of Ghazi, i.e., Conqueror in a Jihad, by expelling whatever Christians remained alive in Turkey, with the exception of the Greeks and Armenians who remain in the old capital under the Lausanne Treaty. The Christian Name has thus been wiped out from its theological homelands, and the Light of the Seven Churches of St. John's Apocalypse has been at last extinguished. The bazaars of Constantinople, and the curio shops of Berlin and Paris, are filled not only with eikons, crosses, Eucharistic vessels and vestments, plundered by the Bolsheviks from the shrines of Russia, but with those looted from the burnt-out churches of Asia Minor.

On the death of Gregory VII. in December, 1924, the same electoral procedure as had been employed in October, 1923, was adopted, the expelled Patriarch Constantine VI. being elected unanimously. His election was followed, however, by the Turkish manoeuvre which was described at the beginning of this article. A claim was put in by the

Turks that he and with him all except possibly six of the Metropolitans of the Patriarchate remaining in the new Turkey and all except three who are members of the Synod, are "exchangeable" and, on the Mixed Commission refusing, in view of Ismet's pledge and the Minorities Clauses of the Lausanne Treaty, to issue the necessary papers, the Constantinople Vali, acting on instructions from Angora, expelled him forcibly and with the maximum lack of courtesy. Since then, the threatened Metropolitans have been summoned to appear before the Mixed Commission, and have received a hint that if they wish to remain they had better declare the recent election uncanonical, and elect a Patriarch who is a Turkish subject and unexchangeable, the Turkophone Metropolitan of Rhodopoulos being suggested as a suitable candidate. Europe has been assured that, if it will only become Turkish at heart, the Patriarchate will be cherished, and Greece has protested and suggested arbitration, and on the Turks replying that the matter is purely domestic and outside the scope of the Lausanne Treaty, has appealed to the League of Nations.

That these events have not been fortuitous is established by many considerations.

At Angora to-day there are staunch Moslems, such as Nur-ed-Din, who threw the Metropolitan Chrysostom to the rabble at Smyrna with his own hand. But he and those such as he are relatively few, and are there in spite of the danger attending the election of opponents of the Popular Party. Kemal has been known to push a Hodja aside and to recite himself a Moslem formulary at a public ceremony, but in spite of such occasional lip-service to Moslem susceptibility and of his inscribing the statement that "Islam is the Religion of Turkey," as Article II. of the Turkish Constitution, he is reputed to veer, according to his moods, between a Bolshevik secularism and a Pan-Islamism which is rather an ebullition of egoistic national over-valuation than of religion. However that may be, it is certain that the greater part of his followers are crude atheists, aggressive and unblushing in their avowed intention to recast human life on the basis of utilitarian atheistic materialism. Whatever else in Soviet Russia does not appeal to them, they admire the Bolshevik War on Religion, and would desire to make the new Turkey the area of a like campaign. Among their number are several Caucasian Turkomans who are generally reputed to be agents of Mr. Zinovieff.

While, therefore, Kemal's anti-clericalism in dispossessing the Hodjas from their *medressehs* (religious schools), his contemptuous abolishment of the Khaliphate and his intimation that he proposes to lay hold of the Evkaf, or pious charities of Turkey, which are reckoned to be worth more than a hundred millions, are applauded by them, men who, like Nur-ed-Din, fast in Ramadan and loathe their habits of life, share their will to abolish any and every Christian institution.

This, as many other *imponderabilia*—such as the shifting the capital to Angora—go to confirm the judgment of those who best understand Turkish mentality, that the determination to wipe everything Christian out of Constantinople remains unweakened. The only difference is that some Turks are more ready for precipitate action than others, who would wait for the ripeness of time.

To be just; a consideration of the history of the last four and a half centuries, as summarised above, compels the admission that this is not surprising. From 1453 until recent years the Greek lived in a helotage which was the more bitter because his race had once held the lead in Christian civilisation, in the modern advance of which his master would suffer him to take no part. On the other hand, the Turk had used his *rayah* as his chattel, and so despised him that, if his ideology would have admitted it, he would have been furious at the mere suggestion of mixing with him, after the fashion which in the long issue fused Norman and Saxon into the English nation. Even before the massacre policy was adopted in 1825, the Greek in his heart hated the Turk more fiercely than he hated him at the Conquest and the Turk, knowing, with his Central Asiatic nomad's intuition, that it must be so, and conscious of his inferiority to his *rayah* in number as in intellect, eyed him at all times with frightened suspicion.

A reconciliation between the two races was already next to impossible before the War, but to-day, on the one side, the Turk is not only steeled by the delight of the Greeks at his defeat in 1918, and by the memory of Sèvres, but is uneasily aware that the Greek can never forget the uprooting of his nation from Asia Minor and the million and more of his race done to death. The mad dog stage may pass at Angora, but the will for revenge will not pass in Athens, at least until the Turk is out of Constantinople and Smyrna. The only way to preserve peace between the two is to keep bars between them.

It may well be doubted, therefore, whether the Lausanne decision to restore Constantinople to the Turks' unfettered sovereignty should not have involved the "exchange" of the 200,000 Greek hostages left there, whose situation will always be precarious, the Turk being set on getting rid of their menace one way or the other.

If the present opportunity be not used to advance the work of dechristianising and turkifying Constantinople, it will not be let slip because of Europe the League of Nations produce a change of heart at Angora, but because the Angora *régime* is itself far from stable. Reliable reports point to the prospect of serious trouble in the Kurdish vilayets, where exploitation has heightened the always prevalent dislike of Turkish administration, and where the feudal chieftains—the Kurd is in the Middle Ages—are inclined¹

¹ Since this article was composed, a serious revolt, led by a Sheikh, has broken out in the Eastern vilayets. Apparently Turks as well as Kurds are sharing in it. Its appeal is said to be the Restoration of the Khaliphate and of the Shari'at.

to champion the disaffected Turkish element, which in turn resents Kemal's handling of the Khaliph and the Moslem Faith.

A forecast of the immediate future is, therefore, impossible, but it would appear not improbable that Angora will offer Greece a "compromise" by which, on condition that they elect a Turkophone Patriarch and so prepare the turkification of the Patriarchate, some of the Metropolitans may be allowed to remain in Constantinople. If a sufficient number of them be not found willing to hand over the keys of the Institution, Angora may proceed to reconstitute it on a Turkish basis through the instrumentality of such Metropolitans as are available, Living Church bishops, if needs be, being imported from Russia as consecrators. Such a scheme is certainly contemplated, and possesses the attraction that under present conditions in Russia, a Turkish *soi-disant* Ecumenical Patriarchate, although repudiated by the Orthodox World, could be used to rehabilitate the Living Church in the eyes of the peasantry, and would be a valuable asset to Turkish diplomacy.

The one thing which appears impossible is that Angora will either admit the return of Constantine VI., a humiliation which would cause a fatal loss of prestige at home and abroad, or give the necessary guarantees which would alone justify the Greek Government securing his abdication and the Metropolitans electing a new Patriarch.

Turkey is profoundly depressed, is bankrupt, and seethes with discontent and potential rebellion, and Kemal may decide to avoid external complications for the time being. Otherwise, if it be not turkified, the Metropolitans will be expelled and with them *de facto* the Patriarchate.

The minimum conditions requisite for the maintenance of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople may be stated as:

- (1) The guarantee of a free election by all the Bishops of his jurisdiction, whether Turkish subjects or no.
- (2) The withdrawal of the demand that the Patriarch must be a Turkish subject, a demand which, in view of the Patriarch's being no longer, as in the time of the Sultans, a great Ottoman Official, and of the great majority of the Metropolitans being Greek subjects, is as preposterous as its concession is uncanonical.
- (3) A guarantee of the inviolability of the Patriarch's person and domicile, a thing which, since the recent seizure by the Turkish Police of the Codex of the Acts of the H. Synod and of *dossiers* containing its correspondence with the heads of other Churches, has become essential to the exercise of the Ecumenical function in Constantinople.
- (4) The replacement of its present factual supervision of Orthodox *statuts personnels*, education, and charities in Constantinople by a guaranteed legal system under the Patriarchate's guardianship.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THANKS to the voluntary kindness of Mr. Powys Evans, our frontispiece this quarter is from a pen and ink portrait of the Chairman of the A. and E.C.A. Committee, Mr. Athelstan Riley, the well-known Seigneur de la Trinité in the Isle of Jersey. No need can exist to expound here all that Mr. Riley's interest and work has meant, and means, to our cause. With his schoolfellow at Eton and life-long friend, Mr. W. John Birkbeck, he did yeoman service as a member of the Eastern Church Association, back in the eighties, at which period he made more than one journey to Constantinople and travelled widely in the Near East. When the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, was considering the starting his Mission of Help to the Assyrians, Mr. Riley undertook to go to the little-known region north-east of Mosul, and it was largely in result of his report that Dr. Benson took action. The story of the planting of the Mission and Mr. Riley's part in it is recorded in Maclean and Browne's *Catholicos of the East*. After his marriage and entry into political life—he served on the London School Board, etc.—Mr. Riley had less time to travel, but in the middle of all the innumerable activities which have made him an influential and familiar figure in most gatherings of Churchmen, Eastern Christianity retained a first claim on his time and affection. To attempt to sum up all that he has done in the past 45 years would be outside the scope of this Causerie. Suffice it to say that, during and since the War, he has been indefatigable in promoting the Anglican-Orthodox Entente, in championing the Orthodox cause and in supplying the practical needs of the Orthodox. The Russian Community in London recently presented him with an eikon in token of its gratitude for what he had done for the Russian exiles in England, *e.g.*, in securing them the use of St. Phillip's, Pimlico, in placing Russian orphans in British schools, and so on. The Jugo-Slav and Greek Governments have also awarded him decorations for similar assistance. Foreign Prelates and Theologians visiting London find him a gracious and unfailing host. Above all, both in the Conference Room with the Orthodox, *e.g.*, during the Lambeth Conference of 1920, and at the visit of the Patriarch Meletios in 1917, in the councils of the English Episcopate, on the Archbishop's E.C.C., and as Chairman of the A. and E.C.A. Committee, the services rendered by his ripe, if eager, wisdom and knowledge have been invaluable. Only eighteen months ago he joined one of our Editors at Belgrad, and made an important two months' tour with him in the Balkans. Among his many writings on the Near East are his well-known account of the Monastic Community on Mount Athos, his Life and Letters of Birk-

beck, and his incomparably easy and plain Guide to the Orthodox Liturgy, which makes it easy for the most uninstructed English monoglot to follow the dramatic movement of the Orthodox Eucharistic Rite.

Last of all, to have Mr. Riley's portrait—especially one so animated and good—should be a great satisfaction to readers of the Christian East, for if anyone can be styled the Founder of A. and E.C.A. it is he. The old Eastern Church Association, as all the Church ought to know, was the creation, in 1864, of such men as George Williams, J. M. Neale, and R. Littledale. In its day it did wonderful work in creating an interest in Eastern Christianity among Anglicans. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, though it included many distinguished and influential scholars and ecclesiastics in its membership, it had become somewhat inoperative. In result, some of its younger members started the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches Union in 1906, the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, the Rev. R. F. Borough, its co-secretaries with the Rev. W. Wakeford, now dead, being its principal Founders. A. and E.O.C.U. having done excellent work, Mr. Riley, who was then Chairman of the E.C.A. Committee, arranged in 1916 that the two societies should be amalgamated and became the inevitable Chairman of the so-formed A. and E.C.A., of which as Chairman of the older of the two societies and as the principal promoter of their union he may be reckoned the Founder.

May he preside over its executive *eis πολλὰ ἔτη*.

* * *

The whole Christian World—Protestant and modern as Catholic and historic—has reason to celebrate the sixteenth centenary of the great Council of Nicæa in June. Accordingly, with the approbation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in its presidential seat, the National Assembly has decided to ask for and to attend a Service of Commemoration in Westminster Abbey, probably on St. Peter's Day. We hope that Orthodox hierarchs will be asked to assist, that the Nicene Creed will be recited in Greek as well as in English, and that if it be so recited the *Filioque* will be omitted as it is provided that it should be omitted in Assemblies of Anglicans and Orthodox by the Suggested Terms of Intercommunion with the Orthodox, drafted by the Bishop of Gloucester and Dr. Brightman, and issued by the Archbishop's E.C.C. "to provoke discussion."

No finer *beau geste* could be made to our Eastern brethren, and, after all, in a commemoration of the first Œcumenical Council, propriety points to the Creed being recited as the Œcumenical Councils fashioned and prescribed it.

Incidentally, we hope to make our June issue a Nicene number.

The example set, when the unified Serb Church of Jugo-Slavia declared itself a Patriarchate, has been followed, with the consent of the Roumanian Government, by the unified Church of Roumania, the Metropolitan Miron Christea assuming the style of Patriarch of Roumania and Archbishop of Ungro-Vlachj, under a vote of the Greater Synod of Roumania on February 4th. The constitution of Roumania as a Patriarchate needs recognition, it is true, by the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and the other autokephalous Churches. A few years back the former might have hesitated to give it. But Meletios IV. welcomed the constitution of the Serb Patriarchate in 1923, and delay in general consent being given to that of the Roumanian is unlikely. The consequences involved by the change are not great. In the theory of the Orthodox Church, territorial jurisdiction is divided between its Patriarchs, who form a College of the type of the Imperial College, which, consisting of two or more Emperors, ruled the Roman Empire in theory as one. Thus, by the Canon of Chalcedon, 451, the College of Patriarchs was in number five, but, just as, though theoretically subordinate to the Empires, certain kingdoms were autonomous, so certain Metropolitanates, *e.g.*, Cyprus, were autokephalous. This theory is exemplified (a) in the Catechisms of the Orthodox Church, *e.g.*, in that recently put out by the Metropolitan Anthony of Kieff, in which the Patriarchates alone are specified as the jurisdictions to which the chief parts of the Orthodox Church are subject, and no mention is made of the Metropolitan-President of the Synods of autokephalous Metropolitan Churches, the former being the symbolic heads of the Church in their jurisdiction, and their Synods being dependent on them, and the latter being simply the Presidents of their Synods, which are the symbolic heads of their churches; and (b) by the fact that, when any Patriarch visits a Metropolitan autokephalous Church, he carries his staff, and his name is mentioned in the Liturgy before that of the local Metropolitan-President, but the latter has no corresponding right or honour, and (c) during the "widowhood" of the Chief Throne of any autokephalous Church the names of all reigning Patriarchs, but not those of Metropolitan-President, are commemorated in the Liturgy.

While the number of the five recognised Patriarchates remained unaltered from 451 till 1922, there is nothing sacrosanct about it, and logic points to the present seven being increased to eight as soon as the Bulgar Church is reconciled to the Œcumenical Patriarchate.

* * *

The Russian Community in Constantinople was deprived last year, as will be remembered, of both its churches, that at the Embassy and that at the Russian Hospital. The Bolsheviks are now claiming the beautiful Church of the Russian Paris Parish in the Rue Daru

and the residences off its courtyard, including that of the Metropolitan Evlogie. Since their recognition by M. Herriot gives them legal probability of success, we are glad to know that, with the approval of Bishop McCormick, the American Bishop for Europe, Dr. Beekman, Dean of the American Pro-Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Paris, has placed that building at the Metropolitan's disposal for the Celebration of the Sunday Liturgy, etc. The old sequestered German Church in the Rue de la Crimée, for the purchase of which, with its schools, a deposit has been paid by the Russian Paris Parish, is also available. On the other hand, the Russians in Paris outnumber all aliens in London, and two churches are inadequate to their needs.

By the way, Lord Shaftesbury has forwarded £200 to the Metropolitan Evlogie, as the proceeds of his appeal for help towards the final purchase of the Rue de la Crimée property and its equipment as a Theological Academy. A good deal more money is, however, required for that purpose, and donations may be forwarded to Canon Douglas. But the Academy will soon begin to function, a course for 25 students being in process of arrangement.

* * *

Professor Bulgakoff, Priest of the Russian Prague Parish, spent a fortnight in London before Christmas, to confer with Bishop Russell Wakefield's Russian Clergy Appeal Committee. The Professor, who formerly held a Chair of Economics at Moscow, used to be a strong Socialist, and was only ordained since the Revolution, the Bolshevik Tyranny having changed his mind. While in London, he made many friends, visiting the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whose Eastern Churches Committee he held a consultation, attended the National Assembly, and gave a course of valuable addresses on Orthodoxy and Modern Life at the Russian House, S. Kensington. Our readers will like to know that Archbishop Anastasy, whom we welcomed in November, is now presiding over the Russian Church in Palestine. Our Pilgrims hope to visit him in May on the Mount of Olives.

A correspondent writes that the Turks, unable themselves to staff the wool and dried fruit trades, have invited a certain number of Greeks back to Smyrna and that, having no priest of their own, these are resorting to the Anglican Church for Confession, Communion, etc. We trust that authority is given for this economy.

* * *

The second Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to the Holy Land leaves London on Monday, April 27th, under the leadership of Dr. Russell Wakefield, lately Bishop of Birmingham. After a service on April 26th at St. Matthew's, Westminster, members will be blessed by the Bishop of Willesden and the Metropolitan of Thyatira. The

full accommodation of the s.s. *Sphinx*, we learn, is now practically allocated, and very few additions can be made to the Pilgrims' company. On the return way, stops will be made at Cyprus, Patmos, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Athens. Arrangements are in progress for a visit to Nicosia, the capital of the first-named, in the Metropolia of which Archbishop Cyrillos, well known as the third head of an Orthodox Church to accept the validity of our Ordinations, is to receive the Pilgrims, who should prove missionaries of Reunion.

Mention of the Pilgrimage brings to mind the issue of a portfolio of twelve views of the Holy City by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, of which the Governor of Jerusalem, Sir Ronald Storrs, is the founder and driving force. The views, including, of course, the Dome of the Rock, are from originals by Mr. Benor Ralter, and are of surprising merit and value. The portfolio, which may be had of Mrs. Kelly, M.B.E., the Arts and Crafts of Palestine, 5, Harrington Road, S.W.7, will interest the Pilgrims and those who stay at home.

Sir R. Storrs and the Pro-Jerusalem Society were responsible, it will be remembered, for those wonderful models which fascinated every visitor to Wembley, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the choir-boys of country churches.

Mr. Sidney Dark's account of the first Pilgrimage should also be read, and we understand Mrs. Olive Shiner is shortly publishing an impression of the Holy Land—*His Own Country*—which will take a permanent place along with the Rev. G. N. Whittingham's *The Land of Fadeless Splendour* in Palestinian bibliography.

The Bishop of Gibraltar contributes an important, lucid and suggestive article on the Œcumenical Patriarchate to the March number of *Theology*. Everyone ought to read it. We venture again to express our profound gratitude for the personal work done by Dr. Greig in the Near East. He cares greatly and has the art of doing and saying the right thing at the right time.

Bishop Gore, the Chairman of the Archbishops' E.C.C., left England a few days after Christmas for a four months' visit to Egypt and Palestine. Reference has been made repeatedly in this Chronicle and Causerie to the extraordinarily fruitful Union Conferences between Anglicans, Orthodox, Copts, Jacobites and Armenians, organised by the Bishop of Khartoum in Cairo. Bishop Gore arrived in Egypt in time for one of these, and we await eagerly the report of its proceedings. Meanwhile, we have received an account of the service connected with it, held in All Saints, Cairo, in which the Greek Metropolitan of Nubia, Copts and Armenians assisted.

The *Daily Mail*, in a leading article criticising the Archbishop of Canterbury for interpellating Lord Curzon as to the expulsion of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, made no less than three capital blunders as to facts in 200 words. Did the office boy produce that ebullition, or Lord Rothermere?

It seems probable that the Œcumenical Council of the Orthodox Church, which has been planned to be convened this year at Jerusalem will be postponed. With the Œcumenical Patriarchate in the throes of Kemalist repression, its session can hardly be possible. And yet, to say nothing of the final acceptance of Anglican Ordinations, there are many urgent questions, e.g., the change of the Calendar, the remarriage of the secular clergy, etc., recommended by the Constantinople Pan-Orthodox Conference of 1923, awaiting its decision. The postponement—if it be postponed—of the Synod will be a proof of the need of a European Settlement of the Œcumenical Patriarchal question.

We rejoice to know that Bishop Brent is doing all in his power to carry on the late Mr. Gardiner's preparations for the World Conference on Faith and Order, and has issued a fifth Paper of Questions which deals with the Sacraments.

We rejoice also to congratulate Prof. N. Glubokovsky in his Academic Jubilee, i.e., the 35th anniversary of his Professorship. We trust that the famous Russian historical-theologian will visit us this year.

We are glad, indeed, that Archdeacon Stacy Waddy has accepted the principal Secretaryship of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, an office which not only gives him the active direction of that world-wide Society, but fixes his residence in London. Since 1919, when, after serving as a Chaplain of the Forces in Palestine, he joined the staff of St. George's at Jerusalem, the Archdeacon had been the *liaison* agent of the Anglican Church for the Jerusalem Patriarchate and in that capacity had rendered signal service to our cause. It will be good to have him at home.

Their many friends in England will be glad to know that Fathers Timotheieff and Vesseliovsky, of St. Philip's, Pimlico, have received the *kamilavsky*—the right to wear which in the Russian Church is given as a distinction to priests of meritorious service. The *kamilavsky* is, of course, the Greek *kalimavky*—the brimless top hat of the Greek priest which, with a veil, forms the head-dress of the

(Continued on page 46).

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF GREECE.

BY PROFESSOR HAMILCAR ALIVISATOS, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS.

THE Greek Church had felt itself prejudiced for several years past by the application of the three laws which deal, (1) with the constitution of the Holy Synod, (2) with Bishops and their Dioceses, (3) with Parishes. Its objection to them was that, on the one hand, an over-centralised system had been created for it, and on the other, that they had opened the way to an intervention of the State in the details of ecclesiastical affairs which was becoming continually more and more oppressive.

Those complaints were not wholly without ground, so that the Church feels great satisfaction in the fact that, after prolonged efforts, she has at last secured two new laws which are already in full application.

I propose to describe both the provisions and scope of the former laws and of those recently enacted and now in force.

ECCLIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER LAWS 200 AND 201 OF JULY, 1852.

Hitherto the Administration of the Church of Greece had been based upon Law 200, *sc.* "Concerning Bishops, Bishoprics, and the Clergy who minister under the Jurisdiction of the Episcopate," and upon Law 201, *sc.* "Concerning the composition of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece."

By Law 201 the supreme authority in the Church consisted of the Holy Synod, which was composed of the Metropolitan of Athens, as President, and of four members styled "Synodals," and summoned successively every second year according to their seniority in the Episcopate.

This Synod was in continual session at Athens.

As the representative of the Government and as a link between Church and State, a Royal Procurator had a seat on this Synod. Without his presence the Synod could not be in session, and without his counter-signature neither documents issued by it nor its minutes were valid. Though without a vote, he was present at all the sessions of the Synod, but had the right neither to take part in its discussions nor to express his opinion. Though it was possible at any moment to compel him to follow the proceedings of the Synod as a silent onlooker, he was always heard, however, either on the request or by the leave of the President and the Synod.

The bureau of the Synod was composed of a First and Second Secretary, from two to four clerks and an usher.

The internal and external functions of the Synod, as laid down by this Law, not only overlapped each other but for the most part consisted of functions which belong essentially to a Bishop.

Besides the function of enquiry into and decision upon matters of faith, worship and morals, the Synod, by a majority vote of its five members, elected new bishops, revised the decisions of the Episcopal Courts, and was itself the Court of First Instance to try charges against Bishops such as involved degradation in the case of the lower clergy. Ecclesiastical sentences, however, were submitted by it to the State.

Law 200 limited the Dioceses in the Kingdom to 30, a number which was increased by Royal Ordinance on Jan. 22nd, 1900, to 32 and finally, on the division of that of Chalkis, to 33.

The same Law further prescribed the method of the election of a Bishop. The Synod submitted three names to the Government and the choice of one of them by the latter was final.

Since the Bishops hold their sees for life, the translation of a Bishop could be effected only in exceptional circumstances and then by a decision of the Synod with the approval of the Government. In practice this provision was abortive, and was applied only in the case of a translation to the Metropolitan Throne of Athens.

Under the same Law, a Bishop, pronounced by medical diagnosis and a resolution of the Synod to be incapable of fulfilling his functions, was relieved of them.

The Diocesan Committee in the first instance, and afterwards a *locum tenens*, nominated by the Synod and appointed by Ordinance of the Crown, administered all dioceses whatsoever between their vacancy and the election of a new Bishop.

Besides the personal enquiry and investigation in matters of Faith which he exercised within his own diocese, every bishop had a diocesan court, over which he himself presided, to help him, and clergy of the diocese were tried in it. Independently of this, the Synod decided, on appeal, various cases relating to mixed, uncanonical and illegal marriages, and, by a bad custom which obtained, often sanctioned, with an extreme complaisance in economy, the celebration of weddings of parties in forbidden degrees, without the licence so granted by the Synod being understood to convey the validity in civil law which was sought, to marriages celebrated on its basis and with its sanction.

Finally, the Law contained several general provisions for the control and direction of their Clergy by the Bishops.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE AUTOKEPHALOUS CHURCH OF GREECE
UNDER THE NEW LAW OF 21ST DECEMBER, 1923.

Laws 200 and 201 being superseded by Resolutions 35432 and 33957 of the Revolutionary Assembly, the Administration of the Church is based on the Organic Law of the Autokephalous Church of Greece, as provided in the latter Resolution passed on 21st December, 1923.

The Synod of five members, which, its majority being only three, had hitherto controlled the Church, has been abolished and the whole hierarchy of the Autokephalous Church of Greece has assumed its Administration and, having been constituted its Synod, forms the highest Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority in the State.

Unless it be summoned at other times by State Ordinance, this Synod assembles automatically annually in the month of October.

This substantial reform possesses the greatest importance; inasmuch as, since matters of the greatest moment often come up for decision by the present Synod, consisting of 33 members, its decision must plainly be better than the decisions of the old Synod of five members, or, rather, of its majority of three; especially since the fixed work of the former Synod was insignificant. A Procurator—styled the State Procurator—attends the present Synod after the manner of the former's Royal Procurator, but his relation to it is somewhat different from that of his predecessor.

In the first place, certain qualifications suitable to the relation which he holds to the Synod, are specified as desirable in whoever occupies the position. These vary from those of a Judge in the Criminal Courts or an University Professor to those of an advocate in the Courts of Appeal.

Again, as before, the presence of the Procurator cannot be dispensed with by the Synod. But his absence does not invalidate its session, inasmuch as certain deputies are prescribed to take his place, the failure to summon whom in writing would, in the absence of the official Procurator, invalidate it.

Further, as before, the Procurator attends the Synod without the power to vote, but he now has the right to speak and to express his opinion on the matters under discussion.

Lastly, a substantial change has been made in the Procurator's function and authority. For, whereas under the old conditions he had the oppressive right of giving his counter-signature to documents issued by the Synod and to its minutes, or of withholding it; and whereas without it they were invalid, his counter-signature is now obligatory and he can in no way change the decisions of the Synod.

As before, the Synod has two secretaries and an usher.

The functions of the present Synod, while in the main the same as those of its predecessor, differ from it in this that, although as a central body it has supreme ecclesiastical authority, their proper functions are restored to individual Dioceses.

Thus, marriage questions will be dealt with in the future by the Dioceses, who recover their proper responsibility in its fullness, which they will also exercise in regard to administrative matters and to questions bearing upon faith and worship; the Synod, however, as supreme, keeping the right to supervise them in the latter and to conduct formal investigations into their actions.

Further, the Synod retains the right to elect new Bishops, but with these distinctions, that whereas in the past three Bishops chose them, thirty-three do so now, and that the choice is made from a list of eligibles approved by the Government.

Formerly the Synod put forward three names, of which the Government chose one. Now, the Minister of Cults will have the right to strike out up to one half of the names on the list which he disapproves, and the election will be made from the rest. Accordingly, while the Government will possess its proper part in the choice of Bishops, it will no longer be able to abuse its power. The number of Bishops remains the same, and the Bishops so elected exercise, as before, their normal episcopal functions in the moderated subordination of their sees, which is necessary for an established centralisation. Translation is now permissible, but with safeguards which prevent its abuse. Diocesan administration is taken from Bishops unable to fulfil their office and is placed in the hands of Bishops-coadjutors appointed as above. Its own Protosyncellos (Chancellor) administers a vacant see until the election of the new Bishop.

The new Law also recasts the system of Ecclesiastical Courts consistently. Appeals which formerly reached the Synod in a bulk which destroyed its efficiency, will, in future, be decided at the centre by what may be called Revisers, drawn from the different civil areas of civil administration.

Bishops will, as is provided in Orthodox Canon Law, be judged by a Court of thirteen Bishops to which also, on appeal, will be referred the verdicts of the Revisers. Finally, the decision of the thirteen Bishops, as also the judgments of all the Ecclesiastical Courts, will be brought before a special Court of the Synod, which will constitute the Supreme Areopagos of the Church.

The ordinances touching Marriage and Divorce remain unchanged.

Finally, provisions are made for improved procedure and despatch in several matters.

THE USE AND CUSTODY OF PARISH CHURCHES UNDER THE LAW
(3596) OF 9TH MARCH, 1910.

The then existing disorder of the parochial system was in some measure remedied by the Royal Ordinance of 8th June, 1856, which was itself utilised and supplemented by later Ordinances. But in spite of that it remained so great that a further attempt to remedy it was made in the Law of 9th March, 1910, "Concerning Parish Churches," and by the Royal Ordinances of 1910, 1911, and 1912 consequent from it.

Notwithstanding its ineffectiveness and the confusion in its provisions, that Law had three good results :

1. It brought some order into Parochial finance and into the administration and usage of Parochial property.
2. It removed, as far as was possible, the interference of the secular local authorities in the finance, etc., of the Parish Churches.
3. It restored to the laity their rights, of which they had been deprived piecemeal, in the management, administration and usage of the Parish Churches.

In addition it gave the laity a voice in the appointment of the local Clergy by allowing them to make certain requirements as to the qualifications, and to guarantee the payment of the stipends, of their Ministers.

It is true that the provisions of the Law as to the appointment of Clergy were in practice unimportant, since that appointment depended largely upon their stipends, which, although the Law fixed them, were, in fact, themselves dependent in part on the financial position of the parishes and sometimes on the good or bad stewardship of local Committees.

In regard to details : a distinction was made by the Law between Parish Churches and Chapelries, and by bringing the latter under the former, the exploitation of which by private individuals was in a measure prevented.

Provision was also made for a revenue for the Parish Churches. The annual six drachmas ordered to be collected from every parishioner, even though not always forthcoming, served both to increase the revenues of the Parish Churches and taught the parishioners to appreciate the responsibility which their use of them entailed.

The Law further defined the election of the Parochial Committees, fixed the number of households necessary to constitute a Parish and the number of Parochial Clergy that should correspond with the number of households in it.

Finally, the Law and its consequent Royal Ordinances laid down the qualifications of a Parish Priest and his stipend, as well as

certain particulars in regard to his work in general and as to the Parochial Registry and the general work of the Clergy.

The method of the selection of the Parish Clergy was also laid down precisely—the basis being the acceptance by the Bishop of the qualifications required by the voters and the Bishop then appointed, and, if necessary, ordained the person designated by the election.

THE ORGANISATION, ADMINISTRATION AND USAGE OF PARISH
CHURCHES UNDER THE LAW CONCERNING PARISH CHURCHES OF
17TH DECEMBER, 1923.

While the existing insufficiencies of the existing Law as to Parish Churches made necessary the passing of a new Law, two causes made a fresh reform of Parochial machinery the more imperative.

First, by, as it were, heaping up documents in the Ministry and the Prefectures, the existing Law had brought into being a system which, being over-centralised and bureaucratic, had ended in the paralysis of the local machinery. This was remedied.

Secondly, which was more important, it was plain that a way must be found to furnish the Parish Clergy with remuneration adequate to their needs and to the standard of living in the present day. For, with the present stipends offered to them, not only are men of education and social position deterred from seeking ordination, but the existing Clergy cannot live on the meagre stipends which they receive and of which, as has been said, the regular payment not infrequently depends upon the good management of Parish Finance.

Those were the two evils which the recent Law was passed to remedy. In regard to the first, as, on the one hand, the provisions of this Law have secured the desired decentralisation by providing that business which was concentrated in the Ministerial Bureau should now in part be transacted in Metropolitans' Diocesan Councils, so, on the other hand, that business is more swiftly despatched and the profitless reference to the Prefecture and the Ministry of that type of business which formerly had to be sent there in spite of its unimportance, has been avoided.

At the same time, the right of the Government to intervene, either to veto or to arbitrate in matters which from either their economic or administrative aspect are of greater importance, has been preserved.

In regard to the second, inasmuch as its provisions seem to be admirably adapted, the payment imposed by this Law upon the Parishes and Parish Churches should go a long way to secure the provision of a revenue sufficient to guarantee the adequate and suitable remuneration of the Parish Clergy. For while it is true that the scheme is unlikely to produce the quantum needed for their

stipends, its application should, little by little, bring about the raising of that sum.

In its details this Law also defines the relation of Parish Churches, of Chapels and of Proprietary Chapels. It fixes the number of households in the Parishes according to the population of the several cities and districts. It defines, as far as it can define, the composition of Parochial Councils and, under the Metropolitans' Councils, their administration and usage of the property of the Parish. It prescribes that the qualifications of the Parish Clergy shall be in accordance with the population of the cities and districts, and provides both for their election by the Parishioners and for their approval and appointment by the Metropolitans. It also apportions their stipends to their qualifications and makes provision for supplementing the resources of the General Ecclesiastical Treasury, which pays them, by the issue of special ecclesiastical notes.

Finally, it deals with peculiar types of Churches, *e.g.*, the Evangelistria of Naxos, the Church of Hydra, etc., with the particular problems of particular Parishes, with the Clergy who have no qualifications, with the lower *personnel* of the Parishes and with whatever relates to its own application.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE—Continued.

Russian higher clergy, and is said to be derived from *kalymma*, a covering, and *avchen*, the neck. The Greeks say that, before the Turk appeared, the *kalimavky* was not brimless, the brim being cut off by the Sultan Selim the Sot's order to differentiate the Orthodox *rayah* from the clergy of Europe.

* * *

The Patriarch Gregorios of Antioch has sent a warm letter of thanks to the Rev. C. B. Moss for a cheque of £100 collected by the A.C. Pilgrims for the repair of the old church at Baalbek. One of our old Serb students, hearing of this, writes pleading that he would wish to place on the walls of the new church which he wishes to build in his poor village, a tablet recording that "This church was rebuilt by the help of charitable English people." Father French will forward subscriptions.

REMEMBER RUSSIA!

THERE must have been many of us who, hearing of Lenin's death, breathed the wish that was really a prayer, that this might be the beginning of the end of Russia's woes.

From Palestine to Russia is a far cry, and to the superficial observer there is no connection between the two save a political one. But their only real tie has a deep spiritual significance; and it is because we love Palestine that we also love Russia.

There have been no Russian Pilgrimages to Palestine since 1914. Before the next year came round, Russia was at war; and since 1917 she has been in chains. Those Russian Pilgrimages were marvellous events—the most marvellous since the days of the First Crusade when, from pure love of God, the prisons were closed and the churches filled, and the whole ardour of the nations was bent only upon the freeing of the Holy Sepulchre and not upon worldly advantage. Think of it! Year after year they came, in their thousands, from every village, town, and hamlet throughout Russia; all old people—you seldom saw a young face in their ranks—men and women who had toiled and saved and scraped all their lives for *this*—to walk humbly through the stony ways of Palestine, to kneel at the sacred shrines, to pray. These were no easy pilgrimages, such as sometimes came from Western Europe. The Russians walked everywhere, many of them even thinking it a sin to ride across "those sacred fields" once trod by the blessed Feet of Christ. The very old and the infirm or ailing, they only, rode. In some cases a whole village clubbed the savings of many hard years to send one pilgrim to represent it at the Tomb of Christ; and this one man or woman would gather together many little relics of infinite preciousness and sanctity, to take back to the faithful at home, each tiny treasure being laid upon each sacred shrine in turn.

A Russian Consul once said, "Each Russian pilgrim is worth to Palestine, on an average, about £10."

The money, great as the sum must have been in the aggregate, was the least of the pilgrims' gift to Palestine. They brought into her a religious devotion as deep as it was genuine, and a fervour of unquestioning belief unequalled elsewhere in a disillusioned world. Fasting, they walked from place to place in the Holy Land, from Nazareth to Tiberias, from Bethlehem to Hebron, from Jerusalem to Jordan, companies of old and poor and often very weary men and women; worn hands clasping rough pilgrim-staffs, and on each face the seal of the most enduring patience. Sheep-like they trudged along together, kissed the same holy pictures in turn, fell prostrate at the same holy site; asking nothing better than to give their mite for its enrichment; fleeced alike by priest and monk and beggar—yes, just like sheep they were, as dumbly patient, as gentle,

and as unquestioning. Rapt beyond thought of self, they brought to Palestine the heaven of a most wonderful faith. God walked the streets and ways with them, and His glory blazed in every bush. As they went about in little bands, you seldom heard them talk; but from the moving lips, the cross signed on breast or brow, you knew they spoke to God. It was impossible to watch a Russian pilgrim congregation in church without catching some faint reflection of their fire. Neither time nor person then existed for them, their whole being was concentrated on the service; and if you could not pray with them in words you could not help but pray with the understanding that transcends all words.

The inspiration of their faith and love has been taken from Palestine, not by the War but by a tribulation greater than war. That Russia will come through, a living soul, we know; for a people which is able to suffer and endure as she does must be informed by a spiritual force immeasurably great. But what of Palestine? No one any more cares for her ways, her shrines, as the Russian pilgrims did. No one any more pours out upon her fragrance of love and faith, nor draws in happiness with the mere breathing of her lovely air.

Even to our dim sight her loss is plain. What bitterness of rival creeds and politics, what futile antagonisms of race with race, what grasping after power by party set against party, have marred the Holy Land! How pitiful it is that Palestine should be so utterly distracted and absorbed by her own troubles that she can spare no thought for Russia, lend no helping hand to light again the lamps on Russia's neglected altars, return nothing of her soul's vast debt to Russia.

ESTELLE BLYTH.

In Great Britain we often ignore the work done for our cause by the intercourse of Anglican Bishops and Priests with the large Orthodox communities in U.S.A. and the King's Overseas Dominions. A reminder of this comes to us in the news that the Greek Colony in Brisbane has just presented Canon Garland with a Cross and other *insignia* in recognition of his services to Orthodoxy.

Copies of the photo of the Bishops and Clergy at A. and E.C.A.'s Liturgy last November in St. Sophia may be had, price 2s. 6d., of Father French.

Archbishop Germanos addressed 3,000 people in Liverpool Cathedral in February at the Bishop's invitation. As always, he received a great welcome.

The Vartabed Grigore Goussan has taken up the charge of the Armenian Church of St. Sarkhis, Iverna Gardens, W. The Greek Easter this year is a week later than our own. We advise those who can to attend the Services on their Good Friday morning or afternoon—both are singularly impressive and symbolic.



"AN EXCHANGEABLE HOSTAGE."
The Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Christian East

THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA, A.D. 325.

THIS Summer we keep the sixteenth centenary of the Council of Nicæa, 325.

I

It is surprising how little information we have about it. According to Tillemont, 20th May, which Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian who wrote c. 439, gives as "the time of the synod,"¹ is the date at which its members were to assemble. He assigns 19th June for its "effective commencement."² Not till after 3rd July, the second anniversary of the Battle of Adrianople, which made Constantine sole sovereign, did the Emperor himself arrive.³ Then, after an opening ceremony, at which Constantine presided, in the Hall of the Imperial Palace,⁴ the solemn sessions began in the Cathedral.⁵ They were brought to a close by a final meeting in the Palace, with the Emperor again presiding, for the promulgation of the synodal decisions. On 25th July Constantine celebrated the opening of the twentieth year of his reign. He made a great banquet to the bishops who had attended the Council, as if to mark both his *Vicennalia* and the close of their labours. Some of them had taken their duties lightly—for, happily, bishops were human then, as now—and though they had not all been present at the debates, Eusebius assures us that "not one of the bishops was wanting at the Imperial banquet."⁶

II

Of these debates we know little in detail. No minutes have survived. It is doubtful whether any ever existed.⁷ For when "Athanasius," who, "with his bishop Alexander, took the most prominent part in the discussion,"⁸ was asked by a friend, some twenty-five years later, to tell him "what was done in the synod," he "let him know at once what then took place," but did not refer him to the minutes.⁹ Evidence of this kind, then, is all we possess. But, slight though it is, it comes first-hand from the principals con-

¹ Socr., *H.E.*, I, xiii, §13.

² Socr., *H.E.*, I, viii, §12.

³ Eus., *V.C.*, iii, c. 7.

⁴ Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, §23.

⁵ Ath., *De decretis Nic. Syn.*, §2: written c. 351-5.

⁶ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vi, 804.

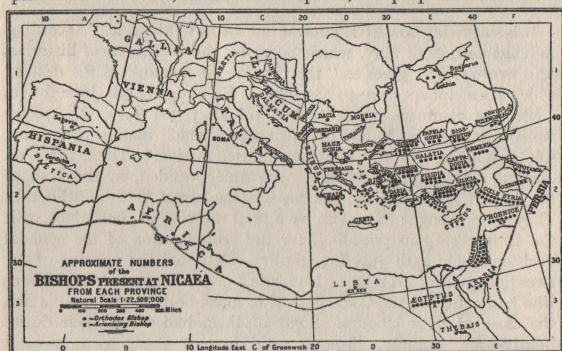
⁷ Eus., *V.C.*, iii, c. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, c. 15.

⁹ Sozomen, *H.E.*, I, xvii, §7.

cerned; and, by a happy coincidence, they represent three out of the four points of view which found voice at the Council. We will distinguish these groups by terms borrowed from current political phraseology, so as to give them precision without prejudice.

First among our informants, one of the leaders of the Right and an anti-Origenist, was Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, 324-30; a fragment of whose reminiscences¹ is preserved by the ecclesiastical historian Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, 423-†58. From the same point of view there are fuller details preserved by Athanasius. He had a strong sense of humour, and he gives a picture, twice repeated, of the scene at one of the discussions. The Arianisers, while one phrase after another, taken from Scripture, was proposed as sufficient



to exclude their tenets, were caught "whispering to each other and winking with their eyes," as if to say "there is no difficulty in agreeing to these";² or, as he says in a later description of the scene, they "were observed exchanging nods with one another,"³ to the same effect.

We have nothing, unfortunately, of what was said in the Council by Arius or by his supporters of the Left: but there are letters and fragments of his in existence,⁴ and we know that he was so frank in the expression of his opinions that "the bishops stopped their ears."⁵

It was this frankness that embarrassed his friend and fellow-Lucianist, Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, 325-39, the leader of the

¹ Theodoret, *H.E.*, I, viii, §§1-5.

² Ath., *Ad Afros* (A.D. 369), §5: tr. in Kidd, *Documents illustrative of the History of the Church*, Vol. ii, No. 54.

³ Letters in Thdt., *H.E.*, I, v, §§1-4 (to Eus. Nic.); Ath., *De Syn.*, §16 (to Al. of Alex.); and fragments of the *Thalia* in Ath., *Orat. c. Ar.*, i, §§5, 6, and *De Syn.*, 16; tr. in *Documents*, ii, Nos. 6, 7, 14.

⁴ Ath., *Ad episc. Egypt.*, §13.

⁵ Ath., *De decretis*, §20.

Left Centre. It was he and his friends who "winked" and "nodded" their assent to Scriptural terms, for none of them would have effectively excluded Arianism. But, according to St. Ambrose, a letter of his was read in the Council, in which he seems to be warning one of his friends who was going too far, by way of concession, towards the acceptance of non-Scriptural terms, and says: "If we speak of Him as true Son of God and uncreate, then we are on the point of accepting the phrase 'of one substance with the Father.'" And Ambrose assures us that it was "on the reading of this letter in the Council of Nicæa that the Fathers inserted the word 'of one substance' in the formulary of faith: they saw it was the very thing which their opponents feared."¹

Last of all, there remains the testimony of the other Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, an Origenist and leader of the Right Centre. In his *Letter to the People of Cæsarea*,² he gives the Creed of Cæsarea³ and the "Faith published at the Council,"⁴ and then proceeds to justify the addition to the Creed of the Nicene phrases, such as "Of one substance with the Father."

Such are our first-hand authorities for the proceedings of the Council: meagre enough in quantity, but sufficient to enable us to see what went on, and to account for the reaction that followed. There should be added the lists of its signatories.⁵ Some are in Latin:⁶ but they bear evident marks of translation from a Greek original. The names, moreover, are arranged according to provinces;⁷ and the provinces mentioned reproduce the political divisions of the Roman Empire as known to have existed at the time of the Council. We may therefore assume that the lists are both early and authentic. They show that Hosius—apparently as president—signed first; and the Roman presbyters, Victor and Vincent, next; and, further, they contain but 218 names. Some bishops, however, are known to have been present whose names do not appear on all copies of the lists, if at all: Marcellus, of Ancyra; Paphnutius, of the Upper Thebaid; and Spyridon, of Cyprus. It is possible, also, that, from one source of information or another, the list may be brought up to 232 or 237 names. But this falls far short of the traditional⁸—and mystical⁹—number 318.

Besides these first-hand authorities, there are others of secondary but considerable importance—the ecclesiastical historians. Of these,

¹ Ambrose, *De Fide*, iii, §125.

² Given by Ath. as an Appendix to the *De decretis*: tr. *Documents*, ii, No. 12.

³ Letter, §3.

⁴ *Ib.*, §4.

⁵ Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, §35.

⁶ C. H. Turner, *Ecc. Occ. Mon. Jur. Ant.*, I, i, 36-91.

⁷ Excepting that the names of Hosius and the papal legates, Victor and Vincent, stand first, *ib.* 36-7. For "the bishops present at Nicæa from each province"; see Map 5 of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. I.

⁸ By A.D. 369; see Ath., *Ad Afros*, §2.

⁹ *Gen.* xiv, 14; Ambrose, *De Fide*, iii, §121.

Eusebius of Caesarea was an eye-witness; while the works of his continuators, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, with Rufinus, belong to the first half of the fifth century. To the second half belongs the *History of the Nicene Council*, compiled from these sources in 475, in three books by Gelasius of Cyzicus; but only the second book¹ concerns his subject; and, "where his narrative is not sustained by these older writers, it is of doubtful value, and at times positively erroneous."²

III

Taking these fragments and records as our guide, I may quote what I have written in my *History* for the course which the debates may be supposed to have followed: and omit the references, which will be found there.

"First of all, Arius, who was present by the Emperor's command, was put on his defence, and avowed his opinions so frankly that 'the bishops stopped their ears.'

Eusebius of Nicomedia, embarrassed by this frankness, then induced the Council to have recourse to an examination of the Scriptures: it was a proposal willingly accepted by the majority. All, indeed, would have gladly kept to simple and Scriptural terms: and made every effort to do so. But, as one term after another was proposed, the Eusebians skilfully turned the edge of its meaning. . . . At length, the majority were forced, by the Arian evasiveness, to have recourse to a formula other than Scripture: a bold expedient, and one adopted against their will, but they had no choice. . . .

Third, followed a discussion as to what formula. . . . Eusebius of Nicomedia put forward a formulary, written by himself; but, according to Eustathius of Antioch. . . . it was 'torn to shreds in the sight of all,' and rejected as heretical. Eusebius of Caesarea then proposed a second, 'not of his own devising, but consisting of the Creed of his own Church, with an addition intended to guard against Sabellianism.' This was an improvement: for it was unassailable on the basis of Scripture and of tradition. But it was felt to be inadequate; until, at last, Constantine, prompted by Hosius, proposed its acceptance, 'with the addition of the one word *Homo-ousion*.' The proposal was adopted; and, on the basis of the Creed of Caesarea, with additions from those of Antioch and Jerusalem, due, no doubt, to the presence of Eustathius and Macarius—bishops of these two Sees—in the Council, the bishops framed the Creed of Nicæa, or, more properly, the Nicene Faith."³

¹ Migne, *P.G.*, lxxxv, 1223-1344.

² O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, §99.

³ *History of the Church to A.D. 461*: ii, 28-30.

IV

Interesting as is the story of these debates, the decisions taken by the Council are what chiefly concern us to-day: and these are as follows, with their documentary sources. First, the Creed: which is given in the letter of Eusebius, *To the People of Caesarea*.¹ Then, the *Canons*.² Next the *Synodal Letter*:³ in the copy of which addressed to the Alexandrians the Council informs them of its decision in respect of Arianism, of the schism of Meletius, and of Easter. Probably, these are the only *acta* which ever existed; and they were reinforced, so far as Easter is concerned, by Constantine's *Letter to the Churches*.⁴ We need not concern ourselves with Meletius or with Easter: but there are points in regard to the Creed and the Canons of permanent importance.

(i) As to the Creed, the first point of importance is its purpose. It is not, strictly speaking, the Creed, but the Faith of Nicæa. A creed is a formulary intended for learners, and taught to them in preparation for baptism: so that, when they have received (*Traditio*) and professed (*Redditio*) it, they are in possession of a *Symbolum*, or password, distinguishing them as Christians from heathen. But this was not the original intention of the Nicene formulary; nor was it called a "*symbolum*" (except in Can.-Laod. 7) till its conversion into a baptismal profession in the next century.⁵ Its purpose was not for learners but for teachers; not for catechumens but for bishops. It was intended as a test for teachers, to secure their orthodoxy. The name was "the Faith" or "the Lesson," not the Creed, of Nicæa. Its outstanding affirmation is that our Lord is "of one substance with the Father"—a phrase by which the Council claimed, in the face of the evasiveness of the Arians and the ease with which Scripture can be twisted to cover a doctrine alien to the meaning of its authors, to declare the meaning of Scripture and to protect it authoritatively. The principle on which they took their stand is that the sense of Scripture is Scripture; and that it is for the episcopate in Council authoritatively to interpret it. As Catholics, we of the Anglican Church are equally pledged to that principle to-day.

But, apart from this purpose, there is a further point of interest as to the use of the "Creed." The Creed of Nicæa is not the "Nicene" Creed now in use. It was never used in worship: and, indeed, was not suited for the purpose. Its anathemas, though admirably fitted to detect in a bishop, or official teacher of the Faith, any

¹ Eus., *Ad Cæsarienses*, §4: tr. *Documents*, ii, No. 12.

² W. Bright, *Canons of the First Four Councils*, with notes: tr. *Documents*, ii, No. 11.

³ Socr., *H.E.*, I, ix, §§1-14: tr. *Documents*, ii, No. 9.

⁴ Socr., *H.E.*, I, ix, §§32-46: tr. *Documents*, ii, No. 10.

⁵ H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies in Arianism*, §40, n. 1.

⁶ Eus., *Ad Cæsarienses*, §4: *Ath., Hist. Ar.*, §42.

⁷ Socr., *H.E.*, I, viii, §44.

lurking lack of loyalty to it, would be out of place for the unlearned, and especially at worship—though the Armenians recite them at Mass. Nor did the bishops, as they returned to their diocese, think of using the formulary of Nicæa in this way. What they did was to take the anti-Arian clauses, and to insert them into the catechetical Creeds of their respective Churches. Examples of this mode of procedure are exhibited in the Creeds of the local churches of Cæsarea in Cappadocia,¹ of Armenia and of Jerusalem. Thus in the Armenian Liturgy of to-day, the Creed runs :—²

"We believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the SON of God BEGOTTEN OF GOD THE FATHER, ONLY-BEGOTTEN, THAT IS, OF THE ESSENCE OF THE FATHER : God of God, LIGHT OF LIGHT, VERY GOD OF VERY GOD, AN OFFSPRING, AND NOT A THING MADE ; OF THE VERY NATURE OF THE FATHER : BY WHOM ALL THINGS WERE MADE in heaven and upon earth, both visible and invisible : WHO FOR US MEN AND FOR OUR SALVATION CAME DOWN from heaven, and was incarnate, WAS MADE MAN . . .

BUT THOSE WHO SAY 'THERE WAS WHEN THE SON WAS NOT' etc. . . . SUCH DOETH THE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC HOLY CHURCH ANATHEMATIZE."

It contains Nicene sentences as printed in CAPITALS : but it is not the Faith of Nicæa. The same treatment befell the Creed of the local Church of Jerusalem, which runs :—³

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible :

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of His Father before all worlds, LIGHT OF LIGHT, VERY GOD OF VERY GOD, BEGOTTEN, NOT MADE, BEING OF ONE SUBSTANCE WITH THE FATHER, THROUGH WHOM ALL THINGS WERE MADE ; WHO FOR US MEN, AND FOR OUR SALVATION CAME DOWN . . . AND SUFFERED . . ."

Here the *italics* represent the local creed as expounded, c. 347, in the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril,⁴ as a presbyter at Jerusalem ; while words in SMALL CAPITALS are insertions from the Faith of Nicæa. The result will easily be recognised as our "Nicene Creed." How it happened, and why all Orthodox and Catholic Christendom recites for the Creed at Mass the creed of this particular local Church, with the Nicene additions, is a problem of which the exact solution has not yet been found. But so it is. Not the Faith of Nicæa, but the Creed of the Church of Jerusalem, is the base of our "Nicene"

¹ F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 146.

² F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies*, 426 seq.

³ Hort, 144 : tr. *Documents*, ii, No. 67.

⁴ Hort, 142.

Creed : and this Creed, recited in worship, is the bond between all Catholics, the supreme example of unity compatible with variety, and the only foundation of doctrine on which any wider unity is likely to be based.

(ii) The Canons of an Œcumenical Council stand on a lower level than its dogmatic decisions. They are not of universal or binding effect ; nor need they be of permanent interest. But one of the Nicene Canons bears on this problem of unity to-day ; the famous Canon which begins "Let the ancient customs prevail."¹ This Canon, like all the rest, was occasional in origin : and was prompted by the Meletian disorders in Egypt. Meletius had been guilty of invading the rights of the See of Alexandria, by disturbing the old relations between the Archbishop and his suffragans. These ancient customs were now once more to prevail. Such rights of direct authority over diocesan as the Roman See exercised within its own sphere, these the See of Alexandria was to enjoy, as hitherto, in its sphere. Unfortunately, the Canon does not mention what the Roman sphere was : for everybody then knew. So for the Greek. But two questions arise : What, if any, is the further evidence of the Latin versions ? and, What was the Roman sphere ?

As to the Latin versions,² the two oldest³ support the Greek ; but, at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, the Roman legate produced a variant according to which the sixth canon began "*Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum.*"⁴ It was instantly confronted with the Greek original, and repudiated :⁵ and it turns out to be a later insertion of Italian *provenance*.

But what was the Roman sphere ? The paraphrase of Rufinus⁶ (†410), with two Latin versions of the fourth⁷ and fifth⁸ centuries, make mention of the "suburbicarian churches" or "places." Now this is a legal term ; and would mean, at the time of the Council of Nicæa, the churches of the ten provinces of central and southern Italy, with the islands of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, *i.e.*, of the region administered, in civil affairs, by the Vicar of the City.⁹ The original Roman patriarchate was thus in question ; and such immediate rights over his suffragans as the Roman bishop had in this region, those the Bishop of Alexandria was to enjoy, according to this sixth canon, over the bishops of Egypt. It is sometimes contended that only the patriarchal rights of the Roman bishop were thus under consideration ; and that his papal authority remains in the background. But the language of the canon is natural enough, if its authors were only drawing an analogy from the authority of one great See to that of another. "It is not what would be natural on the

¹ Canon VI.

² C.H. Turner, *Ecc. Occ. Mon. Jur. Ant.*, I, ii, 103 sqq.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴ Turner, *op. cit.*, 148.

⁵ Mansi, *Concilia*, vii, 443-4, C, D.

⁶ Turner, *op. cit.*, 197.

⁷ *Ib.*, 120.

⁸ *Ib.*, 121.

⁹ *Ib.*, 150.

part of any assembly of Christian bishops who believed that Christ had given to the Roman See a plenitude of jurisdiction, which differed not only in degree but in kind from that of any other See whatsoever."

V

We pass now to the results of the Council: and it is sufficient to note that, by excluding Arianism from the belief of Orthodox Christians, the Council of Nicæa saved the Christian Faith. Thomas Carlyle made no profession of orthodoxy: but he was quick enough to see that "If the Arians had won, Christianity would have dwindled away to a legend."¹ It is true that there was a forty years' reaction in favour of Arianism, after the bishops went home from the Council. It is equally true that "Arianism was put down" under Theodosius I. (379-†95), "as it had been set up" under Constantine II. (337-†61), "by the civil power."² But when the Nicene decisions had won their way, as they had before the death of St. Athanasius (†373), the future of Arianism was closed. "To that Council," he wrote in 369, "the whole world has long ago agreed . . . The Word of the Lord, which came through the Œcumenical Synod at Nicæa, abides for ever."³ Nor was it a barren victory, of one party over another, of *Homo-ousion* over *Homoi-ousion*, i.e.,—to recall one of the most characteristic of Gibbon's gibes—of a word spelt without over a word spelt with an iota. For all which *Homo-ousion* was meant to secure, and did secure, was that Jesus is God, and that, therefore, Christians may worship Him and put their trust in Him, as they always had done, from the beginning. It was not a victory for theology only, but for religion.

On this achievement rests ultimately the great prestige of the Council; though, from the first, its prestige stood high above all other Councils, on other grounds. Not only was the Nicene Council the first on the list of Œcumenical Councils; but it has quite overshadowed, in the mind of succeeding generations, those that followed. This was due to its being a great innovation: occurring as it did within a dozen years of the last persecution, striking men's imagination and engaging their gratitude as marking an unexpected transition for the Christian Faith from danger to supremacy, and for Christians from threat of extinction to the sunshine of Imperial favour. Next, it was due to Constantine himself—the Great, because he knew a great thing when he saw it. Such greatness he discerned in the Christian Church, and was concerned for its welfare and its unity. The Council was a device to secure it. There had been Councils of the

East and in Egypt before; and both on a considerable scale. But there had been no Council hitherto, representing his Empire as a whole: nor could there have been until he adopted the idea and saw it through. This also was a striking distinction for the Council of Nicæa—its accomplishment by the Imperial good-will. But more striking, that the Council which the Emperor collected was, as no subsequent Council could be, a Council of confessors.⁴ Many of its members bore marks themselves of having suffered in the persecution. Hosius, its president, had been a confessor in the persecution of Maximian.⁵ Potammon⁶ and Paphnutius,⁷ two Egyptian prelates, had each lost an eye, and the latter had been hamstrung⁸ in the persecution under Maximian. Eustathius of Antioch, Bishop of the third See in Christendom, is spoken of as a confessor.⁹ And Paul of Neocæsarea on the Euphrates came with hands that had been paralysed by red-hot iron¹⁰ in the persecution of Licinius. There were other prelates, too, of great saintliness and simplicity of character: the ascetic James, Bishop of Nisibis: the missionary Bishops John of Persia and Theophilus of the Goths: and the old shepherd Spyridon,¹¹ of Cyprus. No subsequent Council could show distinctions such as these. So the Council of Nicæa marks an epoch. It was held by the first Christian Emperor. Its members included not only leaders of great ability, but, in the rank and file, men who had suffered for the Faith. These all met to bear witness for it. And hence the lasting fame of the Council of Nicæa.

VI

It is not now possible to deal in detail with the objections to which the Council has been pursued, whether in its own day or in modern times. Men said then that the term *Homo-ousion*, which it chose in order to secure the perpetuity of the Catholic Faith, was open to criticism on such grounds as that it is not found in the Scriptures;¹² that it had already been repudiated by previous synods;¹³ and that its philosophical associations were misleading. To these objections the answers made were: that, in order to secure the sense of Scripture, the Church must, if need be, take power to go outside the terms of Scripture; that, what one Synod may set

¹ The suggestion appears to have come from Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, who, on a visit to Nicomedia, gained Hosius for the project and so Constantine: Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte*, i, §7 (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, xxi, p. 8; ed. J. Bidez); see P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 319.

² "Athletes," Chrysostom, *Orat. c. Judæos*, iii, §3.

³ See his letter in Ath., *Hist. Ar.*, §44.

⁴ Ath., *Hist. Ar.*, §12.

⁵ Rufinus, *H.E.*, i, §4.

⁶ Thdt., *H.E.*, i, vii, §5.

⁷ Ath., *Hist. Ar.*, §12.

⁸ Ath., *De Fuga*, §3.

⁹ Socr., *H.E.*, i, xi, §2.

¹⁰ Ath., *Hist. Ar.*, §12.

¹¹ Ath., *De Synodis*, §43; Hilary, *De Synodis*, §41.

¹² Ath., *De Synodis*, §43; Hilary, *De Synodis*, §41.

¹ W. Bright, *Roman See*, 80.

² J. A. Froude, *Carlyle's Life in London*, ii, 494.

³ H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies in Arianism*, 260.

⁴ Ath., *Ad Afros*, §§1, 2.

aside in one connection, another may rightly affirm for another purpose; and that "What the Greeks say is nothing to us."¹ For, if the philosophical term in question is suited to our purpose, as it is, for it is the only term which effectually shuts out Arianism, then we may discard its associations, and use it without fear. Other criticisms have been directed against the Council in modern times: (1) That it marks the triumph of "private judgment."² But, besides discussion, there was corporate witness to the traditional belief of the Church. (2) That it is the supreme instance of dogma imposed by a hierarchy. This objection is hardly compatible with the former; but it is not true, for, at the Council, there was a strong preference for language drawn from Scripture only, with every opportunity for free discussion. (3) That its terminology is metaphysical. But *omnia exeunt in mysterium*; and we must be prepared to resort to metaphysical terms in order to protect ultimate truth, unless we are prepared to acquiesce in a dumb faith.³ Or again (4) that its decisions ought to have been expressed in terms of will and not of substance, of psychology and not of metaphysics.⁴ But it was the Arians who thought it enough to affirm a unity of will⁵ and not of essence, between the Son and the Father. This, however, is insufficient: for such a moral union may exist between God and a great saint.⁶ Was Jesus then no more than that? And, whatever may be said as to our having abandoned the philosophy of substance, the term is still adequate, as no other, to safeguard the truth that it contains, viz., that the Son of God is not less than very God: while, if men say we ought to find a term more consonant with the categories of modern thought, we must at any rate wait till the whole of Catholic Christendom is united in the project not only of abandoning the existing Creed, with its Nicene clauses, which it recites at the Holy Sacrifice, but of fixing upon, and adopting, another formula better fitted to secure its faith.

VII

There are, in the largest reckoning, twenty Councils, from the Nicene to the Vatican, claiming to be Œcumenical.⁷ Of these, the first eight⁸ were summoned by the Emperors. They were Councils

¹ Ath., *De Synodis*, §51.

² A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 110 (ed. 1883).

³ A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, p. xxxiii.

⁴ W. Temple, *Foundations*, 232; echoing a remark of his father, Abp. Temple, made in 1857.

⁵ When they say that the Three Persons of the Trinity are "three in essence, but one in will," Ath., *De Syn.*, §23.

⁶ Ath. takes exception to it, as recalling the Arian invasion of "I and my Father are one," *sc.* in will, *ib.*, §48.

⁷ On these: see *s.v.* *Conciles* by J. Forget in A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, iii, 636-76.

⁸ (1) *Niceea*, I, 325; (2) *Constantinople*, I, 381; (3) *Ephesus*, 431; (4) *Chalcedon*, 451; (5) *Constantinople*, II, 553; (6) *Constantinople*, III, 680; (7) *Niceea*, II, 787; and (8) *Constantinople*, IV, 869.

of the *Οἰκουμένη* or Roman Empire, and Œcumenical in that sense. But for Œcumenicity in the wider sense there must be representation of the episcopate as a whole, including effective co-operation on the part of the Pope, as Head of the Episcopal College. The Pope did not convoke any of the first eight Councils, nor can it be shown that, by an act of subsequent confirmation, he gave to all of them Œcumenical authority. But in respect of those that were Œcumenical in their celebration, he did effectively co-operate. He did more than this in all but one (Constance) of the remaining twelve or Western Councils, but none of these was representative of the episcopate as a whole. The Orthodox East rejects the eighth, which condemned Photus; and recognises the first seven. The Anglican Church recognises six;¹ but, in her more authoritative documents, the first four: to which, however, the decisions of the fifth, sixth and seventh were of the nature of corollaries. With us, these first four are normative; and the reason is that in the sixteenth century we exchanged the Canonist² for the Civilian definition of heresy, and the Civilian standard of orthodoxy and heresy had been determined by the action of the Emperors Marcian, (450-†7) and Justinian (529-†65), who incorporated the decrees of the first four Councils into the Civil Law.³ To this standard our Formularies of Faith⁴ and our Ecclesiastical Acts of Parliament⁵ constantly recur between 1536-71: and to this we are pledged. It is the guarantee of our doctrinal continuity: for it was a standard that never changed throughout all the storms of action and reaction at the Reformation. It is also the anchor of our claim, in the English Church, to be as good Catholics as anybody else.⁶

B. J. KIDD.

¹ Homily against Peril of Idolatry, Part II; *Homilies*, 107 (Oxford, 1859). We should note that the seventh, which is the second of Nice, was not called about "any question of faith, but of manners."—R. Field, *Of the Church*, iv, 61 (Cambridge, 1852).

² The Canonist definition was "Quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanæ ecclesiæ," *Dictatus P. Gregorii*, VII, No. 26; *op.* C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*,³ No. 255.

³ Marcian by *Tandem aliquando* of 7 Feb., 452; *Mansi*, vii, 475-8, tr. *Documents*, ii, No. 216; and Justinian by *Novel cxxxi*, c. 1 (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, iii, 654 seq.; Berolini, 1880-95, of A.D. 545).

⁴ The Ten Articles of 1536, The Bishops' Book of 1537, the King's Book of 1543, and Canon VI of 1571; see Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, pp. xviii, 62, 227, and Gee and Hardy, *Documents of English Church History*, 476.

⁵ The Statute of Heresy, 25 H. viii, c. xii, §7 (*Statutes of the Realm*, iii, 455), and The Act of Supremacy 1 Eliz., c. 1 §36 (Gee & Hardy, 455).

⁶ On this point see my *Modern Oxford Tract or How Can I be sure that I am a Catholic?*

THE CITY OF THE CREED.

BY CANON DOUGLAS, PH.D.

(In substance this article has appeared in the "Church Times," by kind permission of the Editor of which it has been rewritten for the "Christian East."—ED.)

NICÆA is situated about 60 miles south-east by east of Constantinople in a rich plain bounded towards the sunrise by a range of hills which culminate in the snow-capped Bithynian Olympus. In the days before Mount Athos, it became *par excellence* the Holy Mountain, the most famous home of the Angelic Monks. Its site is on the east of Lake Ascanios, which itself is divided from the Marmora—the marble sea—only by a mile and a half broad strip of land.

Of the primitive history of Nicæa little is known, except that before it was refounded in 312 A.D. with its present name signifying the City of Victory by Antigonos, one of the Diadochi who divided the vast Empire of Alexander the Great in 316, it was the capital city of Bithynia. After Cannæ, Hannibal the Carthaginian, who, defeated by Scipio in the war for world mastery, made his home at Brusa, close by, must have visited it, for his reported tomb is at Ghevitseh, 20 miles off, and a huge sarcophagus, which 150 years ago, according to Leake, the traveller, bore a "Hebrew"—*i.e.*, probably a Punic—inscription, still stands dumped on a hillside, a mile or so from the city's north-western walls, by the old road to Constantinople, and invites our curious speculation. Pliny, whose very name makes us prick up our ears, built much in and about it when pro-consul of Pontus and Bithynia, of the latter of which it was the principal city. Indeed, the well-known description of his investigation into the "superstition" of the Christians, the contagion of which had spread in the villages no less than in the cities of his Government, may have been compiled for Trajan in Nicæa itself. At any rate, the amphitheatre, the stones of which stick up out of the ground like the bones of a mastodon, frozen 10,000 years ago into a Siberian iceflow, and cry for excavation, is the permanent memorial of his kindly rule and of the value set on the city by the early Emperors. In 120 A.D. Hadrian, whose favourite, Antinous, came from the vicinity, girdled the city with walls, all of which, except two gates, have been rebuilt, but which, according to that great authority on walls, my friend, the late Professor Van Milligan, of Robert College, the son of Byron's physician, undoubtedly served as a pattern for those more famous walls of Constantinople, which remained virgin to the assault of every enemy from 406 to 1453 A.D.

As they stand to-day in their unpreserved ruin, the walls of Nicæa are still marvellous. They run some 5½ English miles in their circumference, and (since the city, like all cities built at the period of the inception of the Seleucid era,¹ was refounded by Antigonos four-square), have four main gates, the *Roumi*, pointing to the north and opening on the road to Constantinople, *i.e.*, New Rome; the *Lefkeh*, pointing to the east and leading to that little town; the *Yeni Shehr*, pointing to the south and opening on to the road to that pleasant town; and the Water Gate, pointing to the west and forming the main landing stage to the traveller approaching the city by Lake Ascanios. As I have said, only two of those gates, the *Lefkeh*—Greek, Leucæ, the White Town—and the *Yeni Shehr*, date from Hadrian, and into all of them the Byzantine Cæsars, the Crusaders and the Turks have built with lavish vandalism columns, theatre seats, and other stones of ancient buildings.

I can never forget how, on paying my first visit to Nicæa, about 30 years ago, I came riding in through the former.

We had done the long, weary six hours' train journey from Haida Pasha, the Constantinople railhead of the Smyrna railway, past Ismidt Nicomedia, and along the bank of the stony Sangarios, where the Greeks found their debacle in 1922.

Then had come a hot ride over the mighty hills with their sheer, dangerous precipices. The road was little better than a track, curling along half way up the cliffs, and once, while our guide said Kismet, I had sat on my seat and nearly gone down into the abyss from one, styled the Eagle's Crag. At last we had come out on to a rich, half-cultivated, desert plain and had reached the old Roman road, still good for all its centuries of neglect. Then we turned a corner and far away on the road stood up the line of the rounded towers and of the battlements of the old, old city.

Just inside the Lefkeh Gate a spring splashes, as it must have splashed in 325 A.D., on to the rough cobbled way—they call it the Theotokos' Fountain: to drink of it is sacramental—and by its source was a huge pomegranate, the red flowers and dark foliage of which formed a natural setting to a lovely Greek girl and boy, twins of sweet seventeen, with light red-gold hair, sitting talking. I thought of Xanthos Merelaos, and wished that I had had the power to paint the picture.

Nicæa's rival was Nicomedia, which, as Nicæa is Isnik, has become Ismidt by the prefix of a prosthetic alpha and not as, according to the guide-books, by a corruption of *Εἰς Νικομήδειαν*. Diocletian chose Nicomedia as his residence, and, in due time, Constantine held his Court there. But it is less than 30 miles from Nicæa, and he could reach the *Roumi* Gate in an early morning's ride.

¹ There are nationalities such as the Jacobite Syrians which still date from 312 B.C., and not as do we from A.D.

When last I visited Nicæa—in 1912—the modern town contained about 2,000 Turks, 600 Greeks and 100 or so Armenians. Except the Koniak, the houses were mere shanties, of mud brick, but, doubtless, as Antigonos laid it out in 316 B.C., the main street still ran in the straight line from the *Lefkeh* to the *Water Gate*. An Italian, a fugitive from justice, kept a quaint little hostelry, L'Hôtel de Nicée. You slept Eastern fashion on the floor, if you could sleep in spite of Habbakuk's live creatures (see the seventh verse of that Prophet's second chapter!) spared you. You fed Turk fashion, and so on. But the Hôtel's visitors' book held notable autographs.

Another time I slept near the Column of Dion Cassius, which first-century geographer hailed from Nicæa, outside the walls, in my tent—a pleasanter bed-chamber.

To take steamer to Mudania, where Sir C. Harrington colloqued with Ismet in 1922, ride to Guemlek and then sail over Lake Ascanios to Nicæa, or to ride from Mudania first to Brusa—Hannibal's Brusa, silk-growing Brusa, Brusa of the Mosques, beautiful Brusa of the medicinal springs—thence to *Yeni Shehr* and so to Nicæa, used to be the usual way to visit the city, the panorama of which, as one rode down from the latter, was very fine. But to approach it by the former route and to see the old walls rise over the blue waters of the lake in relief against the ring of great mountains is an incomparable experience.

Just down by the south of the lake walls, a solitary cypress—Dean Stanley noted it in his Eastern Church lectures in the fifties—marks the traditional place of the palace in which the lists of the Great Council were opened on May 20th, 325 A.D. Experts have challenged the authenticity of the site, but a fig for experts. I used to prefer to sit out on the lake and dream of it thick with galleys, one of which carried old Alexander of Egypt and stunted, malformed, vivacious Athanasios, a second pale-faced, grim Areios, a third burly St. Nicholas of Myra, the Saint of the Mont-de-piété and the Three Gold Balls, and other equally notable personalities among the 318 Fathers to the Council.

Whatever failings the Byzantine Empire possessed, the devoted care of its Cæsares Augusti for the sacred places of the Œcumenical Christendom over which they held themselves to be the Christ's vicegerents, as witness the Church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem, is beyond challenge. Constantine's successors lavished their resources in making the City of the Creed a worthily symbolic city. But of all their work, at the time of my first visit a score of years and more ago, Turkish vandalism had left nothing except two churches, and of these, before 1903, it had allowed one to become a roofless ruin, and the other it gutted deliberately in 1922.

To-day the space enclosed by the walls of Nicæa is "all too large for

its shrunk shanks," being a jumble of brushwood, mulberry groves for the staple silk industry and gardens. That desolation is the result of the steady decay of the past six centuries of Turkish misrule.

Although Nicæa is seldom mentioned in history, it remained from 325 to 1330 a cherished possession of Eastern Christendom and a populous central city of N.W. Asia Minor.

The Empress Irene chose it for the convention of the seventh and last Œcumenical Council in 787 A.D. Islam had coveted it from century VII onwards, but its walls had proved and remained invincible to the Arab armies, which received a notable repulse under them in 910 A.D. The Seljuk Turks, who were under Arab humane influence and, in comparison with their Ottoman successors, were civilised, took it in 1030 A.D. and made it their capital. Under their Sultans, Suleiman and Kilif Arslan, it rivalled Bagdad and Cordova as a capital of Arab learning and science. By help of the Crusaders the Cæsars of Constantinople regained it in 1097 A.D. In 1204, when Pope Innocent IV.'s Crusaders turned away from the Holy Land, seized and sacked Constantinople, and set up their puppet Latin Emperor and puppet Papal Œcumenical Patriarch in the Sacred Palace and the St. Sophia of the New Rome, the legitimate Emperor, Theodore Lascaris, with the legitimate Patriarch Michael, took refuge in it, and carried on the life of Eastern Christendom in its palace and its St. Sophia until in 1268 the western usurpation was past, and their successors returned in triumph to Constantinople.

Thenceforward we know practically nothing about it. Orkhan, the father of Othman, the eponymous chieftain of the barbarous Ottoman Turks, captured it in 1330. Mahommed, the Conqueror of Constantinople, decreed in 1444 that its rival Nicomedia should supersede it as capital of Bithynia.

To the skilled eye, the record of the vicissitudes which Nicæa has undergone since Hadrian's time is visible in its walls. The present city has a couple of exquisite mosques, the Yeshil Jami—green mosque—and the Eshref Jami, once a beloved place of pilgrimage, both dating from the fourteenth century, and adorned with exquisite tiles; some shrines of Moslem Saints—in Islam the devotion to the holy dead is, if more crass, as intense as that in any part of Christendom; and an Imaret, or place from which pilaf (rice) and tchorba (soup) are distributed every Friday, the Moslem Sabbath, to the indigent. By its brickwork, the last was plainly of Byzantine construction.

But the two central objectives for every Christian traveller have always been the Church of St. Sophia (every Eastern City had its St. Sophia, e.g., Salonika, Kiev, Nikosia), and the Church of the Assumption (Greek Koimesis, i.e., Falling Asleep,) of Our Lady.

The former, the Cathedral of the City of the Creed, was probably founded by Constantine the Great. Much of the present structure is certainly of the eighth century. For 64 years (1204-1268) it was the Metropolis of Eastern Christendom. Theodore Lascaris' successors were crowned and the Patriarch John's enthroned in it. In form it was a fine dome-capped basilica with the usual large double narthex at the west end and dome-crowned chapels at the East. When I last visited it, though the muezzin was called from its decrepit minaret, its roof was down. Bits of Byzantine frescoed plaster still adhered to the walls of its chapel and an old, stark-naked, mad fakir (beggar) lived in it and rushed out on me, shouting "Giaour, Infidel," to scare me. The seventh and last Œcumenical Council was held and its decree proclaiming Veneration of the Cross and Holy Images to be every Christian's duty was promulgated under its vanished dome in 787 A.D.

Of the smaller church of the Koimesis and of its fate, I can hardly bring myself to write. In origin it is very ancient and monastic, but was rebuilt by a private benefactor in the tenth century. Even the Othmanli Turks spared it to the Christian and, with St. Mary Mouchliotissa at Constantinople, it remained the only Byzantine shrine of importance which in all the country had not been desecrated to be a mosque.

When I last visited it, the signs of the loving care expended upon it were manifest. The Christians of Nicæa were poor, depressed and subject to harsh government under Abd-ul-Hamid and his predecessors—in fact they had almost lost the Greek tongue, and their Liturgy was usually said in Turkish—but they found compensation in their pride in their Church. Joachim III., the Great Œcumenical Patriarch of the first decade of this century, had restored it. The wonderful tenth-century mosaics of Our Lady in the dome and round the Holy Table, which were of unique type in portraiture and execution, were in excellent preservation. The building was rich in ancient treasures—a fine stone sarcophagus (perhaps that of Lascaris); great marble candlesticks (manoualia); in crosses, gospels, manuscripts; above all, in old, old eikons.

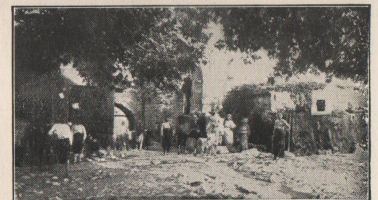
One of these last, mentioned in his well-known lectures on the Eastern Church by Dean Stanley as a "rude picture"—was of the Great Council. It showed Constantine throned, with the Gospel in his hand, and in front of him, while Alexander of Alexandria, Eusebios, Athanasios and others looked on, Nicholas of Myra delivering his famous clout on the ear to the heresiarch, Areios. Sir E. Pears and Dr. van Milligan maintained that the archæological details of costume, etc., were so accurate that it must have had an earlier fourth or at latest fifth-century prototype. I tried once to photograph it, by flash light, but in vain, and, as far as I know, no one else succeeded. Now it has been destroyed, together with the age-long tradition of



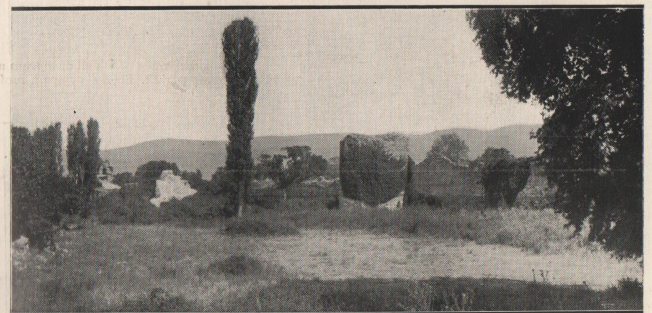
Walls by the lake.



Hadrian's Stambul, or North Gate.



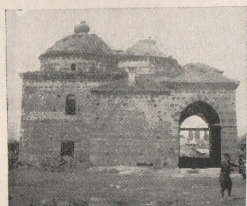
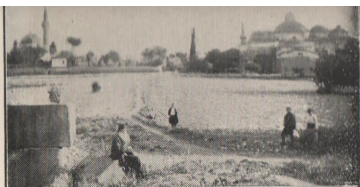
At the Leskeh Gate (Hadrian's work).



Traditional site of the palace by the lake walls in which the Council assembled.



Ruins of the Church of St. Sophia.



the Koimesis, that oasis in which the Liturgy had never ceased through all the dark centuries of Islam.

In September, 1920, Mustapha Kemal's minion, Djavad, caught the French napping, raided Nicæa, and butchered its 600 Christians atrociously—they shod the old priest with horse shoes and set Turkish lads to ride him through the street—only two little girls and one woman escaping. At the same time, they looted the Koimesis, firing their guns at its mosaics and hacking its ikons to shreds. When the British turned them out, the saintly old Bishop of Nicæa, Basil, found nothing but the dead bodies of his people piled one on the other in a cave just outside the *Lefkeh* Gate, and the shell of his old Cathedral Church.

There is no good book on Nicæa, but a good description of the Koimesis is to be had in a pamphlet by Bishop Basil, and an invaluable but ponderous volume, *Die Koimesis Kirche in Nicæa und ihre Mosaiken*, Strassburg.

A RECENT VISIT TO NICÆA.

A FRIEND of mine, more youthful and venturesome than I, had left Constantinople not long before on a trip across Asia Minor into Syria, and was determined to see Nicæa on his way. But when I received a mysterious doubly-registered letter with Turkish stamps I never guessed what its purport would be. He had found at Nicæa that the Muchtar had the "epitaphion," or embroidered representation of Christ in the Tomb, which a Turkish soldier had looted from the destroyed Church of Our Lady and sold to him. This was offered to him for 200 liras (about £20), but not being able to spare the money in cash, in view of the long journey before him, he gave the Muchtar a retainer of five liras and wrote and begged me to go there, hand over the cash, and bring back the relic.

I had always vowed I would never go farther east than Constantinople, which I felt was my limit of endurance as to filth, discomfort, and general barbarity, but here was something from the church at the historic Nicæa, and 1925 was the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of the Council, and so I felt it ought to be done.

First came the question of route, and I was told to go by Brusa, where they said it was possible to get motor-cars and drive the fifty miles or so to Nicæa: then the police permit had to be secured. After this a friend who had experience and official knowledge drew an alarming picture of the dangers of the lonely road, and the madness of going all alone with a good sum of money on me and a complete ignorance of Turkish, and urged me to make sure that the Ambassador acquiesced before starting. However, the Embassy officials, who had just got back from Angora, seemed rather annoyed that I should have been made at all uneasy, and so at nine o'clock in the morning on the Eve of Lady Day I took the steamer for Mudania, finding, when afloat, that not a soul on board understood anything but Turkish. A police officer took away my permit, and explained in dumb show that I should get it back when I landed. This was at one o'clock, but it was a full hour before the train for Brusa started, the examination of permits taking all that time. It was with some misgiving that I found we were off without having received this very necessary official document, but all turned out right, as a policeman had boarded the train and distributed the permits on the way.

The train was crowded, but again not a single French-speaking person was to be found, and so I contented myself with newspapers and the thought that, as the terminus was Brusa, I had only to sit still until I could go no farther, for it should be realised that the names of stations in "Frank" letters have now been all obliterated. However, I had an unexpected reward for offering chocolate to the two Turks sitting opposite, who had heard the policeman ask if

I was going to Hotel Brotte (the only European one) and made me understand, when we stopped at a station *en route*, that I ought to get out there. Arrived at the hotel, which seemed rather stuffy and dingy, I got my first shock when the French-speaking waiter (a Jew from Adrianople) said it was impossible to get farther than Yeni-Shehir by motor-car or carriage, and that beyond there I should have to go on horseback for four hours. I was not equipped for riding. It promised to be really wet next day; I should have to pass the night at Nicæa and could not take a change of raiment under such conditions. Also, I had never learnt to ride. My attempts to do so when a boy on the only animal we possessed (a large carriage-horse) having ended in a rooted preference for a bicycle, so that I knew it would be four hours of misery, and another four on the way back the following day. However, I felt it would have to be done somehow, but luckily I found that after all it was possible to get a conveyance at Yeni-Shehir that would take me on, and so I was able to start early next morning in comfort with my suit-case. I was advised that I should be less conspicuous if I wore a fez, and I found it very comfortable but for a tendency to ride back at every jolt, and on a Turkish road the jolts are reminiscent of a telegraphic machine being operated in a nightmare. It had been pouring with rain all night, and there was a nasty wet drizzle when we started, so the roads were worse than ever, and in one place where a piece had been mended a dwarf wall had been built right across to force all traffic to turn off into the fields at the side. This meant dropping down a steep bank three or four feet high, and I began to think the car would never get up again when we stuck in the sticky clay repeatedly. But after the seven or so attempts of Bruce's spider we just managed it and I was landed at Yeni-Shehir rather sooner than had been promised.

Here I ate sandwiches in a dirty café (readers who don't know the East must not conjure up visions of the somewhat dirty places in France called by the same name, which are comparatively Eldorados), while a conveyance was secured to cover the rest of the way. This was a "talika"—a kind of wagon without seats and a low curved top. You climb in through a hole in the side and are supposed to sit cross-legged on the floor: this my legs refused to do, and to sit for long with your knees up to your chin produces a nasty spinal jar, and while you can lean your back against the side you must either keep your head stuck forward or have it continually knocking against the hard wood. The better kind of talika is fitted with a mattress, but this one had nothing but sacking that kept "rucking up." The track began as a ploughed field and developed into a river-bed, and when it wasn't either it was the two mixed. Sometimes it was on the edge of a precipice with awkward corners, and when the driver had nearly succeeded in pitching the whole caboodle

over the edge sideways, by getting the inner wheel over a boulder a foot high, and the outer one on the extreme edge in his effort to avoid the former, he would look round at me with a merry grin for approval of his cleverness, while I cogitated on the fact that if our unstable equilibrium *had* been upset there would have been no possibility of my jumping clear, but down I should have gone in my cage. On the whole the scenery between Brusa and Nicæa is not unlike that of the Low Peak district of my native county of Derby, though my opportunity of observation was bad—you can't see much from a talika, and my motor-car was covered in owing to the rain.

At last Nicæa, at the eastern end of the beautiful lake of the same name, could be seen in the distance, or rather the square plan of the ancient walls, but it was another hour before we finally rattled through the massive triple gateway, only half ruined, the roadway beneath it reminding you of a very dirty and badly-kept farmyard. The village inside, if it can be called so, is nothing but a collection of sordid hovels, far worse than I expected. With a rather sinking heart I asked for Ibrahim Effendi (everybody in Turkey is an Effendi) the Muchtar, and found that he was one of the knot of men busily sitting doing nothing at my elbow as I alighted. Although he knew quite well what I had come for he was not effusive, and afterwards I found out why. Then I asked for the "Han," and was dismayed to find that, although new-built, it was just a dirty café like any in the back streets of a Constantinople slum, with a couple of rooms above it, the only difference being that it had no floor but was just built on the earth. There I left my bag and went off to do my deal with Ibrahim. He had told my friend that I must arrive before Ramazan, or he would not be able to do business, but although the fast had begun that very day he showed no hesitation of any kind, except that he demanded 25 liras (two pound ten) more than he had agreed with my friend. Of course he knew I shouldn't come all that way and go back with nothing, and so had the whip hand, but he evidently expected me to bargain and possibly spend the whole of the next day doing so, and it is a good example of the "honesty" of the simple country Turk. However, the blood that runs in my veins has never known what haggling is, and besides, my one and only idea was to do what I'd come for and clear out as quickly as could be, and so the extra extortion was paid (like Abraham buying the cave of Macpelah from Ephron the Hittite) and the treasure wrapped up in newspaper and delivered into Christian hands on Lady Day, 1925, having been the property of Our Lady's Church until the Greek evacuation. The church itself is now nothing but a heap of tiles and dust, though the foundations are still there. The Church of St. Sophia was turned into a mosque long ago, and has also long been roofless, but

the walls and the minaret still stand. On the site of the altar is a little blacksmith's furnace, and round the apse hang bundles of tobacco-leaf to dry. The small mosque is untouched and now in use.

I offered a French-speaking Turk, who represented a tobacco company, and acted as my dragoman, a supper with me at the Han, and although the conditions were such that I thought it lucky I got through without being sick, the food itself was not bad, or I was desperately hungry. The place was crowded with men of the "hamal" type, who eyed me curiously, and the Ramazan drummer came in, gave us an obligato and solo, and asked for baksheesh, and my friend ordered a narghileh for himself, which I found I had to pay for. As soon as I decently could I withdrew to "bed." A bed there certainly was, with a mattress, a quilt and a flat bolster, but I didn't dare to take off more than boots, coat and waistcoat, and collar, and so I lay down as I was on top of the quilt rather than under it, and put a couple of rugs of my own over me. There was a very strong smell of stale tobacco, dirt and unwashed humanity mixed, but in spite of that and the babel of voices below that went on half the night because of Ramazan, and a continuous itching which must be credited to some kind of insect, I fell asleep in an hour or two from sheer fag and did not wake until six o'clock next morning, when I was surprised to find from the comparative freshness of the air that the smell overnight must have been chiefly the fumes from below filtering through the chinks of the floor. I discovered the day before that Turkish arrangements for washing are rather awkward. There was a basin-like sink on the landing, with a perforated bottom, and an urn filled with water having a very small-bore tap that let it out in a trickle too slight to fill your sponge. I had to wait my turn in the morning with men occupying the other room. Then, having made myself some cocoa in a small slop-basin, and paid my bill, which was nearly as much as at the Brusa hotel, I was only too thankful to crawl into the wretched talika again and be off. A young Jew, who spoke a little French, had previously informed me that he was going to Brusa that day, and as we drove off the driver called him, and he tumbled in without any leave from me. I now began to find out that the only way to avoid the jar was to lie full length, so I arranged my suit-case at a slope in the carrier at the back, and put my overcoat upon it to rest my head, although at times the jolts were bad enough to make it dance in the air.

When Yeni-Shehir was reached again, the motor-car, although the driver had offered to spend the night there and take me back, had disappeared, and there was nothing for it but to go on the whole way in the same talika. After eating sandwiches in the stable-room off the yard, and being asked mildly if I was a *giaiour*, the same horses were put in again, and I had the modified satisfaction of being told I should get to Brusa that night. After another three hours'

shaking the horses were watered at the half-way village and, no doubt, a second kindly arrangement was made at my expense, as, though all was ready, we didn't start. I asked the Jew why, and he looked uncomfortable and said he didn't know. Then the driver called out "Hassan," and a great strapping soldier came running and scrambled in on top of me. Apparently he expected me to make room to accommodate him, but this was about the limit, and his being a soldier made me all the more angry. I pushed him out, but he tried to force his way in, and evidently thought a man in uniform (one of "our noble Turkish heroes") could ride roughshod over anybody. When he saw I was determined he glared murder at me, and I thought I was in for trouble, as he was the one and only representative of law and order for twenty miles or so. However, a firm front does wonders in the East, as most Orientals are cowards at bottom, and he contented himself with angrily demanding my passport. This I showed him, and he wanted to take it, but I took care not to let him, but held it in front of his eyes and showed him back and front. I thought I was going to be taken to the Caracol and held up for hours or even for the night, but he thought better of it and I shook him off.

We reached Brusa after dark, but just in time for dinner at the hotel, which now seemed a Paradise, but the waiter told me it would be quite impossible for me to leave next day, as it was too late to get the police *visa*. Next morning he gave me the further cheering information that, as it was Friday and Ramazan, I shouldn't be able to get it that day and should have to stay till Sunday. I had visions of telegraphing to my licensed Reader, but determined to do everything possible first, and found that if I sent to the house of the Chief of Police in the afternoon he might be persuaded to do what was necessary. This was right out of the town, and it took a man four or five hours to get it, but the thing was done, and at 7.30 next morning I was in the Mudania train and reached Constantinople on Saturday afternoon, so that the Church was not deprived of its full services after all.

I have not yet been able to get an expert to date the epitaphion, but the groundwork is crimson and the embroidery mostly silver, and it has been suggested that it is Cretan workmanship. The inscription puzzled me, but when I realised that it was wrongly spelt the difficulty vanished, so I give it as it stands, and those who know the living pronunciation of Greek will not rank it with cross-word puzzles.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΚΗΝΗΤΗΣ ΑΤΑΛΗΝΑ ΠΡΟΪΚΗΝΗΤΗ
ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΑΚΙ ΜΝΗΣΘΗΚΗΡΙΟ.

R. F. BOROUGH.

Chaplain, Crimean Memorial Church,
Constantinople.

TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF RUSSIA. R.I.P.

THE Christian East (Vol. II, Nos. 2, 3; Vol. IV, Nos. 2, 4, Vol. V, No. 1) has given to its readers the fullest information which has appeared in the English Press about the glorious life of His Holiness the Patriarch Tikhon up to the middle of the year 1923. It remains only to add a few words about his life since that time, and especially about his untimely death. Full details are not available yet, and a certain amount of the information to hand cannot be published.

We cannot know all the details of the history of the so-called "recantation" of the Patriarch Tikhon, but we know for certain that the Patriarch Tikhon was not afraid to lose his life standing for his faith in the Church, and we know for certain that he was promised by the Bolsheviks that, in the event of his signing any document modifying his previous attitude, he would be given complete freedom not only personally, but also (which was most important for the Patriarch) complete freedom to arrange the administration of the Orthodox Church in Russia. He was promised that after his "recantation" all the thousands of bishops and clergy languishing in the prisons and in exile would be returned to their flocks, and that the persecution of the Faith and the clergy would be stopped.

This glorious picture painted by the Bolsheviks probably deceived the Patriarch, and he signed the documents prepared by Bolshevik hands. He was liberated, but the Bolsheviks never intended to yield any facilities to arrange the administration of the Church or to abate their bitter persecution of the Christian Faith and the Church. Their idea was to discredit the Patriarch before his faithful flock and surround him with such nets as would not leave him any freedom for carrying out the good things promised to him. When the Patriarch was liberated he was naturally surrounded by the bishops and the priests who remained faithful to him during his imprisonment, and from them the Patriarch wished to form the patriarchal and diocesan administration. He was greatly disappointed when within a month all these faithful clergy were arrested by the Bolsheviks and either imprisoned or exiled. From the very few who remained in Moscow he formed the administration, but the Bolsheviks, who professed that they did not want to interfere with matters of the Faith, immediately laid hands on the newly-formed administration, and the notorious member of the Moscow Chéka, Tóochkov, assumed the rôle of Procurator, and not a single sitting of the Synod could be held without his presence or the presence of some other member of the Chéka. Thus if the Patriarch wanted to pass any measure, that measure must necessarily be

approved by the Bolsheviks in order to be carried into effect, and the Bolsheviks used this position of affairs in order to discredit the Patriarch. They began to demand from him the introduction of various measures calculated to irritate the faithful population. Thus they demanded that the Patriarch should order prayers for the Bolshevik authorities in the churches. The Patriarch had to yield, but the measure was not carried into effect for the simple reason that the faithful wished to have nothing to do with the Bolshevik authorities and did not mention them in their prayers. The Bolsheviks insisted on the Patriarch introducing the New Style (Kalendar). The Patriarch, being misinformed about the introduction of the New Style by various Eastern patriarchs, ordered its introduction in Russia. Fortunately, before the order came out of the Press he received correct information about the position of things in the East, and countermanded the order. The Bolsheviks were furious, but could do nothing with the Patriarch. One thing they could do, namely, arrest all the patriarchal administration and exile some of its members from Moscow. Being unsuccessful in their attempts to destroy the love of the people for their Patriarch, they started working among the faithful clergy, inviting certain members to form a "True Conservative Orthodox Church," dissociated from the Patriarchal Church, which, according to them, was under the Bolshevik influence. It is a pleasure to say that not a single bishop was tempted to go against the Patriarch and in this matter the Bolsheviks failed, too. Being unable to harm the Patriarch in this way, they thought of another plan. The so-called "Living Church" had by that time ended its inglorious existence, and in place of it rose another so-called "Church of the Renovators," supported by Bolsheviks who wanted to introduce elements of disruption into the Orthodox Church. A number of clergy joined that "Church"—some because they honestly believed that the Bolsheviks were willing to help the life of the Church, so long as the Church recognised the Bolshevik power; others because they were broken down by the Bolshevik persecutions and could not stand it any longer and wanted to have some kind of rest; and lastly, by a very few who wanted to do the devilish Bolshevik work. This "Church," although having clergy, had no flock. The Bolsheviks began to insist that the Patriarch should recognise this new "Church" and unite with them, thus forming one Russian Church with one administration. In order to make that easier, the Bolsheviks instructed the chief members of the Church of the Renovators to renounce all their extreme principles, and a certain number of persons who would be absolutely unacceptable to the Patriarch were also removed from their administration of that "Church." A few members of that "Church" publicly recognised their fault and were re-admitted to Communion by the



THE LATE PATRIARCH TIKHON.



THE FAMOUS METROPOLITAN MICHAEL OF SERBIA.

*Михаило
Аввакумичевъ Сербскій
Митрополитъ Годије*

Patriarch, but the "Church" as a whole could not be accepted by the Patriarch and he flatly refused to have anything to do with them. The Bolshevik idea was that, on forming the united Church, the members of the Church of the Renovators, having behind them the civil power of the Bolsheviks, would soon take a prominent part and would appeal to the Patriarch to convene the All Russia Council, by which the Patriarch would be deposed.

Seeing that they were not successful in this plan, they decided to remove the Patriarch in some way or other and, as they could not do it openly, they had to have recourse to hired assassins. On the 21st October, 1924, when the Patriarch was celebrating the Liturgy in one of the Moscow churches, the first attempt was made on his life. This was not successful only because the would-be assassins had mistaken the Metropolitan Peter for the Patriarch. The attempt, however, although unsuccessful, greatly told on the health of the Holy Father, who for a considerable time could not recover from the shock which he had received and which increased the attacks of asthma from which he suffered. Soon afterwards there was another attempt on his life, and this time it took place actually in the rooms occupied by the Patriarch. Again Providence saved the life of the Head of the Russian Church. His servant, hearing suspicious noises outside the door, went out to see what was there, and was shot down, being taken in the darkness for the Patriarch. Lastly, there was the third attempt made on his life. The Patriarch went to pray on the grave of his faithful servant and there an unknown man tried to shoot him. The two bullets were miraculously diverted from the Patriarch who was kneeling on the grave, and the assassin, seeing that the bullets did not take effect, got frightened and ran away. The constitution of the Patriarch, being by that time completely undermined, could not stand the strain any longer, and he had to be removed to the private hospital where he finally found his end.

We cannot say definitely what caused the death of the Patriarch, but one thing we may state, that there are few people in Russia who do not believe that his death was due to poison administered by iniquitous hands. Thus, summing up the life of the Patriarch after his liberation from prison, it may be described as a continuous martyrdom, not only spiritual but also physical, and one cannot help wondering that a frail man such as the Patriarch was could stand that awful strain even for that time. The Patriarch is recognised all over the world as a Confessor of the Faith. Probably when we know the details of his untimely death we shall also see that he is also a martyr.

B. TIMOTHEIEFF.

A PANEGYRIC UPON THE PATRIARCH TIKHON DELIVERED BY
CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D., AT THE REQUIEM FOR HIS
HOLINESS IN ST. MATTHIAS, EARL'S COURT, AT NOON, FRIDAY,
APRIL 24TH, 1925.

"Remember them which have rule over you; who have spoken unto you the Word of God; whose faith follow, remembering the end of their conversation—Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and for ever." So quoted our beloved Archbishop of Canterbury in the wonderful letter which, being by absence far from London and precluded from "seeing them face to face," he addressed the mourning Russian community of London on our Easter Sunday, when it held a Pannychidi for its beloved Patriarch. We of the world-wide Anglican Confession have not yet achieved that full union and intercommunion with our Eastern Orthodox brethren for which we and they long and labour, and which is impossible except on the basis of complete dogmatic agreement. None the less, we feel that the Apostolic injunction to the Hebrews is for us. The Patriarch Tikhon held rule over our brethren of Russia and held it most faithfully under bitter trial and persecution. They are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh in the Great Family of Christ, the Catholic Church of God—we know that fact instinctively—and we thank God for their noble Patriarch's wondrous witness to the Gospel of the Crucified and know that they regard our "remembering Him" in these our solemn mysteries of the Altar to be no intrusion. And, assuredly, we could not do otherwise than render the Holy Sacrifice in Eucharist for his witness to the Faith, and in sure and certain hope that he is now receiving from Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, that reward for his faithful stewardship which passes human speech and understanding.

Of his earlier life the facts are well known to the world. As a simple village lad he won the esteem, nay, the admiration, of the simple people in the parish of Pskov, of which his father was the diligent priest. Perchance the talent with which God had entrusted him was neither that of the exceptional intellect nor of the masterful genius. But—and therein we find the hall-mark of that saintship which we attribute to him—those who knew him best, even in childhood, in the intimacies of daily life, recognised him as a "chosen vessel" of God's purpose.

For his goodness and his piety his fellow students at Kholm named him "the patriarch." In the true Apostolic succession of burning faith, unshakable, of dauntless courage, unswerving and of tender charity, altogether self-dedicating, he will be canonised not among the saints of master brains but among those of master souls. In other days he might well have lived and laboured a pastor of pastors, healing with love reverent and pitiful the bodies and souls

of his people, making them also Christ-like by his homely, lowly example. The Divine Will was otherwise. In the term of the solemn declaration issued by the Holy Synod of the Œcumenical Throne, and acclaimed with eager consent by all Christendom, he was called to be a Confessor. To appraise the glorious steadfastness of the witness which he gave passes our speech. He had been of those who, wise by intuition, and conscious that the future of Russia depended on the revival of her Patriarchate, laboured twenty years ago for that great restoration. In the manner in which Blessed Matthias was added to the number of the Apostles by the drawing of a lot, so the Holy Confessor Tikhon was summoned to that Throne of Moscow which, in a warfare that no human foresight dreamed, is proving an instrument of Russia's salvation.

"God worketh not as man hath thought,
And what man thinks not, God hath wrought;
So hath each tale an ending."

Strange and almost past human comprehension is it, indeed, that, in November, 1917, the gentle pastor should have been chosen and enthroned in the Kremlin to the triumphant guns and blasphemy of the Atheist. Marvellous and comparable with the endurance of any martyr, save that of the Great Martyr, his and our Captain and Saviour, has been the record of his seven years' rule, and of the unflinching resistance to Bolshevik war upon Religion.

We here in the security of free and happier England, led by our Archbishop, have watched and wondered and have striven with our prayers and with the little other support that we could give to hold up his hands. In prison with broken health, assailed continually with shrewd, clever devices, terrorised, isolated from his every friend and counsellor, deprived even of the comfort of the Blessed Sacrament, he held to the post of his duty and refused by abdicating it to disintegrate the Russian Church which, with its machinery shattered by the Red Terror and its people persecuted and perplexed, cohered, save for the Christ, in his person alone.

Read the horrid record of the Dragonnades and bloodshed, of the many scores of bishops, the tens of thousands of priests, the hundreds of thousands of faithful laity martyred in a persecution wider and more cruel than that of Nero or Diocletian, and then learn with bowed heads and thankful hearts the lesson of the agony of his large and tender heart as he bore the torture of the knowledge of the sufferings of the flock for which he would have gladly died, but whose temporal safety he would not purchase by their scattering.

His strength was to sit still—and God gave him that strength—with confidence, until the turning point of the battle was passed, two years ago and the old Easter pledge was again fulfilled, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith."

You will remember how, in May, 1923, that very "world" rose in admiring wrath, and his persecutors were compelled to give him back on his own terms to the people who loved, nay, adored, him with the gratitude rendered to the leader of their deliverance from worse than physical death. By God's goodness he had been the chosen instrument for the preservation of the Russian Church from disintegration and the soul of the Russian nation from contamination for the great calling in the Kingdom of Christ upon earth.

The Atheist army has not prevailed against the Church.

And so he has entered upon that rest which God gives to His beloved. How his flock over there in Russia and here in London grieve that his bodily presence is no longer given them to be their centre of sympathy and inspiration, we can but faintly guess. Even with the wise provision which he has made for the rule of the Russian Church until the Red distress is past and gone we know something of their grave and pressing anxiety for the future. Here we would only say that our heart and our efforts and our prayers are wholly with them. Their sorrow is our sorrow, their hope our hope, their glory in their saint our glory.

In the days that are and that are coming there, where in Christ's purging, loving Hand, he receives those good things past understanding which God stores up for His elect, he will be in a more wondrous sense the means of their consolation, comfort and inspiration and, by his intercession, will work efficaciously for them and upon them, as he worked in the silent, terrible cell of the Tcheka in the years of his Confession.

I would close these unworthy words with those of our own loved Archbishop, who sympathised with so intimately and understood so well his Russian brother's duty, needs and sufferings, and laboured most generously and nobly to support, relieve and protect him.

He wrote to Father Timotheieff on April 12th as follows :—

Lambeth Palace.

DEAR FATHER TIMOTHEIEFF,

I am anxious to convey to you and to those who are associated with you in England the assurance of our deepest sympathy in the bereavement which has fallen upon the Church by the departure from this life of the venerated and beloved Patriarch to whose example we owe so much.

You know well how large a place the Patriarch has held in our thoughts and prayers and efforts during recent years.

The quiet dignity with which he has borne his trials and the consistent example which he has given of how a brave servant of Christ should comport himself in face of ceaseless anxiety, grave privation, and frequent dangers have secured for the Patriarch

an abiding place in "the noble army of martyrs," who have witnessed for Christ among men.

In quiet confidence I would recall to your minds the Apostolic injunction—"Remember them which have rule over you: who have spoken unto you the Word of God; whose faith follow, remembering the end of their conversation—Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day and for ever."

It is a grief to me that I should be spending Easter at a great distance from London and am therefore unable to see you face to face at this time and to share in your remembrance of our brother and in your thanksgiving for his beautiful and faithful life. My chaplain is representing me at your service held to-day.

I remain with warm regard,

Yours faithfully in Our Lord Jesus Christ,
RANDALL CANTUAR.

The following is a copy of the letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Metropolitan Eulogios :—

YOUR GRACE,

My official representative, Father Timotheieff, has personally communicated to me the truly Christian and comforting letter which Your Grace has addressed to him in the matter of the death of our deeply beloved Patriarch, the most venerated and holy Tikhon of Moscow.

That letter has stirred me, and with me the Russian Community of Paris, to the heart by its profound sincerity and sentiment, and, as the Chief Bishop of the Russian Parishes of Western Europe, I hasten to express to Your Grace the renewed and enduring obligation which I and my brother bishops with all faithful Russians feel to you for your noble words as well as for the unfailing brotherly and unceasing efforts you have made successfully during the sad but glorious years of our departed Confessor's martyrdom to relieve the persecution to which he was subjected and to preserve his life.

May God grant His blessing to you and to the Church of England, the mind of which, in this as in all matters, Your Grace has so clearly represented.

Believe me, Your Grace,

Your Brother in Christ and affectionate servant,
(Signed) METROPOLITAN EULOGIOS.

I am communicating Your Grace's letter to the Metropolitan Antony of Kiev and my brother bishops.

THE PRESENT DANGER TO THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.

A speech delivered by the Lord Bishop of London at University College, London, on March 17th, 1925.

MY Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: We welcome this immense gathering; we welcome the presence of Archbishop Germanos, and we also welcome especially the presence of so many Russian prelates to support their brethren.

I thought it right for me to read the letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, because he has taken such a prominent part in this whole question. (Applause.) His letter to me, which His Grace meant to be read to the meeting, is as follows:—

"You well know how eagerly interested I am in the meeting over which you will preside to-morrow with reference to the Œcumenical Patriarchate. I am certain that we ought to let it be everywhere understood that the Church of England attaches the very greatest importance to the position of the venerable Patriarchal See, and that we ought to use all the influence in our power to avert the disaster of its losing its status, its dignity, and its opportunity of exercising Christian influence among those nationalities of Eastern Europe over which its jurisdiction—formal or informal—has been exercised for some sixteen centuries." (Applause.)

I want to make it clear that this meeting has been arranged with no propagandist object, but to call attention to an extraordinary series of blunders, by which three things have happened, or are likely to happen. First of all, it appears probable that an unparalleled act of vandalism, of which, in the words of Lord Curzon, the mention in 1923 "shocked the conscience of the civilised world," will be perpetrated by the extinction of the second-oldest great Christian institution in the world. Secondly, that a blow to Eastern Christianity which may well cause its disintegration and prepare the way for the spread of Bolshevism may be inflicted in the same way, and, thirdly, that a very cruel injustice may be done to those Christians who have been allowed to remain in New Turkey—that is, to the long-suffering Greeks and Armenians of Constantinople.

I have spoken frequently in severe criticism of the present régime in Turkey, and of its handling of the Christian minorities. I can hardly trust myself again to say what I feel on that matter. I was asked, when I was there in Salonica days, whether I was a "bag

and baggage" man. I said, "I am, and shall be." (Applause.) I personally have watched the Turkish rule from close quarters, and I am certain it has been a curse to Europe for 500 years. The misrule in Palestine and the enslavement of 30,000 Armenian girls and women who are still in slavery in the harems are a disgrace to Europe. And as to the sack of Smyrna, which continued actually in the face of the British Fleet—and I heard from an eye-witness that the cries of the women and children were heard for three days without stopping—that is an abomination which we must absolutely protest against while we live. (Applause.) While I say that because I feel I must "let off steam," I think there would be no purpose in alluding to those matters, specially now. The Christian name, except the small remnant in Constantinople, has been extirpated from its ancient homelands in Asia Minor. The many hundred thousands who are dead cannot be brought to life, and the remnant have been expelled with the consent of Europe and America. The memory of those things had better be skinned with a scar of forgetfulness as soon as possible, and the greatest friend of the Turk should be eager to see that the three wrongs, which are at present threatening and which it is almost certain the Turks do not realise themselves, should not be inflicted upon the conscience of civilisation. (Applause.)

To explain: Since the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the Patriarchate of Constantinople has held by the 28th Canon of that famous Œcumenical Council an equal place, though second in dignity, with the other four ancient Patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The predecessors of the present Patriarch include St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory the Nazianzene, the learned Photios, and many others whose writings are of first importance in patristic literature. In fact, the Œcumenical Patriarchate really dates, if not from the Apostle Andrew, at least from the foundation of Constantinople as New Rome in 326 by Constantine the Great. The wonderful Church of St. Sophia, built by Justinian in 535—and I always feel we ought to have had that Church back—(applause)—it is one of the most terrible mistakes we ever made, in letting the Turks get up again when they were once on their knees—the wonderful Church of St. Sophia, as well as its predecessor built by Constantine the Great about 330, was consecrated by the predecessor of His All Holiness Constantine VI., the present Œcumenical Patriarch. A story which is possibly *ben trovato* is current in the Near East to-day; it runs that the leader of the Nationalist Turks, Mustapha Kemal, when asked to arrange for the preservation of St. Sophia—which is threatened like our own St. Paul's with collapse—replied: "The sooner it falls the better; we shall then be able to forget that until our day Constantinople remained a Christian city." That the Œcumenical Patriarchate should be destroyed would be an act of vandalism on the part of the civilisation

that allowed its destruction as great as suffering the peerless shrine built by Anthemius to collapse.

As the Archbishop of Canterbury himself has observed in Convocation, there is an extraordinary resemblance between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches. Just as the Anglican Communion consists of many Churches which are autocephalous—that is, independent of any authority on earth except that of an Œcumenical Council of the whole Church—but which all accept as *primus inter pares* the Mother Church of Canterbury, and regard the Archbishop of Canterbury as the central figure in precedence and for initiative of the whole great Anglican community, so to-day the whole of the vast Orthodox Communion, which includes the Churches of Russia, Roumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Albania, and very many Arab-speaking Syrians and Egyptians, is in the truest sense supra-national, coheres in its Mother Patriarchal See of Constantinople, and regards the Œcumenical Patriarchate as its centre. (Applause.) Imagine the effect in the Anglican Communion of the destruction of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and you will not then imagine the effect of the destruction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, for we Anglicans are all English-speaking and of one culture; but in the Orthodox Church there are many nationalities and cultures blended, and although the claims of the Patriarch are in no way to be compared with the claims of the Papacy, the effect would be more comparable to the result upon the Roman Catholic Church of the destruction of the Papacy. At the present time, as has been evidenced in a book recently noticed in *The Morning Post*—"An Assault on Heaven"—there is a determined and systematic attempt to destroy all Christian organisations in order that the work of the Bolshevik Atheism may be made possible. We have seen the attempt on the Patriarch Tikhon and the Russian Church. I do not put the devout Moslem on the same level as the frankly atheistic Bolshevik. None the less, the endeavours of the many Bolshevik Caucasians who work for an alliance between Moscow and Angora, together with the present uprising in the east of Turkey, is full proof that the attack on the Patriarchate is motivated at least as much by the hatred of Christianity as by Turkish Nationalism or Xenophobia. (Hear, hear.)

Accepting the fact that only 200,000 Greeks and 60,000 Armenians of Constantinople may remain in Turkey, it follows that they must have their religious advantages, or suffer an intolerable injustice. What I have to say applies as much to the Armenians and the Armenian Patriarchate, which the Turkish anti-religious Press openly declares is to follow the expelled Khalifate and Œcumenical Patriarchate, as it does to the Greeks and to the Greek Patriarchate. In many ways the two causes are one, and I rejoice to know that in the common suffering of their martyrdom the Orthodox and Armenian Churches are being drawn very closely together. (Applause.)

I desire here to make a protest against the great misuse of the word "political." It has been said repeatedly that the Œcumenical Patriarchate is a nest of intrigue, and it has been termed a "political institution." A careful study of Turkish history since 1453, when Mahommed III. conquered Constantinople and destroyed the Roman Empire of the East, reveals that there is not one single example of the Œcumenical Patriarchate interfering in politics, save only between the years 1918 and 1923, when the British and French flags flew over the city, and the utterances of British and French statesmen made the whole world sure that the Christians of Turkey would never again be placed at the mercy of the Turkish Government. Alas! how they have been betrayed! Cyril Lucar was indeed strangled in the 17th century, and Gregory V. was hanged on Easter Day, 1821, outside his own Church by order of the Sultan; but it is now admitted that the charge of intriguing with Europe urged against the former was whispered by ecclesiastical intriguers (Jesuits) and that the latter was opposed to the great Greek Revolution and was punished on the Oriental principle of revenging the sins of the members upon the Head. In regard to the term "political institution," in those political functions which were taken away from the Patriarchate by the Treaty of Lausanne, there never was a more nonsensical misuse of good English, and how Venizelos allowed the term to be applied I cannot understand. By Mahommed the Prophet's own strict ordinance, the Ottoman Moslem law ordains that all Christians must be given the free use of their religion in its widest sense, that is, be allowed to have their own education, schools, etc., their own charities, to marry, and to make their wills according to Christian and not Moslem law. We ourselves throughout the British Empire allow all considerable Moslem Minorities, such as those in India, etc., the same privileges. Indeed, to do otherwise would be not only a cruel persecution, but would be foolish in the extreme. Christians could not administer Moslem law; for how could a Moslem polygamist be tried on the principles of a monogamist European country or a Christian child be brought up in a school (for all Turkish schools are conducted on Moslem laws and Islam, by the second Article of its Constitution, is the religion of the New Turkey) which breathes the atmosphere of the Moslem faith without cruel injustice? A comparison with English life and thought cannot be made. Here we do not mind what a man's religion is—he may be anything or nothing, and yet a good Englishman. But in the East, where the *statuts personnels* and culture of the different races are the makers of their religion, the two cannot mix. (Hear, hear.) All the political functions of the Patriarch were, therefore, nothing but the presiding over the internal charities, education, and *statuts personnels* of the Christian communities. To-day in Constantinople, though nominally these political functions have been taken away,

the Armenian and Greek Patriarchs still preside over their people, and, if those peoples were deprived of their Patriarchs they would thus not only be left without their religious heads, but their whole life would be thrown into hopeless confusion and disaster.

Ismet Pasha announced in the name of Mustapha Kemal that he intended to expel the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates, and in consequence found himself in collision with Lord Curzon, the Serb and Roumanian representatives, and indeed the representative of every European country. He bowed to the storm and pledged Turkey to allow those two necessary institutions to remain. None the less, under some technical plea that the new Patriarch elected in December last was liable to be expelled in his individual capacity—I will not argue details of that kind—the Turkish Vali of Constantinople expelled the Œcumenical Patriarch most unceremoniously in January last. I desire to say now that, in our view, Europe should insist on the Patriarch being at any rate allowed to return, if he wishes to do so. It is altogether wrong that he should be deposed from his Cathedral seat. (Applause.) It is quite true that no less than 56 of his dioceses are lost through the extirpation of Christianity from the Turkish Dominions, and that the vast bulk of his people is now resident in Greece and other countries; but to reconstitute an ancient institution, itself the centre of their complex life, as that of Eastern Christianity in another place must be a task of the greatest difficulty, though it may be possible. I claim, therefore, that civilisation is bound to insist that the Patriarch be allowed to return, and, if it is subsequently thought fit that he should not, that the absurd restriction that he must be a Turkish subject be removed, that a free election of any orthodox person canonically eligible be permitted, and that the League of Nations should take upon itself to see that the Patriarch's person and house are in future treated as inviolable except for proved misconduct. As illustration of how little it has been treated as inviolable I give the fact that the Codex of the Acts of the Holy Synod, and correspondence with the Patriarch of Serbia, with our own Archbishop of Canterbury, and with the heads of other Churches, were recently seized by the Turkish Police. There was nothing politically compromising in any of that correspondence, but the letters at least contained intimate and delicate opinions in regard to the common life of the Christian Churches.

Our meeting is a protest against the crowning act of insolence of the Turkish régime, which after 500 years has culminated in this act of vandalism; we demand that the Patriarch should be allowed to return even if subsequently it be thought better for him to exercise his authority outside the Turkish Empire. (Loud applause.) I am now going to ask Canon Douglas to move a resolution.

Canon J. A. Douglas then moved, the Metropolitan of Thyatira, seconded, and Dr. Gennadios and the Hon. W. Pember Reeves supported

this resolution which was carried unanimously by the audience of over 500 people which packed the College Lecture Theatre:—

"That this meeting desires to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government and of the British Public to the great importance and significance of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, not only as the second most ancient, historic, and famous Ecclesiastical Institution in Christendom, but also as the primatial and central See of the great Orthodox Church, and waits with great anxiety the development of the crisis which at present appears to threaten its existence."

HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

YOUR EMINENCE, REVEREND FATHERS, AND GENTLEMEN: My subject to-night is historical scholarship and the reunion of Christendom. It is not without emotion that I stand before you this evening. As we look at the world about us, it is hard to imagine a subject of greater importance than one connected with reunion. I think you will all agree with me that there is not one of the evils of our time which could not be better combated by a reunited universal church. As the historian looks back over the miseries and disasters of disunion, it is easy, humanly speaking, to understand why our blessed Lord prayed that we might be one.

My subject is not reunion in itself, but only the contribution that the historian can make towards it. I suppose that it is to Dr. Guilday's kind appreciation of my book on the Inquisition¹ that I owe the honour and privilege of talking to you to-night. When I began to go over the evidence on the Albigenses my view of that particular subject was, I suppose, the conventional view held outside of the communion of Rome.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

It was not long before I saw that the old-fashioned anti-Roman version of the matter was no longer tenable, and by the time I finished my work I was convinced that the present unhappy divisions of Christendom are wantonly embittered by masses of false history.

Before going any further, I want most emphatically to reject the idea that history can ever, in religious matters, be the final and authoritative judge. I think I understand the much-maligned phrase "The appeal to history is heresy," and if I understand it correctly then I am sure I agree with it. Faith and unfaith are equally capable of surviving their respective historical difficulties. Were my subject Christian evidences rather than reunion, it would be interesting and worth while to analyse some of the many historical difficulties of unbelief. For instance, there is the formidable difficulty created for themselves by those who deny that the first generation of Christians believed our Blessed Lord to have been incarnate God. But to-night I must be content to pass on, referring to it only in passing. My reason for speaking of it at all was merely to remind you that no evidence, particularly as to the distant past, is so strong that it can convince a hostile will.

But if, as I think, we are all agreed the historian can never be the final judge in matters of faith, it nevertheless remains true that he can be an advocate of enormous power: I should not be speaking

¹ *The Inquisition*, New York, 1924—a stirring book, valuable, and provocative of thought.—ED.

to you to-night did I not believe that his powerful advocacy has a great part to play in clearing the ground upon which the vast structure of reunion must be built. I can imagine no more useful preliminary task than to get rid of the historical errors which have arisen out of the so-called Reformation, and to reach common ground as to the causes and events of the Reformation itself.

For my own part, in so far as it divided western Christendom into more or less hostile fragments, I hold the Reformation to have been an unspeakable calamity. Division has produced partisanship and, in our own field as in every other, partisanship has wriggled itself here, there and everywhere into the writing of history.

The indirect effects of religious partisanship are too numerous for us even to enumerate them. They may be found in the thousand and one attempts to belittle tradition and to exalt whatever in the past was alien and hostile to our inherited culture. The anti-traditionalist historian (with his background of contempt for the Faith of his fathers) is always itching to make small and mean anything long held up to reverence. H. G. Wells sneering at Virgil is an amusing example. Charlie Chaplin might as well sneer at Michael Angelo.

Far more important than Wells is the historical school which has systematically distorted the history of the Dark and Middle Ages. These men in the German Universities, in Oxford, in America, and among the French anti-clericals, have put an imaginary conquest of the civilised Roman world by magnificent barbarians of Teutonic or Nordic race. They say that to these gorgeous creatures we owe the arts and institutions handed down to us by mediæval times. Finally, we owe to this superior race the sixteenth-century religious revolt and the happy, peaceful, contented, moral and altogether glorious modern world. It is necessary to their thesis to exaggerate our indebtedness to outsiders like the Saracens and Chinese. Until recently it was their fashion to dress up the repulsive Albigenses, with their cult of suicide and their hatred of the natural bodily pleasures, as sweet and innocent proto-protestants.

Fortunately it is not necessary for us to-night to expose these various myths. They are not advancing but retreating. The old theory of the Fall of the Roman Empire has not had a leg to stand on since the great Fustel de Coulanges demolished it more than thirty years ago. To-day it is easy to show that, except for a narrow strip of the southern and eastern coast of Britain, there were no successful invasions from the outer darkness of barbarism that surrounded the civilised Roman world. On the contrary, the men who took over the local government in the western provinces were the commanders of auxiliary forces in the Roman Army, men whose ambition was not to destroy the Empire but to rise to distinction within it. None of them ever made war upon an Emperor, except in the case of the

so-called Vandal Chieftain in Africa, and except for Alaric in his brief and pardonable mutiny when the Imperial Government inexcusably held up his pay. All of them, Vandals, Suevi, Visi-goths, Ostro-goths, Lombards, Burgundians, Franks, and so on, entered the Empire not as enemies but as auxiliary soldiers.

Furthermore, these armies were exceedingly small in numbers. Clovis the Frank, whose work was the most lasting of all, had less than 8,000 men at his back. Finally, there is no evidence to show that the auxiliary troop units, as they were moved here and there across the Empire, continued to be tribally recruited. On the contrary, the probability is that they were filled up with replacements from here, there and everywhere, exactly as the American units were in France. Since Fustel, the idea that the auxiliaries of the Roman decline could make any definite racial contribution to the provinces in which they finally settled is grotesque.

To-day the effect of his work is spreading even into elementary text-books. One by one, the old Teutonic claims disappear. For instance, I take up the text-book history of the Middle Ages by Professor Munro of Princeton, that Presbyterian citadel, and on page 59 I rejoice to read that "There was no fall, but only a gradual evolution into a new form; no contemporary ever doubted the continued existence of the Roman Empire"! If I turn to the book on "Representative Government" recently published by our distinguished President, Professor Ford, I find the fable of the Teutonic origin of representative government so thoroughly exposed that it ought never to recover. He might have carried the war even further into Africa if he had enlarged on the fact that representation in secular government first appears in one of the most un-Teutonic districts in Europe, the region of the Pyrenees.

Consider now the exaggeration of the debt our ancestors owed to the alien. That, too, is being corrected. I take two random instances. Professor Haskins, of Harvard, in his recent book on "Mediaeval Science," has brought out the fact that Moslem Spain did indeed play a part in transmitting the manuscripts of Aristotle to western Christendom, but that Christian Constantinople did so as well. It used to be fashionable to ascribe the invention of gunpowder to the Orientals. But now Colonel Hime of the British Army, the latest writer on the subject, in his book on the "Origin of Artillery," has disproved the various eastern stories, and is inclined to restore the credit to Roger Bacon, the thirteenth-century Oxford Franciscan. I repeat that in general the anti-traditional view of history is not advancing, but retreating.

So far this evening we have been considering religious partisanship only in its indirect effects upon the writing of history. I now propose to examine its direct effects. These differ from the indirect in that the latter are in a fair way to correction through the mere advance

in historical science, whereas the former—that is the direct effects of religious partisanship—are longer-lived because they are more closely connected with religious conviction. Their consideration is, therefore, the most delicate part of our task. I submit that the difficulty of reaching common historical ground as to the causes, characters and events of the so-called Reformation is one of the most important of the preliminary difficulties in the way of reunion.

Whereas the indirect effects of the Reformation upon historical study, such as the imaginary "Nordic" conquest of the Roman Empire, are varieties of *suggestio falsi*; in the study of the Reformation the difficulty is one of emphasis and proportion—so hard it is to avoid an unintentional *suppressio veri*.

The reason why it is hard is because all of us to-day tend to emphasise the permanent effects of the sixteenth-century revolt, and to neglect its causes. We think of it as the producer of national and local churches, of division, sub-division, and the super-sub-division in religion. We think of it as the result of doctrinal innovations—salvation by faith, predestination or what not. Only by making an effort to see the movement as it looked to its contemporaries, and by testing our historical imagination to see whether it corresponds with the Protestant temper as it exists to-day, only thus, I say, can we begin to see the thing as it really was.

I have said that the Reformation was an unspeakable calamity in so far as it divided western Christendom into hostile fragments. Now the average contemporary Protestant is not enthusiastic about the fact of division itself. Neither is he apt to be zealous about the positive protestant dogmas. It is seldom nowadays that one finds a man strongly attached to the doctrine of salvation by faith alone. Almost never can you hear a defence of predestination. With Protestants, in discussing the great cleavage in Christendom, what you usually hear is something like this, "Oh, but our predecessors had to break loose because of the corruption of the Roman Church."

Now the question of corruption in the pre-Reformation Church is not a dogmatic or doctrinal question. It is an historical question, and requires for its treatment not the theologian but the historian.

I submit that the driving force of the great sixteenth-century religious upheaval was not the desire for schism—although it resulted in schism. Neither was that driving force the doctrinal innovation—although it resulted in doctrinal innovations—many of them contradictory to one another. The thing that made the movement was a general conviction that abuses existed, and a determination to be rid of them. The very words that the schismatics and the doctrinal innovators preferred to apply to themselves, the words "Reformers," "Protestants," tell their own story.

In order to convince oneself that the desire for schism was not the motive power of the movement, one has only to consider how wide-

spread was the desire for reform. For our purpose to-night it is, by itself, of no great moment that men like Luther and Calvin used strong language about abuses and corruption. It is far more important to note that a man like Rabelais—in temper the very antithesis of Calvin—Rabelais, I say, is full of flings at the Church external organisation. When the inimitable Gargantua first goes to the university he divides his time between scholastic philosophy and vice. When he is brought to a better mind he abandons both, and finds inspiration in “the sermons of pure gospel preachers.”

It is no part of my task here to defend Rabelais' character. I insist only upon his genius, his utter unlikeness to the distinctively Protestant temper, and finally upon the undoubted fact that he never maintained heresy or justified schism.

Again, take Erasmus, who could write “Not death nor life shall draw me from the communion of the Catholic Church,”¹ could write also “I see that the monarchy of the Pope at Rome, as it is now, is a pestilence to Christendom.”² Like Rabelais, Erasmus was no schismatic, and, in intention, no heretic. Indeed, his withdrawal from Luther is perhaps the turning point of the whole movement.

Even a man like Sir Thomas More, who lost his head rather than abandon papal supremacy, was distinctly touched with the spirit of dissatisfaction over conditions within the Church.

No, the mainspring of the reform was not desire for schism, for many of its early enthusiasts were most emphatically not schismatics.

The proof that the revolt was not, at bottom, a desire for doctrinal innovation, is easily to be found in an examination of the doctrinal novelties actually introduced. Fourth-century Arianism, Mohammedanism, even the base Manicheanism of the Albigenses, all resulted from a compact positive doctrine. All had a single definite founder from whom the system consistently developed. But if I ask you who was the founder of Protestantism you cannot answer, because there is none. As Bossuet long ago pointed out, the doctrines of the various Protestant bodies are irreconcilable with one another. So-called forerunners of the movement often turn out to be mere eccentrics—like Wycliffe with his amazing doctrine that no man not in a state of grace could own land. Just think of that for a moment. Nobody, says Wycliffe, can hold a good title to real estate unless he is in a state of grace. Could anything be more ridiculous!

But if the desire for schism was not the force that stirred up the sixteenth-century ferment, and if the doctrinal innovations are irreconcilable with one another—forming no system, but only a sort of chaos—what then are we to think of the movement? I answer that it was a blind reaction against abuses and corruption within the Church.

Now, I repeat, the question as to abuses and corruption in the

pre-Reformation Church is not a doctrinal but an historical question. It touches no fundamental point of faith. I believe that much good might come if not one but a number of Roman Catholic scholars would give us books which should attempt to analyse, frankly and fearlessly, whatever grounds there were for the almost universal sixteenth-century religious discontent.

It would be easy to develop the idea of sympathetic mutual study pursued in a temper that would reverence truth without casting out love. Why is there nothing in English on the Roman Catholic side discussing papal relations with sixteenth-century England? Why are there no lives of that great man, Cardinal Pole? But the thought I wish to impress upon you to-night is that until the learned world is in substantial agreement as to causes, it is useless to try to go further.

What I propose has already been sketched out in Belloc's admirable *Europe and the Faith*. From that sketch most of my points this evening could have been justified. My suggestion is, therefore, only the development of the thesis laid down by the vigorous intellect of the great Roman Catholic layman.

But what good, you may ask, would result from a policy which might cause unnecessary scandal? I answer that the Protestant world of to-day has seen a vision—still a partial vision perhaps, but nevertheless a vision—of religious unity. Before that vision can become real it must, of course, include unity of doctrine. But before doctrinal agreement can possibly be sought with that intensity of desire which alone can bring it about, we must begin by acknowledging mutually, fully and frankly, the follies and sins of those who destroyed our unity.

But you may answer with perfect truth, Roman Catholics are entirely willing to admit that abuses and corruption existed in the pre-Reformation Church, not only to the extent that they must always exist in any society composed of fallible men, but to a shocking degree. Moreover, you may say, again quite truly, that the Council of Trent clarified the disputed doctrines, such as Indulgences, and that the counter Reformation dealt manfully with abuses of conduct. I answer that the question is one of emphasis and historical proportion. The average Protestant does not realise that Roman Catholic scholars fully admit the strongest point in his own case. For the sake of greater mutual charity and affection, why not make him realise? For instance, in the Catholic Encyclopædia the article on Luther leaves nothing to be desired in the frankness with which it discusses the early sixteenth-century abuse of Indulgences, and in the vigour with which it condemns that abuse. In the courts of law it is, I believe, an axiom that a strong case is strengthened still more by the fullest possible recognition of anything that may justly be urged against it.

¹ Huizinga, p. 210.

² Huizinga, p. 180.

Finally, let me leave this thought in your minds. Of all the tragic incidents of the calamitous sixteenth-century loss of religious unity, perhaps the most moving of all is what may be called the tragedy of the lost moment.

It was in the year 1517 that Luther posted his theses on the door of Wittenberg church. As late as November, 1518, we find him still appealing against his opponents to a General Council. Not until 1519, in the heat of his public debate with Eck, does he definitely break with tradition by repudiating the authority of General Councils. No Council met until 1545—eighteen years after the bursting of the storm. Worse still, this Council, that of Trent, did not adjourn till 1563—forty-four years since Luther's definite revolt. His debate with Eck was already as far in the past as the year 1880 is from us to-day. In England Elizabeth had already been five years on the throne. Six years more and she was to be under a papal excommunication. The religious revolt had had time to take root. Within those forty-four years the chance for unity had vanished.

Now, what do we see to-day? For the first time in centuries the idea of unity is actually becoming popular. Among the separated fragments of Christendom men are beginning to be ashamed of disunion. Here in this very city of Philadelphia, speaking on reunion before the Priests' Convention of the inadequately-named Protestant Episcopal Church, my own rector—Dr. Barry—said that the separation of the Anglican communion from the rest of Christendom involves us in sin unless we do everything we conscientiously can to put an end to it. I suppose that speech of his is familiar to many of you, and if it is not, then it ought to be.

The World Conference on Faith and Order is to meet in 1928. Day by day the Anglican Communion draws nearer to the Eastern Orthodox—of whose five patriarchates two have already recognised Anglican Orders, so that complete reunion of Anglicans with that venerable church seems to await only the restoration of Eastern Europe to political tranquillity. The Protestant bodies are making a real effort to draw closer to one another and to Anglicans. Meanwhile, under the wise and saintly Cardinal Mercier, conferences are going forward at Malines.

The mention of Cardinal Mercier and Malines brings up the question of reunion and Rome. Without the Roman Catholic Church any possible scheme of reunion is incomplete. To-day the tide of human affairs is setting towards unity. Let us take it at the flood. Where there is anything that we can conscientiously do to draw nearer together, if it be only to mutually confess the errors and sins of our predecessors, let us do it in God's name, in obedience to the prayer of our Blessed Lord Himself that we all may be one.

HOFMAN NICKERSON.

METROPOLITAN MICHAEL: THE GREATEST SERBIAN PRELATE.

By D. S. MARITCH.

AFTER the Serbian Revolution of 1804 the Serbian Church continued, for a short time, to be governed by the hated Greek Bishops. Of about 65 years, in which time Greeks governed the Serbian Church after abolition of the Patriarchate of Ipek (1766), only during the reign of Prince Milosh (1815–1860) the Greeks were compelled to give autonomy to the Serbian Church (1831), and their Bishops replaced by the Serbs. The first Metropolitan of the new half-independent Serbian Orthodox Church was *Meletius* (Paulovitch) (†1833), and the second *Peter* (Yovanovitch), after whom in 1859 the Serbian Synod unanimously elected the Bishop *Michael* of Shabatz for Archbishop of Belgrade and Metropolitan of Serbia. With this election begins in the Serbian Church quite a new epoch, which is characterised with the most strenuous Church life.

Metropolitan Michael was born on 19th August, 1826, in *Soco-Banya*, a nice old bath in Eastern Serbia, under the mountain of *Ozren*. After having finished elementary school in his birthplace and gymnasium, he went to Russia in order to get higher education. In 1853 *Miloye Yovanovitch* (his secular name) terminated his studies in the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kieff, and after that, in the same year, he took monastic vow. As Monk Michael he spent a certain time in Russia, and in 1854 Michael came to Serbia and was nominated Professor of Theological Seminary in Belgrade. In the same year, now Archimandrite Michael, was elected Bishop of Shabatz, a place near the old Austrian frontier, lying on the River Save. There Bishop Michael remained till July, 1859, *i.e.*, the year when he was elected Archbishop of Belgrade and Metropolitan of Serbia.

The labours of Metropolitan Michael were many-sided. His greatest work was the creation of the autocephalous Serbian Church, what Greeks after long negotiations at last conferred to in 1879. Besides that, Metropolitan Michael endeavoured to reform the inner life of the Church by raising highly the standard of education of the clergy.

In the political life Metropolitan Michael also took an active part, especially during the liberating wars of 1876–1878 against the Turk. After wars were finished, the first question which was raised by the State was the regulation of the relations between the Church and the State. Metropolitan Michael pledged himself wholly to the

Church interests. In 1881 the *Scoupshtina* (Parliament) voted a shameful law of taxes (fees), according to which the new candidates were to pay fees to the State for the consecration to the holy orders. Metropolitan Michael refused to apply that law, which was sort of Simony, motivating, in a letter to the Government, that (1) the State has no right to want the fees for the offices which it does not give, and (2) that he who dedicates his life to God is not bound by any law to pay the fees for that. After this refusal Metropolitan Michael was removed from his office by the King Milan, and in his stead placed a Milan's *creatura* named Theodosius Mraovitch. Metropolitan Michael remained for two years more in Belgrade, under private arrest, and in 1883 he left Serbia for Holy Land and Russia, where he remained till 1889.

After the abdication of the King Milan (1889) Metropolitan Michael was recalled, and he occupied a second time his Metropolitan See. From that time forwards Metropolitan Michael governed the Serbian Church till his death on 5th February (old style), 1898, after having been for nearly 40 years the head of the Serbian Church.

Metropolitan Michael was the most popular Bishop in Serbia since St. Sava. His name is everywhere known even now, and his charming personality left on everybody who came in touch with him the most pleasant impression. People loved him very much, and on his appearance in the streets or in the churches crowds always surrounded him, in order to obtain his benediction. For the State it was very difficult and dangerous to remove him from his office, and especially it manifested itself on the occasion of the Metropolitan's expulsion from Serbia.

But the most important labours of Metropolitan Michael were those for the Church. It can be said that the first and real organiser of the Serbian Church, after St. Sava, was Metropolitan Michael. Under his direction were regulated by laws all relations between the State and the Serbian Church. These laws are still in power, and by them finally the State's power was limited, in regard to its control over the Serbian Church.

Metropolitan Michael was also a very learned man; he enriched poor Serbian theological literature with about fifty treatises on various theological and ecclesiastical subjects. During his life he was elected a member of all Russian Ecclesiastical Academies and many Universities. In 1862 Metropolitan Michael was also honoured by the West, being elected honorary President of the Society for Liberation of the African Slaves, which society had its seat in Paris. Besides that, Metropolitan Michael had all ecclesiastical regalia. That is his life in main features.

At the present time the Serbian Church is passing a similar period with that of Metropolitan Michael. After the Great War are shaken all foundations of the society, and the Church must somehow recon-

struct itself on new lines. The men like Metropolitan Michael are especially needed, and all real friends of the Serbian Church are indicating on the Metropolitan of blessed memory as the standard of conduct in all questions which might arise in the Serbian Church. For, indeed, Metropolitan Michael was the greatest Prelate of the Serbian Church.

THE PHENOMENAL RENEWAL OF EIKONS IN RUSSIA.

ON March 25th last *The Times* published the following telegram from Riga :—

“ ‘ RELIGIOUS PSYCHOSIS ’ IN RUSSIA ”

“ Riga, March 23rd.

“ The Soviet authorities have appointed a special commission to investigate the new religious movement among the people connected with the ‘ miraculous renovation of the old eikons ’ in several parts of White Russia, particularly the Bobruisk and Zhlobin districts.

“ Various villages claim that the old eikons have been restored to their former brilliance, and ascribe this restoration to supernatural powers. As a result these villages have been proclaimed as ‘ holy ’ by the people. Their ‘ sacred ’ influence is said to extend on an average 50 miles, and multitudes of pilgrims are visiting them. Similar movements had begun last year, but the Soviet authorities were able to cope with them.

“ The commission has reported that the present movement is due to ‘ mass religious psychosis,’ but in certain Soviet quarters it is given a political character, and is connected with the elections. It is asserted that the aim of the movement is so to impress the peasants as to cause them ‘ to elect candidates whom God loves.’ ”

That telegram contained no news except that the Soviet Bolsheviks are—as, indeed, they have cause to be—alarmed at the effect upon the Russian people of a phenomenon which, whatever be its explanation, has been occurring throughout Russia sporadically for the past four years.

As to the thing itself, I will only make these brief notes.

(1) The phenomenon is recorded in Russian history as having occurred with frequency during stormy periods, such as that in the seventeenth century, before the accession of the Romanoff dynasty, in the days of the Golden Horde, and so forth. The Russian people are familiar with the notion, and it is traditional among them to look for it in periods of great national distress, of the remedy of which it is expected as the signal.

(2) Ancient eikons are normally cased over with silver, the faces and hands alone being exposed, and they are often grimed almost past discernment.

The appended letter from Kiev and article from Harbin (at that time not in Red hands) were received by me last summer and,

thinking that they would interest our readers, I have turned them into English.

J. A. DOUGLAS.

(Translation of a Letter from Kiev.)

On Thursday, July 6th, we who live in old Kiev were witnesses of a marvel such as is not recorded in the chronicles of Russia.

With the swiftness of a flash of lightning there spread through the city a report that the dome of the Church of Our Lady the All-Consoler, near to the Straw Market, had been renovated miraculously, and with it the Kazan eikon of the Mother of God, which is at its main entrance. I learnt of the happening in the late afternoon and naturally hurried instantly to the spot. The whole square in front of the church and all the adjacent streets were thick with a crowd that numbered many thousands. The sun had set. Evening had fallen. But the renovated dome shone with a greyish golden light. I happened to know that dome particularly well. It had always grieved me by the tarnish of its gilt, which, in places, had gone altogether. It had been of a queer, indescribable dullish yellow. There had been no glitter about it whatever. And now, it was not only suddenly covered completely with new glittering gilt, but it was shining with a kind of mystic light. The attention of everyone was fixed upon it.

From the morning of that day, the 6th July, as soon as ever the renovation of the dome and of the Kazan eikon of the Mother of God had become known, tens of thousands of the people had flowed thither in order to gaze upon this wonderful demonstration of Divine power. The marvellous manifestation was developed before the eyes of everyone assembled. One after the other, by slow degrees, were renovated mysteriously the eikons of Seraphim, Helen, Constantine, and Theodosius of Cheenigov, which are painted on the drum of the dome of the bell-tower. We all watched with stirring of the heart how, minute by minute, the gilt of those cracked and age-dulled eikons was renovated, and how the faces became distinct and the colours appeared in them. They are now as fresh as when they were painted.

It was only after long effort I succeeded in making my way inside the church. In it a three-hundred-years-old Tapestry of the Entombment, a Crucifixion and two Cherubic Banners were being renovated. The Entombment was altogether tarnished with age—but it was shining with gold and silver and displayed all its pristine artistic beauty. The same might be said of the Cherubic Banners. The material, indeed, remained as it had been, tattered and patched in places, but the gilt and the colours were brilliant and gave all the impression of being quite new.

Never, indeed, in my life shall I forget the renovation of the eikon of St. Nicholas, the Well-pleasing, which took place before my eyes. It should be remarked that, the first moment that the renovation became plain, "our" authorities sent a Commission to the church to investigate "the circumstances of the affair." The Commission arrived at the church at 2 p.m. and set to work examining the Entombment, in regard to which its resultant conclusion was that it was all a trick and that, in simple fact, a new eikon had been hung up instead of the old. At that very moment a woman cried out, "Look, a bright spot has shown itself on that eikon." In consequence, everyone in the church turned their gaze to a thoroughly dingy eikon which was hanging on the wall. The bright spot began to grow bigger and bigger. Half an hour had not passed before the face of St. Nicholas, the Bishop and Thaumaturge, shone out on the amazed people. Whereupon the Commission immediately left the church and did not show itself there again.

When I entered the church the central portion of the picture of St. Nicholas had already been renovated; the part surrounding was all blackness. And there before my very eyes and the eyes of all present in that church on that sixth of July, the light issuing from the face of St. Nicholas spread further and further until it swallowed up and dispersed the darkness which still covered the unrenovated part of the eikon. Finally, the representation of Nicholas the Bishop was to be seen in all its beauty. Evening came on. It was dark in the church. The electric light was not on. But the face of St. Nicholas shone with a peculiar, supernatural, mysterious brightness. It was an amazing and astounding scene. For the first time in my life I witnessed the hypnotising power of religious ecstasy upon a crowd. St. Nicholas was there among us as if alive. We all felt his presence. The renovated picture was the representation of St. Nicholas after his historical type—in old chasuble and pall; blessing with his right hand, and the Gospel in his left. All who saw that eikon are unanimous in saying that for beauty and for majesty they have never come across a like representation of St. Nicholas. Plainly that creative act was not the work of a human hand, but of *the Might of Heaven*.

I left the church in a condition of amazement. Night had begun. The crowd remained and was not dispersing. I found myself in its centre. Discussion was going on all round me. Everyone was excited. Some of "ours" (sc. the Communists) were contending that the thing was an atmospheric influence. No one was listening to them. The greater number had but one thought, one aspiration of and towards God. It was quite dark. There was no moon. But the church was still glittering. The Kazan eikon of the Mother of God was also glittering above the doors at the entrance.

In church circles in Kiev great importance is attached to the fact

that the renovation began with the Kazan eikon of the Mother of God, the Joy of the Sorrowful. The Kazan eikon is reckoned to be the most potent in Holy Russia and to be the Guardian of the Russian Empire. It was noted also that the renovation had begun with the belfry—a good omen in itself—in honour of the All-Sorrowful and had developed on a Thursday, *i.e.*, on the day consecrated to the memory of the greatest of all Saints, Nicholas of Myra, the Bishop and Thaumaturge, who is specially revered by us in Russia.

The next day, *i.e.*, Friday, July 7th, began the renovation of the second dome of the same church and of the eikons fixed under the dome. Experts took pieces of the domes—of that already renovated and of the second—for scientific examination, but the result of their examination was not published.

The second dome had begun to be renovated little by little. By the end of three days all the eikons under the dome were renovated—those of Vladimir, Olga, Nicholas, Alexander Nevsky, the Apostle Peter, and the rest; but from the time that they took a piece from the dome it ceased to be renovated.

The Divine Power could not brook the handling of men.

On the Friday began the renovation of the Church of St. George. Particularly remarkable was the renovation of its eikon of the Supplication of the Cup. As was also the renovation of the eikons representing the Veil of Our Lady, of Christ, and above all that of the Carrying of the Cross. In addition there took place the renovation of the dome of the Church of the Birth of Christ at Podola. One of the most remarkable of the renovations was developed under the dome of the Cathedral of St. Sophia. There has hung there since far-off days, indeed, from somewhere about the time of Peter Mogila, a representation of a miracle of Nicholas the Thaumaturge, showing the Saint with a child drowned in the Dnieper, in 1072, *i.e.*, of "Nicholas Mokrie." Formerly nothing of it could be made out except two or three dim figures. To-day it presents a picture of amazing beauty. In front of the gilt portrait of Nicholas, there are the child rising from the water, its parents, priests, monks and elders.

Behind the arch of the peristyle flows the Dnieper, drawn with the greatest skill. All artists are astounded at it.

I send you a copy of a letter from Kiev, from a lady teacher.

"Dear kinswoman, my mind is indeed full of the things which we have seen and experienced in these days and I desire to share with you that which is alike precious and painful to us both.

"On SS. Peter and Paul's day I decided to visit at last the monk Dmitry of the Ioninsky Monastery, and gave him your parcel for which he was grateful. He talked about nothing except the

prophecies of St. Seraphim which, on a previous occasion, he had promised to read to me. He put their substance into words which coincided with my expectations. He spoke at length also about general spiritual reunion, which is now in view and which ought to be established. He spoke with great joy and vivacity. He spoke also of that which had been enacted two years ago at Irpen, of which, in fact, I had heard some time back. There is a spring of health-giving water there and with very few exceptions all who look into the water just above the bridge see the image of the Mother of God, of the Saints or of the Cross. All see differently. I had just resolved, after returning from the monk, that I would visit the place, when a fresh marvel startled the whole city. I went out to-day to give a lesson to one of my pupils and was told that at the Church of the Sorrowful the dome and some of the pictures were being renovated and that crowds were assembled there. I decided that after my lesson I would go and see for myself. When I came out into the street, the first person I met told me that also at the Church of St. George the dome was being renovated. I went there first. There was a crowd in the square. The little domes were glittering with gold. On one especially the Cross was glistening. On the big dome the gilt was cleansed and the process had affected the eikons which are painted on it right up to the higher parts.

"I went from there to the Church of the Sorrowful. The roadway there was literally blocked with as many people as could be packed into it. The dome over the belfry was glistening as if it had just been gilt. The great dome had only been renovated in parts, but the eikons which adorn it were brilliant with colour and the area of that which was cleansed was enlarged before our eyes. Entry into the church was forbidden, but we were told that the eikons inside it were being renovated. In the evening the church was opened in response to the demand of the crowd, and the All Night Office was celebrated. I was not present at it and only learnt about it later on.

"Wonderful, O Lord, are thy works! My heart was full, and I felt that to express what I had experienced was beyond my power, but I know that you will understand and that you will pray fervently, as for the Resurrection of Lazarus, for the renovation of our hearts, for their cleansing from every defilement—those hearts of which so much has been uncovered

"8th July.—Here am I, my kinswoman, once more alone with you in the quiet of my own room! The day has been very full of sensations and happiness! In the morning, remembering that it was the day of the Mother of God of Kazan, I went to the Church of St. George, where I had been overnight. I arrived at the beginning of the celebration. There were not many people there, but everyone's face was as bright and as happy as at that glorious

Feast of Easter. A nun came up to me and exclaimed, "Look, my dear friend, have we ever had such eikons before?" And, in truth, the picture of the Saviour had been renovated—it had been dim from time immemorial—so had that of the Protecting Girdle of the Mother of God, and on many eikons the colours were plainer than they had ever been. From there I went to the Church of the Sorrowful, some time before the beginning of the Liturgy. There there was a sea of people. Quiet and propriety prevailed. No gendarmerie were present. Order was maintained without any disturbance, as if naturally. The first thing that struck my eye was the second dome, which overnight was only beginning to be cleansed and now was glittering with gold. A great piece of the first dome had been taken for chemical analysis, of which the result was made known in the evening, *viz.*, that 92 per cent. was pure gold. I made my way into the church on the stream of the people. The Liturgy was in progress. More people were there than at an Easter Mattins. It was quite impossible to get near the Picture of the Entombment, but it was declared by everyone round me that it was bright with such colours as had never been seen. I made my way to the eikon of St. Nicholas. It was as bright and fresh as if its colours had just been laid. I shed tears in my emotion. "Wonderful, indeed, are thy works, O Lord!" My feelings were past description. Everywhere outside the church was the same manifestation of happiness. Everybody was turning to the other as if to an old friend, and was exchanging his impression. It was also being said that there were even more people assembled at the Florensky Monastery, where, too, the dome and the eikons were being renovated. I went again to the Church of St. George to attend the late Liturgy, in company of a group of newly-made acquaintances. All those people—thanks to our common experience—were now my brothers and sisters. The church was already packed tightly. Even though that was the first time we might have met each other, everybody was everyone else's neighbour and kinsman in the spirit. Someone embraced and kissed me. I kissed someone—I don't at all know whom. On every side you could hear the prayer, 'O Lord! cleanse our souls as Thou art cleansing the dome and the eikons,' 'Whatever Not-made-with-hands may be . . . these colours were not laid by human hands,' shouted a man in front of the eikon of the Saviour as the picture grew brighter and brighter before our eyes. When the Liturgy was over, a short Office of Intercession was held. In the street it was just like the first day of Easter. The people flowed, with happy faces, in an unbroken stream from one church to the other. The bells rang. At the midday I learnt that the eikon of St. Nicholas in the Church of St. Sophia had been renovated—in Little Nicholskoe, in the Chapel of Unhoped-for Joy, in the Lavra and elsewhere. The height of religious emotion reached

was ecstatic—so that one forgot distinctions of age, position, education, etc.

“Let us love one another that we may with one mind confess.” That could be read on every countenance.

“Cleanse our souls, O Bounteous King! Wash them with the dew of Thy Grace, and then, it may be, we shall comprehend the meaning of these signs.”

Article from the SVAT of Harbin.

“Drive Nature out of the doors, it will return through the windows.”

MASS PSYCHOSIS OR MIRACLE.

One of the most foolish items in the Soviet programme—the destruction of the Religious Sense in the Russian nation—is producing results that are more and more unexpected.

Whole Governmental regions are manifestly being carried away by a wave of religious psychological infection.

To form an estimate of the state of the corporate popular mind in the Premorsky Government—near the Japan Sea—it is sufficient to peruse the report from its branch near the frontier received in Harbin by a public association, dated 11th July and warranted by three signatures. We append it in full.

“Extraordinary happenings are taking place here. Besides the renovation of the eikon belonging to Nemorsky, eight other eikons belonging to Dzoub, Koslovsky and others have been renovated in the village of the Annunciation.

“I went myself to see these eikons and was convinced of the miracle. The renovation is developed not only in the case of metal objects, but in that of paper, paint and wood.

“An eikon from Nemorsky's house has already been taken to the church, and a miracle has taken place near it, the tooth of a woman who had suffered intense agony from it having fallen from her mouth after she had prayed, and that without pain and without blood.

“The clergy pay little attention to these happenings. It is necessary that the Diocesan Council should be informed and should appoint a special committee to investigate the circumstances.

“The Priest Superintendent of the Handaohedza district has been there and after seeing the eikon has come to the same conclusion as myself.

“In the Premorskya region there has been a vast renovation of eikons. The Cathedral in Nicholsk is closed, not, as has been announced in the journals, because a tax of 500 roubles has not been paid, but because in it also an eikon has been renovated, and because some 5,000 people have flocked to it from the villages.

“There is evidence that eikons have been renovated in a whole series of villages, large and small. The people here as well as there are perplexed about the phenomenon and are alarmed as to what may happen. Some are inclined to regard it as a threatening omen.

“Our disquiet may appear strange to you who have not seen these eikons and you may doubt the authenticity of this marvellous phenomenon, but if you saw the eikons yourself it would startle you as much as it startled us. There is not the least sign of cleaning about them or of oiling. Many of these eikons are closely glazed and have not been uncovered for a period of from 20 to 40 years. The incomprehensible phenomenon of the eikons and the dangerous position on the frontier are rousing fear and disquiet among the people.

“Pilgrimage to the eikons has already been initiated.

“The Bolsheviks refrain from action.

“It would be excellent if someone could pay us a visit on your behalf.”

Thus you may see that Man's Spiritual Nature, no less than his Physical Nature, takes its revenge for violence done to it.

For our part, we also are inclined to see a threatening omen in this “miraculous renovation of the eikons,” although we look at the happening from a different plane to that of the populace of Premorya. Historical precedents come readily to mind of vast areas of Western Europe being gripped by such an obsession of disquietude.

Such are the fruits of the Bolshevik's labour for the spiritual improvement of the people of Russia!

ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE.

We append the six addresses prepared for presentation by the Pilgrimage to Eastern Hierarchs. The pilgrims intend also to present a picture of the Abbey to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and a fine water-colour of St. Sophia, Constantinople, to the Church of Greece.

TO HIS HOLINESS THE MOST REVEREND PHOTIOS, PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA AND ŒCUMENICAL POPE.

We, Henry Russell, sometime Bishop of Birmingham, together with the 55 priests and 155 faithful laity of the Anglican Church now passing eagerly on our way in Pilgrimage to the Holy City, desire to assure your Holiness of the sincere good-will which we bear alike to the Church of Egypt and to the whole Orthodox Church. Indeed the purpose of our Pilgrimage is to seek the Healing and Refreshment of our souls by the Grace of the Incarnate Son of God in that land wherein He accomplished the Salvation of the World. But we rejoice to pause on our journey thither at the famous City where the Blessed Evangelist, St. Mark, planted and ruled the Church, and whence the Great Athanasios proceeded to Nicæa, 16 centuries ago in this year, to contend for the Holy Faith once and for all committed to the Saints.

As in the days of the Isapostolic Emperor Constantine, the arch enemy of our one Holy Faith, who is the Father of Lies, suborned the heresiarch Areios, so as through the ages, now in these later days, he still puffs up the proud hearts of men with knowledge, falsely so called, to make shipwreck of the Truth. As also the Christ has ever raised up wise and holy men such as the Blessed Athanasios, who, though alone against the World, so stood fast for the Faith, now we pray that the intercessions of the Great Confessor may prevail that He will deliver and preserve alike the Holy Orthodox Church and our Nation from every kind of false teaching. And to that end, as for the fulfilment of the purpose of our Pilgrimage, and for our safe return, we ask the prayers of your Holiness and of the Orthodox Flock of Egypt.

TO HIS HOLINESS DAMIANOS, PATRIARCH OF THE HOLY CITY OF JERUSALEM AND PRESIDENT OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

We, Henry Russell, sometime Bishop of Birmingham, and with us 210 of the Clergy and faithful laity of the Church of England who have achieved our Pilgrimage to this Holy City, desire to renew

to your Beatitude our predecessors' expressions of good-will towards the Orthodox Church as a whole and towards the Church of Zion, the Mother of all Churches, in particular.

That good-will is intensified by the sense of gratitude to the Divine Providence which we and all Pilgrims of whatever Confession, who find health and refreshment for their souls at the Holy Shrines, must feel for the Devout and Charitable Labours of your Holiness' Patriarchate and Confraternity.

When in 451 A.D. the Fourth Holy Œcumenical Council decreed the Holy City to be a Metropolis equal with Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was not so proclaimed as a pastoral Patriarchate, for its area and flock were small, but as the Custodian of the Holy Places. For, the Holy Places being altogether precious and needful to all Christians, there could be no doubt but that the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre formed at the time of its discovery by the Isapostolic Constantine and Helena, to safeguard, to beautify and to minister within them, should receive both great dignity and the autocephaly requisite for those high responsibilities.

That Your Holiness and your predecessors through the centuries have maintained and discharged your great trust rightly, faithfully, and unselfishly is manifested, as by the noble Holy Shrines built and maintained by you in which we have but now rendered our vows of Pilgrimage, so also by the freedom in which the crowds of Pilgrims of every race and Christian Confession resort to them.

For this your Charity and Fidelity, as for all His Grace and Mercy, we thank God and our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, and, praying for the Peace and Salvation of your Holiness, your Confraternity and your Flock, we beg you and them to speed our homeward journey with your prayers and benediction.

TO HIS BEATITUDE KYRILLOS, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CYPRUS AND METROPOLITAN OF CONSTANZA.

We, Henry Russell, sometime Bishop of Birmingham, together with the 55 clergy and 155 faithful laity of the English Church now returning from our pilgrimage to the Holy Places where Christ our Lord was born, suffered, died and rose for our Salvation, and being filled with eagerness for the realisation of His Kingdom on earth, rejoice to visit this Island, famous indeed to all Students of Antiquity as a cradle of Art and of Civilisation, but more famous still in Christian History as the seat of the first Church across the sea, planted by the Blessed Apostles Barnabas and Paul, and ruled by the former as its Founder.

For the unchanging witness of the Apostolic and Autokephalous Church of Cyprus to the One Faith of Christ which was the Bread

wherewith Blessed Barnabas nurtured it, which was defended and set forth at Nicæa by St. Spyridon, which, in the days of St. John Chrysostom, was maintained by its Archbishop, St. Epiphanius, that most learned of all doctors among the Holy Fathers, which was held fast by its loyal children in the dark ages of Latin and Moslem Tyranny and Persecution, and which was confirmed by the Martyrdom of your Beatitude's predecessor, Cyprian, 100 years ago at the cruel hands of the Turks, we thank God with all our hearts.

Remembering also the Charity which your Beatitude and your people have manifested to the unhappy victims of that European indifference, and of that Turkish barbarity which have extirpated the Christian name from its ancient Theological Homelands in Asia Minor and the brotherly swiftness with which the Church of Cyprus hastened to signify to our Archbishop its adherence to the acceptance of our Ordinations by the sore-tried and suffering Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, we desire to express our eagerness at all times and in all ways to serve the desires of your Beatitude and of your Flock.

Though our visit to this city of Nicosia, the most exquisite capital of this fair Island, must be of short duration, we ask your Beatitude to believe that, as we have been inspired by their loveliness and by their sacred traditions, so we shall retain a lifelong impression of them as of your Beatitude's kindness to us. And so we beg your Beatitude's Blessing and the prayers of the Church of Cyprus that, relying on the intercession of St. Barnabas and of our Lady, the Theotokos, we may return with profit from our Pilgrimage to labour in our own land alike for the Faith once and for all delivered to the Apostles, defined by the Holy Œcumenical Councils, and enshrined in the writings of the Fathers, as also for the Peace and Unity therein of the whole Church of God.

TO HIS EMINENCE TOURIAN, ARMENIAN PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM.

We, Henry Russell Wakefield, sometime Bishop of Birmingham, together with the 210 members of the faithful clergy and laity of the Church of England who have been blessed to render our vows of Pilgrimage at the Holy Shrine, rejoice in expressing to your Eminence the happiness which we found in visiting the famous Armenian Church of St. James in the Holy City and of tendering to you as representative of the Armenian Nation an expression of the brotherly good-will which we, with all members of the Anglican Name, feel towards the Church of St. Gregory Lusivitch.

God gives differing gifts to His people. To the Armenian Nation He has given in these latter days both the Call to painful and cruel Martyrdom, and the Grace to accept that Vocation. For our own part, in unison with our beloved Archbishop of Canterbury, we have

felt the bitter grief of shame that Europe, and with Europe even Great Britain, as in a betrayal such as has had no example in the History of Christendom, has watched passively the extirpation, whether by the red death or the white, or by expulsion of the ancient and glorious Civilisation of Armenia from its fair ancestral lands of Cilicia and Asia Minor. That the protests of our Church have been all but unavailing and that our practical sympathy has effected scarcely a tithe of the relief which the cruel misfortunes of the Armenian refugees demanded, fills us with sorrow.

None the less, we ask your Eminence to accept the assurance not only of our admiration of the constancy even to death of the Martyrs of Armenia but also of our appreciation of the contribution made to Civilisation and to Christendom by the rich culture, learning and piety of the Armenian Nation and Church.

That in His Great Goodness God will heal speedily the divisions which have wounded the Christian world, and that, reunited both with the Greek Orthodox and with the Anglican Churches, He will give of His wondrous consolation to the survivors of your Race and Church is our heartfelt prayer. Meanwhile we rejoice to witness that in the peace and prosperity of the now liberated Holy Land, your Eminence and your Flock preserve and increase the ancient and glorious Christian traditions of the Armenian Name.

Accordingly praying for the final deliverance of Armenia and the gathering of her scattered sons under the shadow of Mount Ararat and around the Church of the Descent of the Only Begotten, we ask in your Eminence's Blessing and Prayers that the Church of England may rise to Her High Calling, and that we, each in our own place, may be Instruments of the Divine Providence for the Gathering of the Scattered Sheep of the Church into One Flock under the One and Only Shepherd and Saviour of us all.

TO HIS HOLINESS GREGORY, PATRIARCH OF THE GOLDEN CITY OF ANTIOCH AND OF ASIA.

We, Henry Russell, sometime Bishop of Birmingham, together with the 55 priests and 155 faithful laity of the Church of England, now returning from the Pilgrimage, by the consummation of which God has blessed us richly in body and soul, to the Holy City of Jerusalem and the Sacred Shrines of the Incarnation of our Divine Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, desire to express the sentiments with which we visit the Patriarchate of your Holiness, once the homeland of Christian Theology and of Missionary Zeal.

We have understood the parable of the ruins of the Queen City of the East, that very birthplace of the Name Christian within the famous walls of which the outpouring of the Holy Spirit consecrated the erstwhile persecutor of the Church to be the Apostle of the

Gentiles and sent him forth journeying as the Herald of the Christ, to plant the Cross there (if our tradition be true) in our native land in the ends of the Earth where to-day as once from the Golden Church to the Syrian Nation the Symbol of Redemption shines forth from the Dome of his Great Cathedral and preaches the free gift of the Treasures of the Gospel to millions upon millions of saints and sinners, in the Babel of London, our own National Metropolis.

We have witnessed also with heavy hearts the devastation worked throughout the bitter ages of Turkish tyranny and fanaticism upon the Christian Name in the Syrian lands, and have sorrowed with amazement that, as in ancient days, when suborning that Pride of Intellect, which is the Mother of Heresy, the Spirit of Confusion engendered schism upon schism in the Church of Antioch and thereby prepared its slavery to the Sword of Islam, so still in these days when the Christian Flock of your Holiness' Patriarchate is surrounded by the unbeliever, the same Evil spirit still labours with the same instruments to destroy its peace and unity.

Therefore we rejoice to take this opportunity to express to your Holiness the sentiments of admiration and good-will with which we and the whole Anglican Communion are inspired by the unshaken Witness to the True Faith of the Undivided Church rendered always under Calumny and often under persecution even to the death by your Holiness' predecessors on the First Throne of St. Peter since the martyrdom of the Confessor Ignatius and, praying that God's Grace may so establish your Holiness and rebuild the ruined wastes of Antioch on the Rock of the Œcumenical Creed defined by the Holy Spirit 1600 years ago this month through the 318 Fathers assembled in the Symbolic City of Nicaea, and safeguarded inviolably by the Orthodox Church of the East, we beg your Holiness to speed our homeward journey with your Blessing and to pray that we too may be used by the Christ to rebuild the Peace and Unity of His Church and to spread His Kingdom among men.

TO HIS BEATITUDE CHRYSOSTOM, METROPOLITAN OF ATHENS AND
ARCHBISHOP OF GREECE.

We, Henry Russell, sometime Bishop of Birmingham, with 55 Clergy and 160 faithful laity of the Church of England, who, by the mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ, have rendered our vows of Pilgrimage at the Shrines of the Holy Sepulchre and at Bethlehem, rejoice also that we have been blessed on our Homeward Way to stop and pray, not only in some of those Cities wherein the Apostles, Paul and John, lived and laboured, but also in that great Metropolis of Eastern Christendom, the New Rome, founded by the Isapostolic Augustus Constantine 16 centuries ago in those days wherein the 318 Holy Fathers assembled at Nicaea to define the Faith which the Christ

revealed and the Apostles preached and by which the Church still lives.

Thus in Cyprus, that fair Island, the Church of which was among the first fruits of the Gentiles, it was to us as though the Spirit which inspired Blessed Barnabas and Paul rested upon us. At Patmos we have knelt in the Grotto of St. John, and have been fired by the Vision of the Triumph of God's Kingdom. In Smyrna we have mourned over that Apostasy of Christian Europe which allowed the Martyrdom of Blessed Polycarp to be renewed, not three years ago, in the Holocaust of His Children and in the glory of the Cruel Death of his Successor, the Holy Martyr Chrysostom. At Ephesus in the Silences of the Street called Straight and of the Ruins of the Temple of Diana, we have mourned over the Quenching of the last Lamp of the Seven Churches of the Apokalypse and have prayed for the day of their rekindling in that Glory of the Gospel which is to be. In New Rome, the City of Constantine and of the Victory of the Cross, we have witnessed the Shameful Tragedy whereby the Mother City of Eastern Christendom is desecrated and beneath the great Dome of St. Sophia planned in the days of Justinian by Anthemios to eclipse the Glory of Solomon's Temple. Standing in the very spot where once stood the Golden Table of Christ, we have prayed that the tears of Theotokos may be assuaged, and that the Queen of all Christian Shrines with her Children, may be restored to the Liberty of the Gospel of the Cross.

And now that we are come to Athens wherein Civilisation was engendered, wherein Blessed Paul wrestled with the Philosophy of Heathendom, we desire to assure your Beatitude and the Greek Nation of our enduring sympathy and admiration, and of those of the Nation and Holy Churches which we represent.

So far as lies within its power, the Anglican Communion following the brave leadership of our revered Metropolitan Thomas Randall, Archbishop of Canterbury, has striven that in these later days Justice should be done and full Freedom of Faith and Life be granted to our Brethren of the Orthodox Name. We glory in that patient age-long witness and steadfast holding to the Faith of the Undivided Church, whereby the Eastern Orthodox Church has received a greater Crown of Martyrdom than that of the Early Church in all the persecutions under Heathen Rome, and we see, as with the eye of Faith, that happy day wherein, according to the Purpose of the Divine Providence, there shall be a restoration of all things and the Earth, being full of the knowledge of the Lord, and the Holy Church of the East shall cover the face of its lands as the waters cover the sea.

Accordingly, praying that God will so use the Church of Greece and the sore tried Greek Nation to the further vindication of His Gospel and of His Promise, we ask your Beatitude's Blessing and the prayers of your Flock, that having returned in safety to our Native

Land, we also may be instruments of His Goodwill for the furtherance of the Reunion and Peace of His Holy Catholic Church throughout the World.

TO HIS ALL HOLINESS LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE,
NEW ROME AND ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

We, Henry Russell, sometime Bishop of Birmingham, together with 55 clergy and 210 faithful laity of the Church of England, who, returning from our Pilgrimage to Mount Zion and the Holy Places of the Incarnate Saviour's Birth and Passion, have been blessed to visit, according to our set purpose, Constantinople, that Imperial City founded by the Isapostolic Constantine to be the Metropolis of the Christian East, and to pray beneath the Dome of the Incomparable Church of St. Sophia, which, though still degraded to be used as a Moslem Mosque, remains none the less the Queen of all Christian Shrines, desire to express to your All Holiness the unfeigned gratitude and admiration which not only fills our own hearts, but that of the whole world-wide Communion of the Anglican Churches is filled as for the age-long witness of the Orthodox Church to the unchanging Faith of the Church of Christ so also for the steadfastness, even unto bitter death, of your Bishops, Priests and Flock, in these latter days.

When we knelt and prayed within the walls of the Metropolis of Cyprus in Nikosia, we rejoiced to perceive, as we rejoiced to experience in the Holy City itself, the renewed and restored Christian Life which has followed upon the deliverance of the Flock of Christ from the age-long helotage under the Turkish and Moslem yoke. When we paid our vows in the Holy Monastery of St. John in Patmos, the Blessed Island of the Apokalypse, we saw that, although the ambition of Imperialism still hinders its people from union with those of its own blood, none the less the worst of its bondage had passed from it. When we landed at Smyrna and picturing to ourselves the nameless horrors of the holocaust wherewith Nur-ed-din purged it in 1923 of the Greek and Christian character which had been its glory for 2000 years, we prayed that by the intercession of Blessed Chrysostom and his Martyred Children civilisation may be absolved from its passive share in that Crime. But when we came to that Constantinople which, two years ago, was still predominantly Christian and Greek in character and people, and saw its Monuments and Churches in ruins and desecrated through Turkish vandalism and Moslem bigotry, and its anxious sore-tried Christian remnant under the heel of the Barbarous and Nomad Conqueror, the measure of the suffering of the Orthodox Flock in the past half century was revealed to our conscience, and, thanking God for its Faithfulness in Persecution and Affliction, we prayed that the Anglican Churches and the Anglo-Saxon Race, and with them we ourselves, may be used by the Divine

Providence for its present Comfort and Consolation, and for its future Recompense and Restoration.

In conclusion, while we in no wise forget the difficulties which lie in the path to that full, dogmatic agreement on the basis of the Faith of the Undivided Church of the First Nine Centuries, without which no true Union of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches is rightly possible, both the solidarity of mutual experience and sympathy which has drawn our respective Churches together since the Tragedy of the Great War, and the ready hand of Brotherly Charity which in all things, and especially by the Acceptance of the Validity of Anglican Ordinations, you and your predecessors on the Throne of Blessed Chrysostom and Photios have held out to us, embolden us to hope our eyes may see the realisation of the Great Prayer of the One High Priest for the Unity of His People.

Accordingly we ask your Holiness' Blessing and the Prayers of your Flock, that having returned in safety to our homes, we may there, by the intercession of our Lady, and all Saints, be instruments of the good Work of our God and Saviour.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

SINCE our last issue, and at the time of writing in early May, nothing of importance has occurred in regard to the Œcumenical Patriarch, except that the Mustapha Kemal's Government has been compelled to sit passive while his rough handling of the Treaty of Lausanne—to which it owes its present privileged licence to work its will on the wretched *rayah* of Asia Minor—is judged by the Arbitral Tribunal of the League of Nations at the Hague. Meanwhile, we are glad to give our readers the Patriarch's latest portrait, taken in the *salon* of the Metropolitan of Salonika's Palace, in which His All-Holiness has resided since his expulsion from Constantinople in January. By advices from the Near East, we learn that, after having threatened to expel the Metropolitans of the Constantinopolitan Synod, Kemal has climbed down and has decided that such a further flagrant breach of the pledges given at Lausanne would be unsafe. Happily the Patriarch Constantine is of too strong stuff even to consider abdicating at the bidding of these Greek politicians, who for secular reasons wish at all costs to keep the Patriarchate in Constantinople. If the League of Nations does not succeed in extracting efficacious guarantees for the free functioning of the Patriarchate in its proper city, he intends to summon his Synod to Salonika and, as in an Avignon, continue to exercise his office thence. In fact, he has already convened all the Metropolitans of his jurisdiction to a Conference.

As we learn at the time of writing, the arrangements for the Anglican Commemoration of the sixteenth centenary of the First and Great Council of Nicæa are as follows. The Liturgy will be celebrated solemnly in Westminster Abbey—St. Paul's being closed for the safeguarding of its structure—on June 29th, St. Peter's Day. The Archbishop of Canterbury himself will preach the sermon, and, in consequence of the vote of Convocation through which the Commemoration has been fixed, the Bishops and Proctors will attend officially. The Bishop of London is in charge of the preparations. It is expected that several Orthodox Bishops, including not only the Metropolitan of Thyatira and the Metropolitan Evlogie, but other and very distinguished Russians, and so forth, will be present. The Creed will be sung in our customary form in English, but after its singing will be recited by one of our Orthodox visitors in its original wording and language. No such Votive Eucharist, it would seem, has been rendered of recent centuries in our Communion, and, since St. Peter's Day is also the Patronal Feast of the Abbey, it is altogether appropriate that the Commemoration should take place on the day selected and in the Shrine which is the focus of our national and ecclesiastical life. There will be something peculiarly symbolic in the Commemoration of God's gift of the Creed to Christendom, expressing that Faith in the Rock on which the Church stands impregnable, within the walls of the central shrine of Anglo-Catholicism, and in the presence of Eastern dominant personalities, on the Festival of that Apostle who was the first to affirm the great fact of the Incarnation and to receive our Lord's promise of Commission.

In this number we give the speech delivered by the Bishop of London on the subject of the present crisis in Constantinople, and the Panegyric delivered at the A. and E.C.A.'s Solemn Requiem in St. Matthias', Earl's Court, for the Patriarch Tikhon. Of our other contributors we should say that Mr. Hofman Nickerson is not only a fine historian but a member of the Council of the American Church for the Foreign-Born, and a very keen worker in the field of Anglo-Orthodox relations. He is also in close touch with Cardinal Mercier. Mr. Maritch is one of our old Serb students at Oxford, and gives promise of doing fine service to his own Church and nation. Beyond our reminding the reader that Dr. Kidd is the Warden of Keble, Oxford, and one of the Conversants at Malines, that scholar and theologian, whom we thank for his splendid contribution, needs no introduction.

Professor Nicholai Nicanorovitch Glubokovsky, whose Academic Jubilee was observed by the world of learning and of theology on

April 24th, must be well known to every reader of the *Christian East*, to which in the past five years he has contributed very many articles of first importance. None the less we give this sketch of his career and personality. His portrait formed our frontispiece in September, 1923. Born in 1863, the son of the parish priest of a country parish in the Nikolsky district of the Vologodsky province, he made his way by sheer ability from the village school to what was perhaps the most important academic-ecclesiastical post in Russia. In an almost passionate defence addressed by him in 1923 to a British journal, and refuting the suggestion that under the Iscariot order the Russian Church was out of touch with the common people, he himself described the extreme poverty in spite of which he grew up, as he put it, in happy and ideal-inspiring conditions. Except for a few fees and a stipend of some £30, his father earned the family's livelihood on the parish glebe and actually built its wooden homestead with his own hands, but none the less was a centre of sympathy and influence through the countryside, and was beloved of the peasantry, which flocked to his church, when after a brilliant career as a student, Nikolas Glubokovsky was called from Moscow, where he had studied, to his Petrograd Chair at the age of 28. In Russia it was very unusual for a man to be transferred from one University to another. He at once attracted attention not only by his writings, which are many and of first value—among others he had begun publishing his well-known Theological Encyclopædia before the Revolution—but still more by his extraordinary power as a teacher. The best students flocked to him, not only from Russia, but from Greece and the Balkans, so that it is now hard to name a prominent Orthodox theologian of whom he cannot speak as his pupil. On the advent of the Red Terror in 1917 he withdrew first to Wyborg and then to Prague, where he was welcomed with honour. In 1923 he was invited to Sophia, where he is now the principal Professor of the Theological Faculty of the University, and where his Jubilee is being commemorated by a public banquet, organised by the Bulgar Government. Though in no sense a reactionary, he is by temperament and conviction cautious both as a theologian and as a student of sociology, and his interpretation of the history of the Bolshevik ruin of Russia and analysis of the Communists' principles and régime have had a powerful effect among all Russians. He is indeed to be reckoned among the potential factors in the coming reconstruction of Russia.

We also congratulate Father Constantine Vesselovsky of St. Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road, on fifty years' splendid service to the Russian Prechod (Parish) of London. Born in 1850 at Petrograd, then St. Petersburg, he was educated at the Petrograd Eccle-

siastical Seminary, and commenced his service to the Church of God on the 8th October, 1871, in Dresden, Saxony. At the desire of the Russian Foreign Office, he was appointed to the Russian Embassy's Chapel in London on the 6th Feb., 1875, and arrived in London on the 19th March of the same year, so that on the 19th March of this year he completed his 50th year of service to the Church of God in London. He is married to an Orthodox, Sophia, daughter of Richard Coleman. A warm friend to us Anglicans, he refuses no invitation to be present at our services, and is wellnigh as deeply loved among us as among his own people. We congratulated him in March on receiving the Kalimavsky, *i.e.*, on becoming a dignitary of the Russian Church.

That our premier University, that of Oxford, has decided to honour both itself and the Metropolitan Germanos of Thyatira by conferring on him the degree, *honoris causa*, of a Doctorate in Theology on the occasion of its *Enkainia* on June 16th, will be a matter of real satisfaction to us all. Since he came to London in the autumn of 1922 as the Apokrisarios of the Œcumenical Throne, and Exarch of West Europe, he won the goodwill and personal friendship of every Anglican, from our Archbishop down to the least important cleric and layman with whom he has come into contact, not only by his scholarship and understanding outlook, but also by his humility and affability. In truth, he has been an unofficial ambassador of the Greek nation as well as the official representative of the Great Church of Constantinople. Incidentally we may note the marvellous facility with which he has been at pains to acquire fluency in our not over-easy language. May he dwell long among us and witness the achievement of the Intercommunion of the Anglican Orthodox and Anglican Churches, which is so near his heart!

We print in this number the addresses which are to be delivered to the principal hierarchs of those Eastern countries to be visited by the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage of 1925. They are well worth a study by our readers!

This issue of the *Christian East* might almost be termed an illustrated number. We draw our readers' attention to the fact that it contains certain unique pictures of Nicæa as it is to-day, portraits of the Œcumenical Patriarch, of the late Patriarch Tikhon, that holy Confessor who broke the Bolshevik Assault on Heaven by his constancy, and the Sainted Michael of Serbia. No subscriber to this magazine can complain that he does not get the worth of his money. We wish we had a larger circulation. Still, we grow steadily.



HIS BEATITUDE, THE LORD PHOTIOS,
Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria, and Ecumenical Judge.
 Born 1858. Consecrated Archbishop of Nazareth 1899. Died 6th Sept., 1925.—R.I.P.

The Christian East

THE NICÆAN COMMEMORATION.

THE mutual approach of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches towards Reunion has made swift progress since the despatch of the Constantinople Delegation to the Lambeth Conference of 1920 and its direct consequence, the acceptance of the validity of Anglican Ordinations by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1922. But it is certain that among the many outstanding happenings in our movement during the past five years, there has been none which, alike for its widespread appeal to public imagination and for its intrinsic significance, is comparable with this summer's visit to London of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem and of other Orthodox hierarchs, and their participation in the Anglican Commemorations of the Great Council of Nicæa in Westminster Abbey and in St. David's Cathedral.

Since a full report of that notable happening will be issued shortly by A.E.C.A., all that we will say of it here in *The Christian East* is that, whereas hitherto we have held firmly to the view that a direct discussion of Terms of Intercommunion between the two Churches would be altogether premature and fruitless, it has, in our judgment, brought into sight the time when such a discussion will be possible and profitable. Of its significance we could make no higher estimate than that. Nor can we make less. For, on the one hand, the Solemn Eucharist in the Abbey on 29th June was a Symbolic Act, which was rendered in response to a petition of the Canterbury Convocation, by which the whole Church of England, led by its Primate and Episcopate, both affirmed its faith in the Ecumenical Creed and offered its Thanksgiving for the witness and work of the first Ecumenical Council, and in which—there is no precedent in history for such a fraternisation—official delegates being present from all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches with the exception of the Jugo-Slav, which received its invitation too late to follow its wish and to be represented, the whole Orthodox Church participated symbolically. And, on the other hand, since the *personnel* of the visitors included the Patriarch Photios, the Metropolitan Anthony and other Orthodox theologians of the greatest distinction, who heretofore have hesitated at agreeing that

the Anglican Church bears the marks of an Apostolic Church, and since, while in England and after leaving its shores they announced the completion of their conversion from pessimism to optimism by first-hand study of the Anglican Church as it is, the *imponderabilia* of this memorable visit would appear to justify the conclusion that the great majority of Orthodox theologians are now favourably disposed to address themselves to a practical discussion of dogmatic differences with a view to Reunion.

The untimely death of the Patriarch Photios, which supervened at Zurich on 6th September, when he was on his way to inform the Patriarchs of Jugo-Slavia and Rumania of his change of mind towards the Anglican Church and to discuss with them the speedy assembly of a Pan-Orthodox Council to hasten Reunion, has indeed dashed the happiness at and expectation which this memorable visit has engendered, with a poignant regret. We lament the passing of the venerable hierarch not only on account of the personal affection with which he had inspired us but for the loss of his powerful advocacy of our cause. If God had lent us him longer, his authority and enthusiasm as a newly found Apostle of Orthodox-Anglican Reunion would have accomplished much. None the less, though dead, he will speak, and his work will follow him. R.I.P.

EIRENIKON FROM THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WE append the Eirenikon the Œcumenical Patriarch addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, notifying his Enthronisation, and also His Grace's reply:—

To the Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, very dear to us and beloved brother in Christ the Son of God, Mgr. Randall; grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be with your Lordship.

We have much pleasure, by this brotherly letter as well, in communicating to your revered Grace and to the venerable Anglican Church the news of our canonical election, just accomplished by the Will of God, and subsequent accession to the All Holy Patriarchal and Œcumenical Throne of Constantinople in succession to our most Holy and most Revered predecessor Mgr. Constantine.

Attaching all the due significance and importance to the cordial relations, which, by the blessing of God, and especially during the tenure of office of your revered Grace, have been so happily

established between our own and the Anglican Churches, we are much delighted in making to your beloved Grace the assurance that in carrying out, on this sorely afflicted All Holy Throne, the heavy task which, yielding to common requests, we have undertaken in our weakness, and for which we call upon your brotherly prayers to our Lord, we will never fail, to the best of our ability, to assist as far as in us lies and do what is necessary to consolidate and promote more and more these sacred ties of love in Christ, which, while so creditable to both of our Churches, are at the same time so significant and so auspicious for the whole work of the longed-for "rapprochement" and blessed reunion of all Christian Churches.

We have also much pleasure in announcing to your Grace that, by decision both of ourselves and of our Holy Synod, the charge accorded to our Most Reverend Metropolitan of Thyateira and Exarch of Western and Northern Europe, Mgr. Germanos, to act as our own accredited representative, and representative of our Church, with your Grace, remains valid and standing also in future; we beg, therefore, that he may continue to be invested with the same love and confidence, as hitherto, by your revered Grace.

In conclusion, offering up devout prayers to the Most High that He may always bestow His gifts richly upon the venerable Anglican Church, which, so fervently cherishing Christian love, so fondly abiding by it, and, animated with godly zeal, is doing so much for the work of Christ; at the same time wishing your revered Grace health, longevity and strength from on high in your honourable and distinguished activity in our Lord's vineyard, and returning heartfelt thanks for the fraternal compliments and wishes which your Grace was good enough to extend to us in your congratulatory telegram, we embrace you in a Holy kiss and remain with love and high esteem,

Your revered Grace's dear Brother in Christ,

BASIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

22nd July, 1925.

To His All Holiness the Patriarch of the Œcumenical Throne of Constantinople, grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is with great satisfaction that I have to-day had the honour of receiving by the hands of our brother and friend Monsignor Germanos the letter from Your All Holiness announcing your

election to the Patriarchal Throne, about which I had already communicated by telegram with Your All Holiness.

It is to me a matter of great thankfulness that the great office of the Patriarchate should now be held by one who possesses the learning and experience which characterise Your Holiness, and gives us increased assurance of the friendly relations which we hope by the Grace of God to establish with more and more firmness and hope between the Orthodox Church in the East and the Anglican Church in England and America and throughout the world. The visit which has been paid to England by our brothers, the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria and the Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem, have excited wide interest in this country, and will serve, I hope, to the promotion of goodwill in the highest and deepest sense.

It is to me a very real satisfaction that Monsignor Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira and Exarch of Western and Northern Europe, should continue to hold under Your All Holiness the representative character which was given to him by your predecessors in the Phanar.

I join with Your All Holiness in devout prayers to the Most High that your Church and our own may go forward together under the benediction of the Lord Himself, and that we may be enabled to set forward year by year the advance of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I have the honour to remain your faithful brother and servant in Christ,

RANDALL CANTUAR.

AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND ANGLO-CATHOLIC CONGRESS PILGRIMAGE, BEING THE GREAT ADVENTURE OF 1925.

BY G. NAPIER WHITTINGHAM, HON. SECRETARY OF THE PILGRIMAGE.

INTRODUCTION.

I TAKE the occasion of this great gathering to express my profound thanksgiving that the Divine Lord has stirred the hearts of you, the children of His Church in England, to revive the ancient devotion of pilgrimages to the Holy Land. . . . Do you English people make your pilgrimage and give your life to Christ as have done those who journeyed to the Sacred City this year.

. . . . We shall always be eager to give you a hearty welcome at the Holy Sepulchre, and to receive you in such a way that you will feel that you are children coming to your home. . . . The Chapel of Abraham is always ready that your priests may celebrate the Divine Mysteries over the place where the Saviour died. I pray God that these pilgrimages will continue year after year, and I look forward to receiving many of you in Jerusalem next year."

Thus His Beatitude Damianos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, at the Anniversary of the Anglo-Catholic Congress in the Albert Hall, and there is but little doubt that the Pilgrimages to the Holy Lands were largely responsible for the visits of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem to England.

The Report of the Executive Committee presented to the Council of the Anglo-Catholic Congress goes so far as to say that "the first Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to the Holy Land stands out as the great achievement of the A-C.C. during last year," and that "the devotion of 215 priests and laity, with the Bishops who accompanied them, must inevitably strike the imagination of all Catholics and Orthodox and forge links in our common Christianity in the Near East. The Pilgrimage was a species of 'direct action' carried through by permission of the authorities: and the personal visits of the delegates to the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch have had results that nothing can efface." The report also emphasises the fact that "for the first time in the history of our movement we have taken a share in international ecclesiastical policy." Further, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in writing to the Secretary of the A.C. Pilgrimage Association, said: "I am exceedingly thankful that everything has been happily accomplished, and I pray God that the outcome of all your endeavour may be such as you and others had in your hearts when the arrangements were first planned."

In the pilgrimage of 1925 acts of courtesy were again paid to the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch, and also to the Archbishop of the Autocephalous Church of Cyprus: to His Beatitude Chrysostom, Metropolitan of Athens and Primate of All Greece, and, had not untoward circumstances prevented it, we should have paid our respects also to His Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, but under the circumstances we could do no more than pay a private visit to the Phanar, where our Bishop-President, the Rt. Rev. Dr. H. Russell Wakefield, and a small deputation of the pilgrims, were received by the Metropolitan of the Holy Synod.

The second pilgrimage differed from the first mainly owing to the route that was taken. The objects of the pilgrimage were the same as before—namely, a corporate act of worship to Almighty God, the desire to increase our own devotion by praying at the Holy Places, the advancement of the sacred cause of Reunion, and the rendering of any assistance in our power to the Anglican Churches

in Jerusalem and elsewhere on our journey. But on this second adventure there was the sixteenth centenary of the Great Council which gave the true faith to the world to be remembered, and therefore, besides the visit to the Holy Places of Palestine the pilgrims desired to pay their respect and devotion to the other mother shrines of Christianity, and in some measure also to follow the journeyings of St. Paul. In our itinerary, after leaving Haifa, we visited Cyprus, Patmos, Smyrna, Ephesus, Constantinople, Athens, and the "island called Melita."

Before leaving England a solemn service of dismissal was held at St. Matthew's, Westminster, the Bishop of Willesden presiding and distributing the cockle-shells to the pilgrims after having solemnly blessed them with holy water. An address was given by Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira, who, speaking in excellent English, said:

"I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart that you are to be blessed by the fulfilling of the desire which must move every Christian heart. I congratulate you that you are to be blessed by the seeing of the Holy Places over which went the feet of the Incarnate Son of God, by the venerating of the holy shrines where was accomplished the great mystery of our salvation, and to be inspired by those surroundings which have been the cradle of the Christian religion. . . . I wish that Our Lord, in Whose Name you are going, may bless your journey and bring you back strengthened in the faith of the Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, washed and renewed, soul and body, to continue the work of your vocation in Jesus Christ."

Many friends saw the pilgrims off at Victoria Station next day, including Sir Henry Lunn, who had given his personal attention to all the necessary arrangements, Mr. Sidney Dark, editor of the *Church Times*; mention must also be made of Monsieur Dionis du Séjour, of the *Messageries Maritimes*, who did everything possible to make our pilgrimage successful.

At Marseilles we were met by the President, the Right Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, sometime Bishop of Birmingham. Once again the committee made good choice in selecting its Bishop-President. In 1924 the Bishop of Nassau's presidency was a very happy one, and the same may be said this year. Dr. Wakefield was very much at home with his flock and soon won their confidence. He was indefatigable throughout the pilgrimage in his efforts to make the adventure a spiritual success, and most certainly he secured that end. No one could have been more urbane in manner and tactful, often under difficult circumstances, and at the same time upholding the dignity of the episcopate throughout the proceedings. The pilgrims were a united body and many letters have been received

since the pilgrimage, full of gratitude for benefits received. Generous, too, were they in their gifts: they made personal presents to Fr. Cornibeer and the Secretary, and they raised large sums of money towards the work of the Churches in Palestine, amounting in all to £536 17s. This sum was divided as follows: The Patriarch of Jerusalem, £204 5s. (including the gift of a picture for the Patriarchate); St. George's Cathedral, £105, 14s. (including the presentation of a ciborium); Archbishop Anastassy, for his work among refugee priests and nuns, £82 2s. 6d.; the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, £60; the Patriarch of Antioch, £37; the Archbishop of Bethlehem, £20; and the monks of St. George's Convent at Couziba, £7 10s. In 1924 the pilgrims raised £487 6s., to which was added a generous donation of £200 from Sir Henry Lunn for St. George's Cathedral, making a total for the two years of £1,223. This sum does not include collections taken on board ship, nor at the Anglican Churches in Jerusalem, Constantinople and Malta.

An adventure, lasting a month, during which time, in all probability, the pilgrims saw more places and took part in more interesting events than they had ever done before, must have left many impressions which should be worth recording and passing on to those who were not so fortunate as themselves. I cannot imagine anyone who went failing to feel his interest aroused and kept up without flagging until the very end. Therefore I trust that those pilgrims who have not joined the Pilgrimage Association will do so, and that those who are already members will give lectures, addresses or informal talks whenever and wherever they have the opportunity, and thus spread the good news. The committee is preparing a series of slides for use during the autumn and winter of 1925-6, about which full information will be given later on.

It is difficult to award praise as there were so many, both among the clergy and laity, who gave unstinted help, but we must single out Canon Douglas, who acted as "foreign minister" throughout the pilgrimage and never seemed to be at a loss, no matter what language he was called upon to interpret, and to him even Patriarchs rendered obedience; also Fr. Cornibeer, who arranged the masses and other services, acted as Confessor-in-Chief to the pilgrimage and rendered much spiritual assistance to the many who needed it. Of the many ladies who gave their help we must mention in particular Miss Clarke and Miss Tyndall, and of the laymen, our two churchwardens, Mr. Bruce Gosling and Mr. Edwards; also Dr. W. S. C. Copeman, our medical adviser, and Lieut.-Colonel Shaw-Page, who, with his assistant, Mr. H. R. Pickering, representatives of Sir Henry Lunn, did their utmost to make us happy and comfortable. Nor must we forget to express our appreciation of the Rev. L. G. Bark, organist of the pilgrimage, and the members of his choir who were responsible for the musical portions of the services.

Already a preliminary announcement has been made of a pilgrimage in 1926 to the Holy Land only, though it may include an extension to enable those who so desire to visit the Patriarch of Antioch at Damascus. The Pilgrimage Association Committee hopes to establish the pilgrimage idea on a sure foundation, and very possibly it may not be securely established until it continues apart from the ambassadorial aspect of its early days and becomes purely devotional. For the more we visit the Holy Places the more we realise the spiritual power that is stored up in them and that one great object of the pilgrimage revival and devotion to these sacred spots must be to set free this power for the good of the world and the extension of the Kingdom of Christ on earth.

PART I.

The four days between Marseilles and Alexandria were four days of delight. The air was cool, the sun bright, cares were absent and we knew that the Son of God was with us on the ship. The clear vault of heaven was azure blue, as befitted the month of May, and from time to time the voices of Fr. Bark's choir were heard chanting the May carol :—

"Yes, Mary's month has come again,

The merry month of May ;

And sufferers forget their pain,

And sorrows flee away ;

And joys return, the hearts whose moan

Was desolate erewhile

Are blithe and gay once more ; they own

The charm of Mary's smile " ;

a delightful hymn written by a former vicar of St. Barnabas', Pimlico, and given a pleasing setting by Fr. Leslie Pinchard.

Those who had journeyed on the first pilgrimage were delighted to be in the *Sphinx* once again, and to be welcomed by that most charming of skippers, Captain Piétri, a trusted Commander of the *Messageries Maritimes*. Many of us were already good friends, and we were anxious to present him to our President and also to introduce the other leading members of our pilgrimage who were not with us last year. He greeted us with a cheery smile and a joyous cry : "*Soyez les bienvenus !*" and said many courteous words to Dr. Russell Wakefield.

Four happy days, very fully occupied in the joy of our religious duties and in the necessary arrangements connected with the pilgrimage—and on the 5th, in glorious sunshine, the *Sphinx* steamed into the harbour of Alexandria shortly after 3 p.m. Mr. D. N. Tadros, representing Sir Henry Lunn, the Rev. Gladwyn Batty,

Chaplain of St. Mark's English Church, representing Dr. Gwynn (Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan), together with the Rev. Philip Usher, of St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem, boarded the ship as soon as she had cast her anchor, hastening to welcome the pilgrims. Some of the latter journeyed in the late afternoon to Cairo, and there they received a very hearty welcome by Archdeacon Palmer, of All Saints' Cathedral, where they attended Mass on Sunday. The rest of us spent a pleasant few hours in the delightful old city of St. Athanasius, revelling in the glorious beauty of the brilliant tropical flowers in the famous public gardens.

To-day began the real business of the pilgrimage. Mass of the Finding of the Holy Cross was said on board ship at 5.30, 6.30, and 7 a.m., and shortly after 8.30 a.m. the pilgrims, in motor-cars, very ancient cabriolets and trams, made their way to the Church of St. Mark's. Here Mass was sung (by permission of the Chaplain, the Rev. Gladwyn Batty) by the Rev. A. E. Cornibeer, in the presence of Dr. Russell Wakefield, who, vested in cope and mitre, said the Absolution and gave the Blessing. The choir of St. Mark's gave a delightful rendering of Merbecke, and the pilgrims joined heartily in the hymns. The sermon was preached by the Rev. J. A. Douglas, Hon. Canon of Southwark, who took as his text, "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

CEREMONIAL VISITS.

At the conclusion of the Mass, which was well attended by pilgrims and regular members of the congregation, the Bishop and the clerical members of the committee retired to the sacristy, there to don academic garments for the series of ceremonial visits arranged for them. The President, in full academic habit, together with his chaplains, Fathers Fynes-Clinton and C. B. Moss ; the Dean of Winchester, almost out-vying the Bishop in his magnificent LL.D. garments ; Canon Douglas ; the Revs. Arnold Pinchard, Philip Usher, Maurice Child, Gladwyn Batty, and G. Napier Whittingham. By this time it was blazing hot in spite of the cool breeze, and more than one of the clergy envied the laymen who accompanied us donned in cooler garments.

However, the cars, filled with gaily-clad clerics, all wearing the picturesque Bishop Andrewes cap, were of much interest to the Moslem crowd as we drove along the sun-baked streets to pay our first ceremonial call on his Beatitude Photios, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, at his private residence, as he was too unwell to receive us in the Greek Cathedral. The Patriarch was in a very happy mood, and received us most graciously.

The President was presented by the Archbishop of Jordan, and after a few cordial words and pleasing gestures, Dr. Wakefield read in English the address which had been drawn up on behalf of the

pilgrims by Canon Douglas, and done into Greek by the Metropolitan of Thyateira. Canon Douglas then read the Greek translation, to which the Patriarch gave patient hearing.

At its conclusion the President presented the individual members of the deputation to the Patriarch, who welcomed them with much graciousness, after which His Beatitude made a short speech in Greek, rendered into English by Archbishop Themelis.

"I am much touched," he said, "by the visit of this pilgrimage; I am always glad to receive English pilgrims, and here you will find piety as much as in England. You are excellent people, you English, and are famous for your science as well as for your religion. Your words have greatly impressed me, as also your sympathy with the Orthodox Church in her sufferings to-day. You have in your address mentioned our great Saint Athanasius, who should be regarded as a great example of fervent piety both by our nation and by yours. Let us pray that the whole Church may keep the faith firmly, as he kept it in those days long ago. You will soon be going to the Holy City, where you will find another Church, even older than ours, that is keeping the faith in its entirety, that is guarding and preserving the holy places in spite of every obstacle and difficulty. By visiting the Patriarchates in the different Eastern countries you will increase the desire for reunion, and I shall go on praying that before long there may be but one faith for the whole Church."

The pilgrims were much gratified at the very definite references to the reunion of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches, and the Archbishop of Jordan later in the day told me that the Patriarch was greatly moved by the visit of the pilgrimage and its obvious desire for unity.

The deputation then proceeded to the Armenian Church. Mass was being sung when we arrived, but in spite of this the courtyard of the Church was crowded with Armenians in eager expectation of our visit, and ringing cheers greeted us as the cars drew up at the church doors, where the President was met by the Patriarchal Vicar, the supreme Vartabed Sirounian. We arrived shortly after Fr. Harold Buxton had concluded his sermon, and the President was escorted by an Armenian priest to the sacristy, and shortly after issued forth clothed in a multi-coloured cope, and crowned with an enormous mitre. A pastoral staff was placed in his left hand and a "benediction" cross in his right, and after blessing the people, Dr. Wakefield said a few earnest words about the pilgrimage, but more especially took the opportunity to express the sympathy of every member of the pilgrimage with the sufferings of this wonderful nation. He mentioned their faith and courage in suffering, adding that the Armenian witness for Christ would never be forgotten. Towards the end of the Mass the *pain bénit* was distributed as in France, a special portion being taken by one of the priests to our Bishop.

At the conclusion of Mass the Vartabed held a reception in the grand salon, where hospitality was offered *more solito* and a photograph taken of the leading Armenians and the pilgrimage deputation. The Armenians were delighted at our visit and obvious sympathy, and our cries of "*Vivent les Arméniens!*" were received with vociferous cheers and applause. God bless these valiant people, ever cheerful in the midst of endless suffering!

The Rev. Harold Buxton, one of the pilgrims, and well known for his work amongst the Greek and Armenian refugees, was invited by the Vartabed Sirounian to preach at this Mass. In the course of his sermon, based on the Gospel for the third Sunday after Easter, "Your sorrow shall be turned into joy," Father Buxton said that it was now ten years since the horrors of 1915 in Armenia. In spite of our sorrow at the awful persecutions we must render thanks for the wonderful witness to the faith borne by Armenian martyrs, penitent though we are for the betrayal of the Armenian nation by the allied Governments, including Great Britain.

Early in the afternoon the President and committee, accompanied by a large number of the pilgrims, paid a visit to the Copts. At the Coptic Patriarchate the Bishop was received by the Patriarchal Vicar, and after a friendly conversation—with the aid of an interpreter—between the two prelates, the Vicar, preceded by youths wearing great crowns of red plush trimmed with gold, escorted us round the church, pointing out pictures and other objects of interest. After courteous farewells those in charge of the President saw to it that a return to the boat and a subsequent rest and retirement was effected without undue loss of time.

We brought the day to an end by attendance at Evensong at the Anglican Church. At this service the Rev. Arnold Pinchard, general secretary of the English Church Union, preached the sermon, taking as his text "Let us now go even unto Bethlehem."

On the following morning the pilgrim ship set sail for Jaffa amidst a volley of cheers. Representatives of religious and civil bodies came to bid us farewell, and a Greek Archbishop presented the President with an enormous bouquet of flowers of all hues and scents which completely filled up the episcopal washing basin. The Anglican Church, not to be outdone, commandeered a cutter and chased the *Sphinx* as she neared the outlet of the harbour, giving us a final broadside of cheering.

The last evening on board the *Sphinx* for the nonce was spent more or less informally. At the close of Evensong Fr. Philip Usher addressed the pilgrims on the work of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem, dwelling on her unique position, her unbounded possibilities, and the vital necessity for much greater support in England. Pilgrims were reminded of their responsibility, and impressed that on their return home they should interest the parishes and their

friends in the work done by the Anglican Church in the city of the mother of all the Churches.

After dinner, Fr. Maurice Child prepared the minds of the pilgrims for the wonders they would see in the Holy Land, and Fr. Whittingham gave a few practical hints, and explained the programme of the next few days. During the course of the proceedings the President, who showed his great interest in all we did by taking the chair at every evening meeting, gave the Secretary the surprise of his life. Handing the Secretary a quaintly-made leather purse from which piastres and francs were already exuding, the Bishop merely remarked, "This is from the pilgrims: you must buy something with it in Jerusalem." Fr. Cornibeer, the spokesman of the conspirators, read the following letter:—"We, the Anglo-Catholic pilgrims to the land of fadeless splendour, ask you to accept this little token of our affection and gratitude, and our appreciation of all you have done for us, both on this pilgrimage and on the first. We hope that you will get something you like in Jerusalem and that when you look at it you will think of your fellow-pilgrims and that you will sometimes remember us in your prayers. We hope that, when our earthly pilgrimage is over, we may be counted worthy to meet again in the Heavenly Jerusalem."

The Secretary seemed touched and confused at the same time—touched at the pilgrims' kindly generosity, and confused because words did not come easily. At least, he did show how greatly the unexpected gift had moved him.

On the landing-stage at Jaffa there met us Archimandrite Photios, of the local Orthodox Greek Church, who conducted us to his church. Mass was almost completed and, by the time we had assembled, the final blessing had been given. Then, in the presence of all the pilgrims, our President, by special request of the Greek clergy, offered prayers of thanksgiving and petitions for unity, standing in front of the ikonostasis. The pilgrims had to hasten to catch the only morning train to Jerusalem, so after the usual courtesies in the Metropolitan salon, we bade farewell to the sea and to Jaffa, and led by the local police sergeant—a charming man, full of anxiety to do credit to his profession like the centurion of old—some entrained while others took cars, and shortly after midday on Tuesday, May 5th, the pilgrims arrived in the Holy City. Near to the station is a convenient spot whence a splendid view of the valley of the Kedron and the Mount of Olives may be obtained, and here, in the presence of the President, an Armenian Bishop who, with great courtesy, had come to represent the Armenian Patriarch together with two of his priests, the Gradual Psalms were sung, thanksgiving prayers recited and blessings given, first by the Anglican, and then by the Armenian Bishop.

Early in the afternoon a ceremonial visit was paid to the Church

of the Holy Sepulchre; the pilgrims, coming from the various hostels, foregathered in the courtyard and waited for the President's slow and stately procession through the ancient streets and down the Beggars' Steps. Here the Archimandrite Kyriakos welcomed the President in the name of the Patriarch, and then, after prostrations before the Stone of Anointing, the first visit was made to the Holy Tomb itself. The Bishop and the Archimandrite took up their positions on either side of the entrance, and at that moment, in honour of our visit, the great bells of the Crusaders' Tower clanged out their joyous welcome with barbaric gaiety.

When, after a while, they were silent, the Archimandrite came forward and gave an address in English, in the course of which he said:

"The Mother of Churches, when last year she received with a sincere and brotherly sympathy the children of the first Anglican pilgrimage, prayed with all her heart that our risen Saviour might bless them and grant to each one according to his wish, and that that pilgrimage might be the good beginning of many others to come continuously.

"Now receiving this second holy pilgrimage, we see the desire and wishes of the Church accomplished and fulfilled; hence, glorifying our God Jesus Christ, Who knoweth the secrets of our heart, and gives to us according to our needs, on behalf of the Church of Sion, we greet with pleasure and joy this second Anglican pilgrimage and bid you 'Welcome'; I wish to you with all my heart the happy achievement of your sacred journey. May our Lord bless you in coming in and in going out of this Holy Church, that He may grant to you a favourable return to your beloved and glorious country, and may the grace and the blessing of the Holy Sepulchre, of the terrible Calvary, and all the sacred places of the Holy Land, ever fill your beloved homes.

"And you, dear brethren, do not forget in your faith and piety the long-suffering Church of Sion, which all through the long centuries has lived in sorrows and oppression and difficulties; yet did not lose courage, but always held high the symbols of the Faith, and never once neglected its holy calling and high mission, and which continues to-day with high hopes of a better future, being, by God's providence, under the care and protection of a high, most Christian, most just and righteous nation, Great Britain."

The President then entered the inner chamber and there knelt and kissed the Holy Tomb, followed by the Dean of Winchester, Canon Douglas, and a few others; to save undue delay the rest were asked to make their visits privately.

Next we ascended the steps that lead to the Chapel of Calvary,

which is reached by a double flight of stairs, its pavement being some twelve feet above the level of the church. At once the President went to the Altar of the Crucifixion, which belongs to the Orthodox Greeks. Under this altar he knelt and kissed the silver disc which covers the place where the Cross of Our Lord once stood, his example being followed by others of the pilgrims; and there before Calvary we prayed for unity, for the peace of the Church, and for a greater devotion to our crucified Lord and Saviour. On this, the most solemn and sacred spot in all Christendom, the pilgrims were privileged to fulfil their quest by offering their pious vows and intentions, meditating on the sacred scenes of the Passion, and thanking God for being permitted to visit, in the spirit of pilgrimage, the land made for ever holy by the Incarnation and Passion of the Son of God.

Later in the afternoon the pilgrims enjoyed the luxury of sitting in the cool and beautiful garden of St. George's Cathedral close, and there enjoying the hospitality of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem and Mrs. MacInnes, who gave a reception in their honour. The President of the pilgrimage looked completely at home while conversing, by sign or look, with the Greek Archbishops, the Armenian Patriarch, Coptic and Syrian ecclesiastics, but few of whom can speak aught but their own language. The face of the little black Abyssinian abbot was wreathed in smiles, and he had the look of one who longed to give expression to his sentiments. Canon Douglas switched from one Eastern tongue to another with his usual ease, as did also Bishop MacInnes, probably the best linguist in this city of many languages. The Governor of Jerusalem was there, and many other notables, including Sir Ronald Storrs, Sir Anton Bertram, Dr. Danby, and the American chaplain, Mr. Bridgeman. Late in the afternoon a photograph was taken, truly polyglot and Catholic, for it included representatives of many communions, east and west.

Sung Evensong in the Cathedral followed at 5 o'clock, and at its conclusion Sir Ronald Storrs, the Governor of Jerusalem, addressed the congregation, describing to them briefly the origins, objects, and achievements of the Pro-Jerusalem Society.

Jerusalem was crowded. Besides our little pilgrimage of two hundred and fifteen there were two others numbering some seven hundred pilgrims, and one wonders where accommodation could be found for them all. We had taken nearly the whole of the accommodation afforded at the New Grand Hotel and that of St. George's Hostel, and a good many rooms in the American Colony. The Latin hostels will not take our pilgrims, though they would not reject us if we came as tourists, but in any case they were packed with Latin pilgrims. Clark's American world-tour of some thousand tourists only left the city the morning we arrived, and presumably they must have existed on water, for to obtain this liquid one must pay, and a petrol tinful cost rather more than a shilling.

Thus, *pro rata*, one could understand why it was not possible to have a bath, hot or cold, unless prepared to pay five shillings. Most of us, therefore (always excepting the President), preferred to remain as pilgrims did of old, joyous but dirty, thus hoping that our friends at home would not cast the stone of luxury at our devoted, if unwashed, heads.

On this occasion our time was but short, and before reuniting at Haifa the pilgrims divided into different groups, each having its own leader. Some had only three days, and at the most there were not more than five spent in the Holy City on this occasion. For next year, God willing, there will be arranged a pilgrimage to Palestine only, not even including a visit to Cairo! Thus the days were fully occupied, as your readers will understand as the story of this second great adventure is gradually unfolded.

The Chapel of Abraham in the Orthodox Convent of that name is a great joy to the pilgrim, for it is almost as if he were in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself. At 5 a.m. the first Mass began and the last at 8.30 a.m. At some of the Masses the little chapel is packed with communicants, and none is ever without a congregation. A *rota* of priests is kept, and naturally everyone of our priest-pilgrims is desirous to say Mass on this sacred spot, divided from Calvary only by a narrow wall. At St. George's Cathedral seven Masses are said daily apart from the chapel Mass, and the Anglican Bishop has been most kind in putting the three altars at our disposal. The pilgrims will not rest, and one could only hope that they would not be "knocked up" with overwork before the second chapter of the pilgrimage began.

Naturally the Latin pilgrims are interested in us, and especially in our jolly little cockle-shells. Also, I doubt much if any of them had before witnessed some fifty-five priests marching in English academic habit, with a prelate at the head clothed in gorgeous purple and the radiant scarlet of a doctor's gown.

The pilgrims were delighted with their reception in the Holy City, for, in spite of the crowds of other pilgrims, not to mention tourists, etc., etc., our friends of the Anglican and Eastern Churches vied with one another to do us honour.

Here I may mention a signal honour rendered to the pilgrimage as a whole and to three members of the Committee in particular by the Patriarch Damianos soon after our arrival in Jerusalem. Representing His Beatitude, the Archimandrite Kyriakos was empowered to confer on Canon Douglas, Fr. Maurice Child, and Fr. Whittingham the decoration of the Order of the Crusaders of the Holy Sepulchre, together with an illuminated scroll bearing a legend in Greek.

At the same time His Beatitude sent to the Bishop-President a magnificent collection of pictures of the Holy Land bound in curiously

carved olive wood with inside representation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The recipients of these gracious gifts, greatly appreciating the kindness of the Patriarch, sent suitable replies to His Beatitude.

I have already told of the reception given to the pilgrims by the Anglican Bishop; on the following morning the Patriarch of Jerusalem, His Beatitude Damianos, received all the pilgrims at the Patriarchate, giving them both hospitable refreshment and a little book of pictures and pressed flowers of the Holy Land, bound in olive wood, as a souvenir. We found the aged Patriarch looking as young and stately as ever, in spite of his eighty-one years, and his welcome was most cordial. After the usual salutations, our President read to him an address in English, followed by Canon Douglas, who delivered the Greek translation.

To this His Beatitude made reply in Greek, the Archimandrite Kyriakos rendering it into efficient English:—

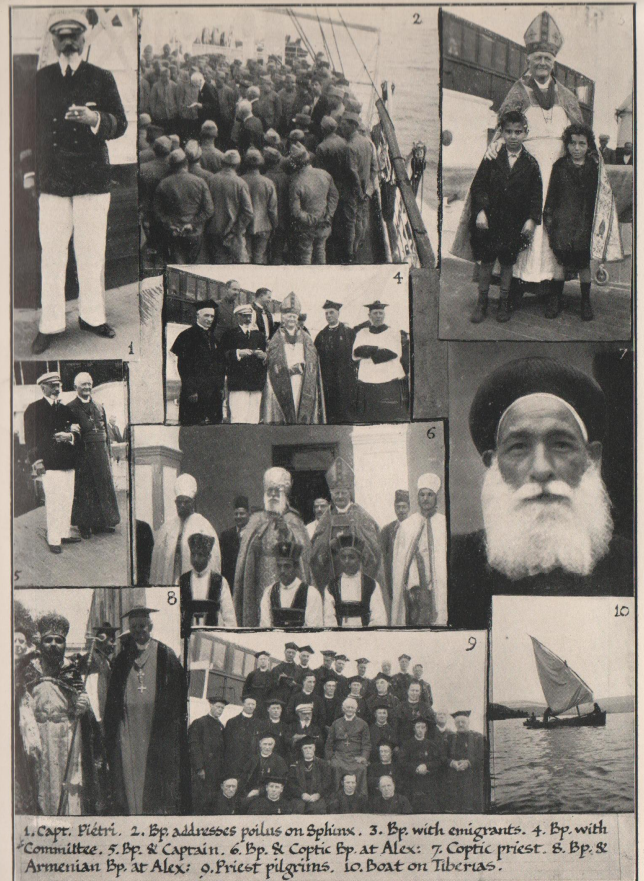
"Most reverend and dear brother in the Lord Jesus Christ, and faithful pilgrims.

"The Most Holy Mother of Churches has pleasure in welcoming you with open arms, as we welcomed last year your brothers, who first established this good custom of visiting the Holy Land as pilgrims.

"The Church of Jerusalem, struggling against many difficulties, naturally is sincerely feeling great joy at your visit, as esteeming the maintenance and strengthening of good relations with the great and illustrious Church of England; and, receiving you with such a disposition, she welcomes you through us most cordially, supplicating most heartily our Saviour and Redeemer, Who has in a miraculous way saved us in this Holy Place, to help you in the attainment of your holy aim propitiously and in good health, and to fill your hearts with the benediction overflowing from these Sacred Places, giving a new strength and any other qualifications required in your high, honest and sacred strife for the Church and its great aims in this world.

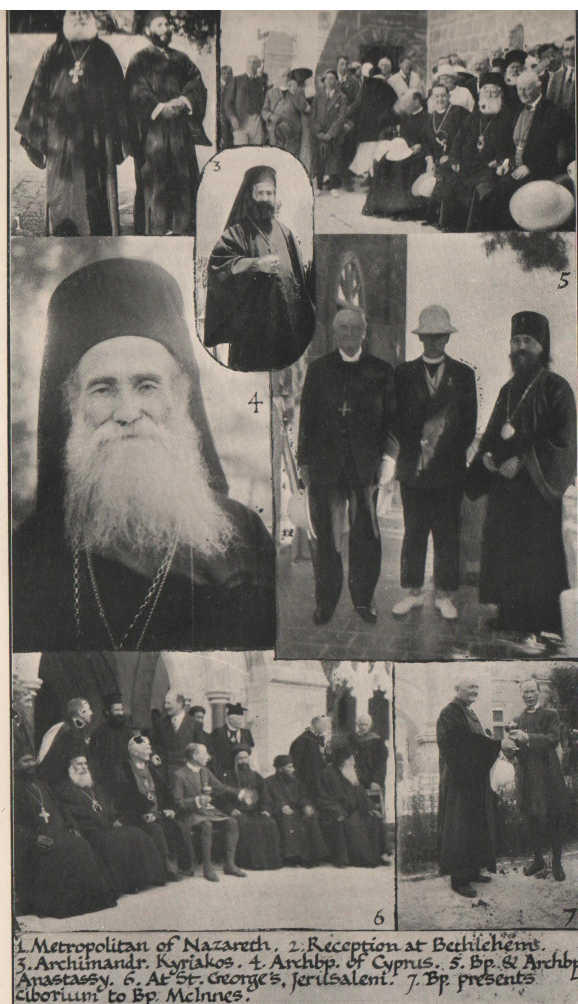
"May the grace of the Holy Grotto, Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre be with you through all your life.—Amen."

Then the President offered, as the pilgrims' gift, a framed picture of the Coronation of King George in Westminster Abbey. In making the presentation, Dr. Wakefield gave a charming little speech, which was translated by the Archimandrite Kyriakos, and to which the Patriarch made suitable reply. That the gift was appreciated we can have no doubt, for when, towards the end of our stay, Fr. Child and I had a personal interview with His Beatitude, who received us very graciously, we saw the picture already in position above the Patriarchal chair, and the Patriarch further



1. Capt. Piétri. 2. Bp. addresses pilgrims on Sphinx. 3. Bp. with emigrants. 4. Bp. with Committee. 5. Bp. & Captain. 6. Bp. & Coptic Bp. at Alex. 7. Coptic priest. 8. Bp. & Armenian Bp. at Alex. 9. Priest-pilgrims. 10. Boat on Tiberias.

These photographs were taken by Pilgrims, to whom we tender our thanks.



These photographs were taken by Pilgrims, to whom we tender our thanks.

informed us that our gift of last year—namely, the ikon of St. George—was now on Calvary.

Before we left the Patriarchal presence the choir sang in our honour, as only a Greek choir can sing, and after His Beatitude had offered in Greek, and our President in English, prayers for the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, and the Patriarchal blessing had been given, the pilgrims returned to their lodgings.

Two other ceremonial visits were paid on the same day to the Armenian Patriarch and to Archbishop Anastassy, Head of the Russian Church in Jerusalem. Representatives of the Armenian Patriarch met us in the courtyard and conducted us to the church. There our Bishop knelt and prayed at the shrine of St. James, and we all greatly admired the stately beauty of this famous church, dedicated to the first Bishop of Jerusalem. Then we were led to the Throne Room, where Mgr. Tourian received us with great cordiality, placing Dr. Russell Wakefield in the seat of honour, and after the customary entertainment an address was presented to His Beatitude, the translation into the Armenian language being given by Fr. Buxton.

To the Russian Archbishop Anastassy we paid two visits, one of which was ceremonial and the other informal. The former was rendered at the Russian buildings on the Jaffa road, the headquarters and office of the Russian Church. Archbishop Anastassy is an old friend of some of the Committee, and Dr. Wakefield is also President of the "Appeal for the Russian Clergy," which has had the privilege of rendering his Church and her priests financial aid on very many occasions.

We had no formal address to offer, but one can always rely on the former Bishop of Birmingham to say exactly the right thing. In a short and felicitous speech, he offered the Archbishop the sympathy of all the pilgrims in the sufferings of the Russian people at the present time, together with their admiration for the courage displayed by prelates, priests and laity alike who had suffered martyrdom and cruel persecution; adding that we hoped shortly to give further practical assurance of this sympathy. The Archbishop was visibly moved, and with much feeling expressed his gratitude for all the help that had been given him by his English friends.

At his urgent request some of us, including our indefatigable President, visited His Grace at his private house adjoining the Russian convent and great tower on the Mount of Olives. On our arrival, as at our departure, the great bells of the tower rang out cordial greeting; the Archbishop, a thin, spare man with beautiful and kindly mien, came out to meet us and escorted us to the convent chapel, where the nuns were chanting Vespers. The nuns, who were dressed in garments somewhat similar to those worn by the Orthodox clergy, including their head-gear, were the most pathetic-looking

people it has been my lot to see. The suffering of their co-religionists had obviously left its mark upon them. We were presented to the Reverend Mother, and then taken to the terrace where we found a table spread with simple Russian delicacies. It was just a homely, family tea party.

Sometimes one wonders what Jerusalem could have been like when the Russian pilgrims came over in their thousands. Many would come for Christmas and stay until Easter. It is estimated that over 12,000 spent months in the Holy City every year. Now such pilgrims come not, for, as His Grace remarked, "a great darkness has covered the land." After receiving the Archbishop's blessing we departed, and once again the bells pealed out their joyous salutation. Incidentally, I would remark that nothing pleased Archbishop Anastassy more than to hear that many English churches offered requiems for the repose of the soul of the Patriarch Tikhon.

By the courtesy of Sir Henry Lunn, the President and committee of the pilgrimage were able to give a banquet to the heads of the different religions in Jerusalem. Dr. Russell Wakefield presided, and had next him the Archbishop of Malata, representing the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Mgr. Tourain, Armenian Patriarch. Others present included the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, the Governor of Jerusalem, the Coptic Abbot, the Syrian Bishop, the Abyssinian Abbot, together with their chaplains, the Archimandrite Kyriakos, the Armenian Archimandrite Kyrillos, the Rev. Saleh Saba of St. Paul's Arabic Church, Canon Hanauer of the L.J.S., the Russian Archbishop Anastassy with his chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Danby, Rev. C. Steer, Rev. Philip Usher, and Rev. C. Bridgeman from St. George's Cathedral. I had an Abyssinian on one side and a Syrian on the other, and though we could not understand each others' tongues, at any rate we could show by unmistakable signs our fraternity. At the conclusion of the banquet several toasts were given.

The next day the pilgrims paid their ceremonial visit to Bethlehem. The five-mile drive along the dusty road was quickly covered by a fleet of motor-cars, and on arrival in the great courtyard the pilgrims were formed in orderly procession. The Bishop-President, who was clothed in purple cassock and academic habit, was presented to Gregorios, Archbishop of Bethlehem and Guardian of its Holy Places, and then, led by torchbearers, the Archbishop and President walked together in front and, followed by the priests, all similarly garbed, the procession made its way to the Sacred Grotto.

To every pilgrim was given a lighted taper, and the ladies of the party were warned to be careful not to repeat the episode of last year, when more than one pilgrim's hair caught fire. The space is so small that only a few of the clergy could follow the Archbishop

and Bishop to the Altar of the Nativity. There our President knelt and kissed the silver star, and then venerated the Altar of the Manger. The Archbishop, in a splendid sonorous voice, chanted intercessions, after each one of which the Greek priests made response—*Kyrie Eleison, Christe Eleison, Kyrie Eleison*. The clergy then left the Grotto and made room for the other pilgrims to come and worship.

After this we filed out of the Basilica into the courtyard, bright with the midday sun, and here we said "Our Father" and "Hail, Mary!" together with the Nicene Creed, omitting the *Filioque* clause, and prayers for reunion. The pilgrims sang *Adeste Fideles* and "Once in Royal David's City"; the President blessed us in English and the Archbishop in Greek, and then the Archimandrite Kyriakos read the following address:—

"And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judæa, art not the least among the princes of Judæa: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel."

"Faithful Christian pilgrims,—The Holy Mother of Churches wishes to express a very deep thankfulness to the Lord, for it has been blessed by Him to receive this second holy Anglican pilgrimage in this historic city of Judæa, and the very holy place of the Nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, round which some nineteen centuries ago was sung that sweet song of a Heavenly Host: 'Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will to men.'

"In this little Bethlehem the accomplishment of the Eternal Will of God is consummated; the Eternal Mystery is manifested. On this place God comes down from Heaven and man goes up to Heaven. Here is born the High and Sweet Governor of the prophecy, Who called the nations and tribes into the bosom of grace, and Who released man from misery and sorrows:

"Come to me all who are under labour and burden and I shall refresh you."

"And on this sacred place, where millions of people have worshipped on bended knee the Son of God Who was incarnated for our salvation, the Mother Church greets you and welcomes you, and offers up a fervent prayer to the Divine Founder of our Faith that He may shelter you and protect you and strengthen you in the way of piety and moral perfection for the accomplishment of deeds worthy of your calling.

"May the Lord bless your coming in and your going out of this Holy Place, and may His Holy Spirit rest and abide with you for ever and ever."

Once again the charming Gregorios entertained us with refreshing lemonade in his large and cool salon, and pleasant interchanges

of compliments were made by the two Prelates. But there was still one thing left for us to see—the glorious view from the Convent roof over the little city to the fields of the shepherds. Far in the distance could be seen the blue mountains of Moab and below them the Dead Sea. Here we gave full vent to our lungs, and sang with devotion and joy, “While shepherds watched their flocks by night.”

And so, after many salutations to the Archbishop and his monks, we drove back to the Holy City in clouds of white dust, full of enthusiasm for our Bethlehem hosts who had made the pilgrimage to this Holy Place such a living reality.

The pilgrims have made good use of their time, and thanks to the arrangements, admirably carried out by those in charge, have been able to visit all the places that really matter. Most of them have journeyed to Jericho, Jordan and the Dead Sea, and two, at least, of the pilgrims visited the ancient Convent of St. George along the road to Jericho, built against the cliff on the north side of the valley known as Wadi Kelt by the brook Cherith. There was a corporate Communion for the entire pilgrimage in the early hours of Saturday morning before the pilgrims broke up into parties. This service was regarded, as last year, as of obligation for all the pilgrims. The Bishop of Jerusalem celebrated, and was assisted by the Cathedral clergy. Most of the pilgrims were present and made their Communions.

Those pilgrims who still remained in Jerusalem enjoyed their complete freedom to visit the spots they loved most. I took the Bishop-President to visit the lovely little village of Ain Karim, or St. John of the Mountains, some six miles from Jerusalem. The *mise en scène* is delightful and refreshing—a picturesque valley with a clear view of undulating hills for miles round. One comes upon it quite suddenly; it is planted with vines, olives, figs and carob trees, the graceful village of the birthplace of St. John the Baptist. Here, close to the Virgin's Well, which is associated with the visit of Blessed Mary to Elizabeth, is the Russian Convent where Miss Carey, cousin of the Bishop of Bloemfontein, lives and keeps a pleasant rest-house. She is always glad to see visitors, and especially Anglo-Catholic pilgrims, and everyone knows her for her charitable work.

On one evening the pilgrims were invited to attend a mystery play produced by the headmaster of St. George's school. The play was entitled “The Good Samaritan, being a New Testament Morality Play, and Four Tableaux from the Story of Joseph.” The tableaux were most beautiful and the poses altogether Eastern and superb. The play was performed by the boys of St. George's school, all native Syrians and, with one exception, Christians.

Sunday, May 9th, was our last day in the Holy City, and only

a fraction of the pilgrims had remained. Scattered over Palestine and Syria, one party spent this Sunday at Baalbek, another at Haifa, another at Nazareth, and still another at Tiberias. At the latter, in the very early morning, on a hill overlooking the sea, similarly to last year, a temporary altar was placed. Mass was said by Canon Osborne and served by Fr. Howe.

Fr. Moss tells of the adventures of his band of pilgrims in Damascus and Baalbek :—

“The Patriarch of Antioch received us most graciously, and Fr. Fynes-Clinton presented an address to him. He promised to let us have the use of an altar together with the necessary vestments, and before we left him each pilgrim received at his hands a small book containing the Orthodox Liturgy and other services in English.

“The next morning at 7 o'clock Fr. Fynes-Clinton sang Mass at St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral in Damascus, the Mass being of St. Gregory Nazianzen, whose festival it was according to the Western Kalendar. The Patriarch was present with some of his clergy, and a large number of his people mingled with our pilgrims. The Dean of Winchester served, an Orthodox layman acted as thurifer, and Fr. Whalley led the congregational singing. Before leaving Damascus Fr. Fynes-Clinton and I went to the Patriarchate to ask the Patriarch's blessing and to offer a gift of £30, which Fr. Clinton had brought from England for the work of the Church in Antioch.

“The next day we left Damascus for Baalbek, where our Orthodox friends of last year met us, and after lunch took us to see the work of restoring the ancient Baalbek church, about £800 being needed to complete the cost. In the afternoon we left Baalbek, and went over the Lebanon drive through wonderful scenery to Beirut. On Sunday I said Mass in the Anglican chapel, and afterwards we went in two separate parties to be received by Gerasimos, Orthodox Metropolitan of Beirut. He was delighted to see us again, and presented us all with his photograph. He explained that the Bishops of all the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch were now Syrians and not Greeks. After receiving his blessing we departed to join the other pilgrims at Haifa.”

Those who remained in the Holy City heard Mass in the Chapel of Abraham, the first being celebrated at 6 a.m. and the last at 9.30 a.m. At 7 o'clock several Greek laymen were present, and at 7.30 a.m. four or five of our airmen, who are encamped by the Bethlehem road, attended, while at Fr. Douglas's Mass at 8 a.m.

a little crowd of our delightful dusky brethren, the Abyssinians, stood around, watching the service with the utmost interest. It is just this interest—and a very great one also—which is a special feature of our second pilgrimage. Somewhat surprised by the first one, and understanding but little of its meaning, on this occasion everyone—except the Latins who were too busy with their two great pilgrimages—was thrilled and began to realise that England might perhaps be a Christian land.

After Mass in the Chapel of Abraham most of the few remaining pilgrims paid their last visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to kiss the Sacred Tomb, and to kneel at Calvary. All the Religions were celebrating the Lord's Day. At every Latin altar throughout the great Basilica a Swiss or Spanish pilgrim priest was saying his Mass. In the Greek Catholikon High Mass was solemnly sung, the Archbishop of Malata presiding in the Patriarchal Throne; the Copts were marching round the rotunda, censuring the people, and then returning said Mass in their tiny chapel, Copts and Abyssinians squatting on the floor all around. Up above in the first gallery one could hear the Armenians chanting their liturgy. Bells were pealing, voices were singing or shouting, different liturgies in different tongues were being said or sung—all a great act of Sunday worship.

Later in the morning the pilgrims in Jerusalem attended the Liturgy at St. George's Cathedral, the music of which was sung with much devotion by the Cathedral choir. The Rev. Dr. Danby celebrated, Fr. Usher and Fr. Bridgeman deacon and sub-deacon respectively. Dr. MacInnes, Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, presided, and Dr. Russell Wakefield preached the sermon, both Bishops being vested in copes and mitres. The Governor and Lady Storrs, together with other leading English officials in the city, were also present.

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Before leaving the Holy City, the President, on behalf of the pilgrimage, made a presentation of money given by the pilgrims to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, together with the accompanying words:—

"On behalf of the Anglican pilgrims to the Holy Land who have received on two occasions so gracious a welcome at the hands of Your Beatitude, we beg to offer the enclosed draft as a small token of our reverence, regard and appreciation. It will be our pleasure to report to the Council of the Anglo-Catholic Congress Committee and to our friends throughout the country Your Beatitude's continued marks of favour shown to us all as their representatives. We hope, year by year, to bring a number of pilgrims to venerate the Holy Shrines under Your Beatitude's protection and that of your holy Confraternity."

The Moslem feast of Nebi Musâ (*i.e.*, burial place of Moses) took place during our short stay in the Holy City. The origin of this feast is interesting and dates from the period of the Crusades. The Moslems, seeing large numbers of Christians gathered in Jerusalem to keep Easter, and Jews coming to the City in crowds for the observance of the Passover, feared that, unless a crowd of the co-religionists were also present, Jews or Christians might seize the city, and therefore organised this Mohammedan feast. From all parts of the country, but mostly from Hebron and its environs, multitudes of the followers of Islam arrive in massed processions about Easter-tide, and then, after a great meeting on the Haram-esh-Chêrif, where many speeches are made in Arabic, start on their pilgrimage to En Nebi Musâ, a small village on the hills above Jericho, the reputed burial place of Moses, for Moslems claim that by a vision the Patriarch's tomb was discovered on a hill close to the Dead Sea, although the Bible chronicles the fact that "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." Naturally the Moslem avers that the vision appeared in later days.

For two whole days the Holy City was full of Moslems, for the feast had just ended and there was only left the importance of a demonstration in Jerusalem. The Hebron contingent always causes the greatest interest. Carrying the green flag of Mecca, they waved their swords at one another, and those who had no swords were content with loaded sticks. In the midst of them a man, said to be descended from the Prophet, performed a weird dance, and around him a small crowd gathered, striking at one another without damage, furious in aspect but probably mild and gentle at heart. All the while a British officer, calm, cool and collected, gently urged the Hebron crowd towards the Jaffa gate. Jerusalem then breathed again, the expected riot had not materialised and the possibility of danger was now past. Five years ago, on the same occasion and from the same point of vantage, I witnessed this procession. A Jew had insulted a Moslem, the spark became fire, members of both communities were wounded or killed, and for eight long days the city was under military discipline and everyone ordered to be within their doors at curfew.

As usual, the Hebron people sang; probably but few understood the theme of their singing, unless they had in mind the recent visit of Lord Balfour. This was their refrain: "Down with England, down with the High Commissioner; down with the mandate and the Zionists; give us back the Turks!" while others replied: "We have our daggers, we will be revenged."

All very unpleasant to the ears of an Englishman, but easy to understand. I heard on all sides that Lord Balfour's visit had lowered British prestige afresh in this country, but that, on the other hand, it had united both Christians and Moslems against the

intolerable tyranny of the Zionists. The Jews themselves are divided, for the Orthodox members of the Synagogue and the Askenazim Hebrews are almost to a man anti-Zionist, and have suffered much persecution owing to their refusal to pay tribute to the Zionist organisation.

During Lord Balfour's visit to Jerusalem soldiers patrolled the city and machine-guns were much in evidence. Palestine was filled with amazement that the British Government should have allowed this deplorable visit, which, instead of bringing peace, is far more likely to bring a sword. Mr. Amery has since tried to pour oil on the troubled waters, but all to no effect. The damage is done and the British Mandatory power is more unpopular than ever. This is the unpleasant truth acknowledged by all communities except the Zionists.

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Early on Sunday afternoon we left the Holy City. Most of the pilgrims went by train, but the President, with four others, travelled by car in order to spend a short time in Nazareth. We were not allowed to depart without farewells from some of our many friends. The Russian Abbot of Hebron came all the way from that city to wish us God-speed, Archbishop Anastassy sent the Archimandrite Meletios for the same purpose, and our good friend Kyriakos represented the Greek Patriarch. St. George's Cathedral was represented by Fr. Philip Usher and Fr. Bridgeman, and space forbids the mention of others who were anxious not to let us go without their final good wishes. So over Mt. Scopus we travelled, as did the pilgrims of old, saying in our hearts, as they said, Psalm cxxii, "O pray for the peace of Jerusalem."

On the top of the hill we passed Ramallah, where American Quakers have built a large school for boys. Half a mile beyond is the village of Bireh, the ancient Beeroth. Here are ruins of the ancient church of the Holy Family built in 1146 on the traditional spot where Mary and Joseph perceived that the Holy Child was not with them and so returned to the Temple to find Him. But it was not for the purpose of seeing these ancient ruins that we spent rather more than half an hour at Bireh. Here we had been asked to discover an Englishwoman married to a native Moslem. With the aid of an interpreter from the Ramallah school some of us penetrated into this Arab village, whose inhabitants were obviously unaccustomed to the sight of cars and European visitors. After much difficulty we discovered the house and there found the woman hard at work with a tray of flat bread which she was about to put into the oven of clay. No one would have taken her for an Englishwoman! Many years ago, in Liverpool, she met a Moslem, agreed to marry him and accept his faith, imagining that he was a man of substance, only to find on her arrival at Bireh that her man lived in a hovel of badly-constructed

clay and mud. After a while, being unable to endure the existence any longer, she ran away, but, having no friends, no money and nowhere to go, perforce had to return and has lived there ever since. The husband was killed during the war, and she then married his brother according to Moslem custom, and now has two children, a boy and a girl. The lady of our party with great tact enquired whether she was now content or if she wished to return home, but the woman said it was too late, she could not leave her children, and wanted nothing except some English picture-papers and chocolates, and these we promised to send. She also told us that she wrote every month to her mother in Liverpool who, we gathered, did not in the least realise the sort of life she was leading. What a picture! The Liverpool girl, now a thick-set gipsy-like woman, married to a native Arab and living in a mud hut! Possibly, had it not been for the children, she would gladly have grasped any opportunity to see her relatives in England again. It had been a great treat to her to hear English spoken again, it was many years since she last spoke her native tongue, and we wondered, after leaving her and asking the people at Ramallah to interest themselves in her, whether our visit had made her feel that terrible *nostalgia*!

So we continued our glorious drive until we reached Jacob's Well, with Mt. Ebal and its blessings on one side, and Mt. Gerizim with its cursings on the other. Then through Nablous (Shechem), Samaria, and so across the amazingly great plain of Esdraelon, one of the world's greatest battlefields, with Mt. Tabor on our right and Little Hermon before as we entered Galilee. Then a steep climb and we found ourselves in Nazareth, the home of the Incarnation. It was now close on 7 p.m., and the light was failing, though there was still the resplendent glow of the setting sun on the surrounding hills that help to give Nazareth its charm, but we went straight to the Latin Church of the Annunciation, where we found a large detachment of the Swiss pilgrimage at Benediction, joining in wholeheartedly, as only the Swiss and German people can do, the singing of *O Salutaris* and *Tantum Ergo* set to modern tunes familiar to every Englishman.

After saying our prayers in this church, hallowed by memories of the first *Angelus*, we continued our way to the little hotel, where we found Mgr. Cleopas, Metropolitan of Nazareth, with his chaplain, awaiting us, for we had invited him to dinner. Just a little dinner party and an opportunity to talk with one of the kindest of Prelates. With old-world courtesy he insisted on sending for some of his own wine from the Metropolitane, as being far superior to any in the hotel cellar. There seemed to be no question about this point. Fr. Child was anxious to learn from him whether he believed in dragons, and if he had seen any of them on Jordan's banks, but the old

Prelate, who probably had met many "dragons" in his career, was not to be drawn.

The hour was getting late and the shades of night were falling and we still had the long drive to Haifa, so we bade farewell to the Metropolitan Cleopas, one of the dearest of men in the Orthodox Church, and continued our drive through the moonlight, until the car took us to the landing-stage and a small tug to the *Sphinx*. Shortly after midnight the good ship *Sphinx* steamed out of Haifa roadstead, for there is no harbour, and the first chapter of our pilgrimage, lasting exactly a fortnight, was concluded.

It had been a happy time; only friendliness had been shown to us. Although our policy and actions differed in no way from those of the last pilgrimage, there had been no hostility and no intolerance. The Latins we had spoken to individually were most friendly; collectively we had no occasion to meet. Possibly we may have done something towards strengthening the hands of the Anglican Bishop and Anglican clergy generally in the Holy Land, something also towards the cause of reunion, and still something more towards strengthening our own devotion. Above all, our pilgrimage to the Holy Land was an act of corporate worship.

PART II.

Twelve hours after leaving the harbour of Haifa we arrived in the roadstead of Cyprus. To many these roadsteads are an abomination; being lifted bodily into small boats is bad enough, but to be tossed about for nearly an hour is enough to try the sturdiest stomach. Such was our experience at Cyprus. A few were fortunate enough to be invited to go in the Customs' pinnace, and those who went in boats were fairly comfortable, but on the return journey the wind had risen and the tide turned, and the row to the ship took, in our case, fifty minutes, and in another, one and a quarter hours, and this with disastrous result and empty places at dinner.

A deputation came on board while we were still at lunch, representing religious and civil authority, and as soon as we had landed at the jetty we discovered that the town of Larnaca was *en fête*. Every house was hung with the Greek colours of blue and white, with here and there a British Union Jack, and as we approached the church of St. Lazarus the bells rang out and all were in a state of pleasant thrills and excitement. Larnaca is the old Citium, the Chittim of the Bible.

Arrived at the church, the Metropolitan Nicodemus, with several of his priests, greeted us, and the President and his clergy were

led to prominent places in the choir outside the Ikonastasis. This visit was not "according to plan," but the Metropolitan was so anxious to give us greeting that we could not disappoint him.

After a short service of reception with many prayers for England and her Church, for the President and the pilgrims, and for the union of the two Churches, the Metropolitan Nicodemus read a cordial address in which he professed his firm belief that "you will labour for the principle of self-determination in this island." He added, "May the Lord bless your coming to Cyprus, our worthy brothers in Christ, in that your pilgrimage in the lands whence Salvation appeared and the first torch of Divine Truth gave forth the light of saving grace to the sons of lawlessness in darkness and the shadow of death, is pleasing to the Lord. . . . In the days when the Œcumenical Patriarch of the Orthodox has been cast out and exiled far from his righteous and historic seat by the insulters of the inviolate religion of Christ crucified; and the Christian world, especially indeed the Anglican Church, in a spirit of mutual brotherhood has fought for orthodoxy and is still fighting for the restoration of justice in this case, blessed be God Who has granted to us this happy opportunity to make manifest, in this matter also, our gratitude towards the Anglican Church, the champion of every noble effort and labour on behalf of the Christian East. . . . Firm in the hope that you will also labour for the principle of self-determination in this island, we pray that the good God will bless your going out and your coming in. May we all be united and with one mouth glorify God our Heavenly Father, and be assisted in our worship by the prayers of the blessed company of Saints and Martyrs.—Amen."

To this address the President made tactful reply, avoiding the political question, and this in due course was translated to Mgr. Nicodemus, who, if he felt disappointment at the absence of any pronouncement, managed to conceal it.

Then we proceeded to fulfil the main purpose of our visit—the pilgrimage to Nicosia, the spiritual ruler of which city was the second in order to recognise the validity of Anglican Orders.

From the time we left Larnaca through the twenty-five to thirty odd miles to Nicosia we passed nothing but dried-up fields, stony ground, and a general appearance of dreariness, in spite of the picturesque mountains in the distance. Sand dunes all around, no flowers and no verdure, with the one exception of vines, which seem to flourish exceedingly well and produce an excellent vintage, in spite of the appearance of perpetual drought.

If the reception at Larnaca was great, that at Nicosia was superlative in comparison. The whole population appeared to have turned out to do us honour, and hundreds of Scouts and Cadets were lined

played, the bells rang out, and at the entrance to the church Orthodox priests in their gorgeous robes, together with the Anglican chaplain of Nicosia, Canon Newham, were waiting to greet us. They escorted our President to a throne opposite that of the Archbishop, and the deputation gathered round him. The Governor of Cyprus was absent from the island, but the District Commissioner, Mr. Charles Hart Davis, who is learned in the Greek language, was present and took up his position close to the pilgrims.

Then His Beatitude Kyrillos entered, and, after blessing the pilgrims, was escorted to his Throne. The church was packed, many people, being unable to find even standing room, had to remain in the courtyard. The special service of reception then commenced, together with intercessions for England, for the Anglican Church, for the pilgrimage and its President. Then His Beatitude read an address to the pilgrims which was rendered into English by a prominent Greek layman. The Patriarch alluded to reunion—and also to self-determination. The President replied, wishing success to the Church of Cyprus in all its aspirations, and after a graceful reference to the fact that His Beatitude's Autocephalous Church had been amongst the first to recognise the validity of Anglican ordinations, he read the address which has already appeared in *Christian East* and which was done into English by Canon Douglas.

The ceremonial functions being now at an end, the choir sang "God save the King" in Greek, and an adjournment was made to the Archbishop's salon, where, after the usual presentations, tea was served *à l'anglaise*, speeches were given by the Archbishop and the President, and for the short space of time at their disposal the objects of interest in the town were shown to the pilgrims.

Our departure was as gay and joyous as our arrival. The bells clanged out their joyous if barbaric salutation; the Scouts and Cadets lined the streets; the bands played and the people saluted as we left that delightful and warm-hearted city to make the return journey to Larnaca.

During our visit to Cyprus the Rev. Harold Buxton acted as *liaison* officer of the Committee with the Armenian Church. At Nicosia we visited the important Melkonian College, a gift to the Armenian nation from a family in Alexandria. Here it is proposed to educate five hundred boys and girls, selected from the orphanages of the Near East.

There are about 300 Armenians in Cyprus, a happy and contented community. For the present the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, ruthlessly driven from his see, is dwelling in peaceful retirement in this island.

The District Commissioner told us there was much division of

opinion with regard to the present government of Cyprus: that, speaking generally, there were but few who desired complete independence, for probably the majority of inhabitants, and nearly all the clergy, demanded union with Greece. The Hellenic Club stands for such union and, doubtless, there were hopes on the part of its members that the pilgrims would be greatly impressed by these aspirations. The Metropolitan of Larnaca went further than did the Archbishop of all Cyprus, for he said: "We hope that you will become the faithful witnesses of our people before your great-souled nation, and that you will labour so that the sole righteous solution, according to divine and human law, may be given to the question of self-determination, that is, the union of Cyprus with the Motherland of Greece: in this you will earn our everlasting gratitude." Probably every pilgrim was at one with their "noble aspirations," but politics were not our affair, and the Bishop-President showed his accustomed wisdom in confining himself entirely to religious matters.

Later in the afternoon those pilgrims who were able to return to Larnaca in time accepted a courteous invitation to tea from members of the Hellenic Club in that little town, where an address was given by Mr. Giabra D. Pierides, ex-member of the Cyprus Legislative Council, and president of the Larnaca Hellenic Club, of which the following is the substance:—

"With great joy I avail myself of the presence of the members of the second Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage, 1925, in this town, once the mother-country of the great stoic philosopher Zeno, to greet you and at the same time assure you, as President of the Hellenic Club, Larnaca, of our sincere feelings of gratitude towards the worthy and honourable English Clergy and other gentlemen of the United Kingdom for all kind help and assistance rendered by them on more than one occasion to this Greek Island in so nobly and frequently raising their voices on its behalf, as well as of our deepest respect and amity to the English nation from whom we anticipate, through your kind channel, a satisfactory solution of the sad question of our present political and economic grievances and the speedy realisation of our natural rights and national aspirations.

"In welcoming you again to this small but most ancient and historical Greek corner of the Mediterranean, I wish you, on behalf of the Club, every prosperity and happy return to England."

Despite the general desire in the island for political union with Greece, it was made abundantly clear to us that Cyprus is quite friendly to the British people in general, and to England's Church

all along the road and all at salute as we passed by. The bands played, the bells rang out, and at the entrance to the church Orthodox priests in their gorgeous robes, together with the Anglican chaplain of Nicosia, Canon Newham, were waiting to greet us. They escorted our President to a throne opposite that of the Archbishop, and the deputation gathered round him. The Governor of Cyprus was absent from the island, but the District Commissioner, Mr. Charles Hart Davis, who is learned in the Greek language, was present and took up his position close to the pilgrims.

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Despite the general desire in the island for political union with Greece, it was made abundantly clear to us that Cyprus is quite friendly to the British people in general, and to England's Church

in particular. Wherever we went, in the towns or in the country, the utmost respect to the person of our President was shown by all.

The pilgrims will not easily forget the welcome accorded to them by the Cypriotes, both religious and secular, and will undoubtedly feel great sympathy with them in their aspirations.

On the day after this visit, there being but little to occupy us beyond gazing at Asia Minor and the historic island of Rhodes, various meetings were held on board ship, including an interesting lecture delivered by Canon Douglas on "What we shall see at Patmos and Smyrna."

These lectures form a leading feature of the pilgrimage. They are generally well attended, and at their conclusion the President invariably gives a useful summary.

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Two days later we were among the Dodecanese islands, and at 6 a.m., just before saying Mass in honour of St. John the Divine, the ship lay opposite Patmos, a quaintly shaped island with two little towns of snow-white buildings, one on the shore and the other crowning the hill about 1,500 feet above the level of the sea. This, like the rest of the Dodecanese group, belongs to Italy. It is difficult to imagine why, except that presumably the blessed word "self-determination" does not obtain here, for the inhabitants are all Greeks and there is not an Italian among them except the handful of officials who police the island.

Once landed on the tiny quay, the pilgrims lined up in order and were met by three Orthodox priests and most of the population in their best clothes. Flags were flying, bells were ringing, and the sun was merrily shining. Thrilled by this spontaneity of joyous welcome the pilgrims sang the well-known hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty," which was followed by the recitation of the *Angelus* and prayers asking the intercession of Blessed John the Theologian.

After this short service the pilgrims climbed the steep ascent of the Voumi, the great hill that stands out as a landmark far and wide, and on the way to the monastery which crowns its top, visited the Cave of the Apocalypse. As the monastery bells rang out, the pilgrims, mindful of St. John's passionate love for the true faith, sang appropriately enough:—

"Faith of our Fathers, holy faith,
We will be true to thee till death."

Nothing could have been more beautiful than the setting for this act of devotion. Above us stood the hill from which the Evangelist

saw the hills of Asia Minor sweep round as a natural theatre with the sea as a proscenium. In that arena he visioned the glorious story of the Apocalypse, and from that point he dreamed of the contest between the armies of Heaven and Hell.

Led by the President, the pilgrims continued the steep climb to Chora, a village, dazzling white with its castle-like building, the Monastery of St. John the Theologian. Here once again in our honour flags were flying and the villagers were dressed in their gala clothes, and as we entered the courtyard the bells clanged out to give us still warmer greeting. The Abbot Gregorius met us, and as we lined up in orderly rank, the pilgrims sang, "For all the Saints who from their labours rest." We again invoked St. John, and Dr. Wakefield blessed us in English and the Abbot Gregorius in Greek. Shortly after we entered the Church of the Theologian, where the usual service of reception was sung and the Abbot showed us the treasury.

Then followed a visit to the library, where we saw books of much historical interest, and afterwards we were entertained by the monks in the Synod's state room and refreshed with milk and honey, together with some very special island cognac. The trudge down to Scala was somewhat tiring and monotonous, but everywhere the people cheered us by coming out of their houses to wish us *Kalo Taxeidi*, which, being interpreted, means "a good journey."

Day and night the "Beloved Disciple" must have heard the waters of the Ægean Sea beating against his island prison—sometimes calm, for had he not the vision of a "sea of glass," sometimes rough, for he hears the sound of many waters. His senses tell him of the forces of anti-Christ, for as he stands on the shore he sees "a beast rise up out of the sea upon whose head was the name of blasphemy," for not far from his cave there juts out from the sea that quaint rock, called Thora, which, according to tradition, is the "beast" thus described. During those countless years of captivity he sees and hears the waves of that tireless sea, and well can we understand his yearning expressed in the words: "and there shall be no more sea."

Most of the pilgrims who were privileged to make this pious pilgrimage will read with greater devotion the mystical story of the Divine Apostle contained in the Apocalypse.

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Early the following morning we steamed into the great Gulf of Smyrna, one of the largest gulfs of the world, and few cities can boast of such a beautiful entrance. The sight of Smyrna Quay, where some 300,000 unhappy Greeks and Armenians were packed together for three days and nights in September, 1922, huge tongues of

flames coming from their burning homes, Turkish soldiery committing the vilest and most brutal atrocities upon them without any restraint whatever, presented itself to us as a terrible reproach to the American and European nations.

Desolation has laid its mark upon this formerly prosperous town. The Quay has been left untouched since the fire and massacre—it is but a frontage of wrecked houses. No effort has yet been made by the Turks to rebuild it, though many firms have applied for concessions. But the Turk delays in the hope of a greater price than that yet offered. There are no Greeks, except a mere handful connected with the Greek Consulate, and it would be more than his life was worth for an Armenian to appear in this city. On the other hand, crowds of German traders are beginning to arrive in the city. There are a small number of British, all of whom are engaged in business.

But it was not for the sake of visiting this sinister town, the last of the Seven Churches of Asia, that we landed here, but to visit another of the Seven Churches long since destroyed, with now only the relics of ruined temples, at their proudest in the time of St. Paul. A special train was provided for us by the British company which owns this railway, and the journey to Ephesus was completed in about one and a quarter hours. The name of the first station we passed seemed to us somewhat satirical when we remembered the awful horrors of Smyrna. It was called "Paradise."

But what a glorious country! Fresh and green, with orchards of fig and mulberry trees, water lilies floating on still lakes, iris and every other sort of flower: yet everything totally uncared for. This glorious garden of Asia Minor, one of the most beautiful in the world, is to-day a mere wilderness, uncultivated, uncared for!

For many reasons pilgrims are not likely to forget this pilgrimage to Ephesus. Most of them were lightly clad, befitting a morning when blue sky and sun promised a gloriously hot day. This promise, however, was not fulfilled, for we had hardly commenced our walk along the road which St. Paul once trod when the rain descended in no light fashion. The way to the ruins was long, and only two motors were at our disposal, so the great majority had to walk. After a mile of road we branched off through fields, fighting our way through the long, uncut grass, barley and wheat nearly as tall as ourselves, drenched to the skin, before ever we reached the great gate of the ancient City and the ruins of the Gymnasium. But the object which interested us most was the great amphitheatre, one of the largest in Asia, and said to have held some 25,000 people. The tiers of the seats and staircases to them were still visible, and we thought of St. Paul being dragged to this theatre.

Our visit to this wondrous city of past memories was perforce



1. Bishops at Phanar, Constantinople. 2. Fatmos: outside Apocalypse Monastery. 3. Fatmos: Monastery of St. John. 4. Athens: Caryatides. 5. Athens: old Byzantine Cathedral. 6. Constantinople: Hagia Sophia. 7. Athens: Temple of Theseus.

These photographs were taken by Pilgrims, to whom we tender our thanks.

brief. In soaking clothes we entered the train and took our places. And here your correspondent would like to pay a tribute to all the pilgrims without exception. Though wet to the skin, no one grumbled or made the slightest complaint, nor did anyone regret the adventure. One of our pilgrims, Miss Erskine, has painted a delightful picture, entitled "The Return from Ephesus," depicting a crowd of rain-soaked pilgrims, herded together and wading through grass and weeds as tall as themselves.

The country round Ephesus is not safe, for there are many brigands to-day, probably soldiers in the late war, out to enrich themselves by robbery with or without violence. Every care and precaution was taken, two Turkish police officers accompanied us, as also two men officially connected with the local railway. Watchmen on horse-back, armed with loaded rifles, were to be seen from time to time, though, to be precise, these men might easily have been mistaken for bandits. Consequently, the pilgrims were asked to keep together and, as usual, submitted without demur, so that there was no anxiety as to their safety.

We left Smyrna without regret. Up to 1922 it remained the second great trading centre of the Levant, but, unlike other cities in Asia Minor, it remained wholly Christian, the Greeks having a majority of the inhabitants, and the Armenians numbering over 100,000. In consequence, the Turks called it "Infidel Smyrna."

The noble martyrdom of the Metropolitan Chrysostom at the hands of the Turkish rabble in September, 1922, must remind us of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, in A.D. 155, as also of St. John's letter to the Bishop of Smyrna, "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life." And so the Castle of Smyrna stands out like a great crown on the hill above the town. The lamps of the Seven Churches are now extinguished, and every Christian has been expelled under the Treaty of Lausanne. Last Easter not one church bell rang out in the whole country, and the only Masses said were in Anglican and Latin churches.

On the following morning Masses were said for the repose of the souls of all faithful Christians who had given their lives for Christ in Smyrna and throughout Asia Minor.

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The glorious weather that had been our lot from the day we left Marseilles and throughout our stay in Palestine was with us still as we glided along the Mediterranean from one pilgrimage to another. We had no excessive heat; in fact, some of us would have preferred a trifle more, especially when in Palestine. Every now and then the wind would rise and the sea become a trifle agitated, but only for a while, and then there would be perfect calm.

We had on board, besides our own "happy band of pilgrims," some Swiss pilgrims on their return from the Holy Land, who seemed greatly interested in our Masses, and also not a few representatives of film-land. Our pilgrims have established what might be called a *status quo* somewhat on the Jerusalem and Bethlehem principle and say our Masses daily in the salon; only, being Anglicans, we should not object to members of the other pilgrimage using the salon also, so long as our *status quo* be not infringed. Evensong is said daily in the afternoons; committee meetings, conferences of priests and lectures follow their steady round day by day, except when we are anchored at some port.

* * * * *

Late in the afternoon of Friday, May 15th, we were within sight of New Rome whose setting is considered by some to be the most beautiful of any city in the world.

"Bless'd are they who make that sacred town their home,

By Pontus' mouth upon the shore of Thrace,

There where two whelps lap up the ocean foam,

Where hind and fish find pasture at one place."

* * * * *

Thus the Delphic oracle to Byzas, who founded the ancient city of Byzantium in the sixth century B.C., the two whelps referred to being the two small rivers Cydaris and Barbyrus, at whose confluence the celebrated Golden Horn meets the Bosphorus. It is said that the name Golden Horn is derived from the resemblance the inlet bears to a stag's horn—the epithet "golden" referring to the riches it brought to the city, or perhaps to the wonderful effect it receives from the sun at dawn or sunset.

Our approach to Constantinople was heralded, indeed, by the brilliant sunshine of a spring afternoon.

As was to be expected, there was a long delay at the Custom House, and the Turkish officials could not be expected to do more than hasten slowly over the passports. Friends were waiting to welcome us. There was Fr. Borough, the chaplain of Christ Church, and with him were his two leading laymen. At long last, landing tickets were doled out to us, and, risking our lives on the shaky companion-ladder, we found ourselves on the cobbled stones of the ancient city.

Most of us were anxious first to obtain a general impression of the streets and the people, and this was carried into effect by a long drive through the two main divisions of Constantinople, Stamboul and Galata Pera, the native and European quarters.

Next morning the first item on our "orders" was to attend Mass at Christ Church, commonly known as the Crimean Memorial Church. This was not quite so easy as it might appear. Carrying the bag of our President we were stopped by Turkish officials and ordered right-about-turn to the Custom House. To reach this place of inquisition we had, perforce, to pick our way along the edge of the dock through flocks of sheep and goats and indescribable filth, and, having at length discovered it, to wait while one sleepy and unwashed Turkish official thought fit to attend to us. Patiently we opened the case and exposed to view cope, mitre, cassock, gown and scarf. Completely uninterested, the inquisitor allowed us to return, only to discover that no sign or token of examination had been placed upon our burden. Then followed an amicable if noisy discussion—the officials said we must see the inquisitor again, while we made protests against the sheep and filth and the possibility of a ducking in the unsavoury harbour.

Had it not been for the owner of our cars suddenly appearing, like a *Deus ex machina*, to the rescue, we might never have seen the ancient city. However, at long last we were free, and the whole pilgrimage, led by the President and committee, drove in rickety old cars to Fr. Borough's church. Here we were received by the chaplain and the Metropolitan Germanos of Sardis, one of the six Metropolitans in residence at the Phanar, together with some of the leading laymen connected with the Crimean Church. High Mass was sung, with deacon and sub-deacon, according to "English Use," and the choir in the gallery was evidently well accustomed to Mr. Martin Shaw's widely known plainsong Masses. The President of the pilgrimage, in cope and mitre, sat in the throne at the north side, attended by his chaplain, and gave the Absolution and Blessing. There were present Germanos, Metropolitan of Sardis, representing the Œcumenical Patriarchate; Jacobos, Metropolitan of Durazzo; Besselevsky, Archimandrite of the Russian Church; Arsen, Vardabet of the Armenian Church; and Kovar, protopresbyter of the Church of Serbia. The Metropolitan Germanos gave the blessing in Greek at the conclusion of the ceremony. The presence of these Eastern prelates and priests testified to their desire to welcome the pilgrims and to show their respect for Fr. Borough. The latter gave up his whole day's work in order to assist the pilgrims to the utmost of his power. His post is not an easy one. In days gone by there were more than enough English residents in Constantinople to fill both his church and that of the British Embassy. Now those happy days are ended and the Church people amongst the 2,000 English residents are comparatively few, and one church could probably give sufficient accommodation to double this number. Fr. Borough bears aloft the Anglo-Catholic standard and ought to enjoy the sympathy

and encouragement of all good Catholics. After the ceremony at the English Church we drove over the Eski Kapro, or old bridge, down to the famous sea walls of Stamboul and so to St. Sophia, first visiting the Turbeh of Selim, the old Baptistery of Christian days, where now are laid in curious order the sarcophagi of Turkish Sultans, their wives and children, the men and boys distinguished from the women and girls by the turban placed on the tomb as in all Moslem cemeteries. Then into the wondrous church itself. Constantine chose the finest position for his new city on the site of Byzantium, reserving the whole of the sea frontage for the imperial buildings, and the most commanding spot in the area, on the summit of the first hill, for St. Sophia, which was consecrated on May 11th, 326 A.D. It is not for me to describe this desecrated church and all its wonders; most of your readers will have perused Canon Douglas' brochure, *The Redemption of St. Sophia*; if they have not done so they should procure a copy at once. I will only mention the curious twisting of the axis through the ancient carpets which cover the floor, the Mihrab (or praying place) being set towards Mecca, yet the church still facing East as though refusing all apostasy, then the horrible great shields that disfigure the walls and represent certain Turkish heroes, including Abdul Hamid the damned—the heathen “setting up their banners as tokens.” We saw the wall covering the door through which, according to tradition, a priest hastened in the midst of saying Mass when the infidel entered St. Sophia, lest the Body of Christ be desecrated, and from which the same priest will return when St. Sophia, after its reconsecration, is once again a Christian Church.

Close by is the print of the “bloody hand,” reminiscent of the day when Mohammed the Conqueror rode right through the great church over a carpet of corpses and, as a sign-manual of his abominations, struck the wall with his hand. The Moslems have tried to obliterate this sign—but failed. Canon Douglas was reciting the ancient legend, when one of the hired guides cried out, “It is a lie!”

On the great bronze door one can read the words graven, “I am the Door of the Sheep” and one can guess missing words from many a text and prayer. St. Sophia and Constantinople were almost in the grasp of the Allies and might have been theirs but for the wicked deceit of lying policies and underground diplomacy. As Dr. Burrows, Principal of King's College, and now Bishop of Gloucester, said a few years ago (I quote from Canon Douglas' book): “Is there any wonder that in the days following the Armistice, when the allied fleet sailed up the Dardanelles and Greek ships were anchored off the Golden Horn, the Athens papers were full of hope for the fulfilment of the great idea of their race? The Franks had at last sent

their ships that were not to take away but to bring back the Crown and the Gospel and the Altar.”

Had the followers of the Cross been united and Christian principles of any force in the world, Kemal Pasha could never have recovered all that Turkey had lost by the Treaty of Sèvres, nor would his myrmidons have swept Asia Minor of its Christian inhabitants, nor Angora dictated terms at the Lausanne Conference. All Christians had a share in the monstrous iniquities of Governments and Treaties, and it is the fault of Christians to-day that the Church of St. Sophia has not returned to its first love.

After Mass we drove to the Phanar, the residence and seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Phanar is the name of the district, the seat of the Patriarchate having been changed many times; it is situated in a very poor and badly-paved quarter, round which a Greek colony has grown. The building is large and ugly, it is also sorely in need of repair, and at the present time dreary and desolate. On the entrance steps the Metropolitan Germanos of Sardis met us, and warmly greeted our President; then we went directly to the church of St. George, the chapel of the Patriarchate. The Metropolitan had begged us not to bring more than twenty pilgrims, as otherwise it might cause trouble from the Turkish authorities. At the present moment the Phanar is continuously watched by Turkish police who note every visitor. Incidentally, I may mention that more than one Turkish spy was present at our lectures on board ship, and had also tried on deck and in the smoking-room to overhear our conversation.

To return to the Phanar and its church. The Metropolitan asked our President to say some prayers and to give us his blessing, after which we all kissed the sacred ikons, and were then shown the throne of St. Chrysostom, the pulpit and ikonastasis that came from St. Sophia, together with the most precious relic of the Pillar of the Scourging of our Lord, which we all venerated. Then the President and members of the Committee were invited *within* the ikonastasis—quite impossible ten years ago—and kneeling before the altar we prayed in silence. . . . This may be of interest to those who, according to a recent letter in *The Times*, declare that the Eastern Church does not venerate the Blessed Sacrament. On the altar was a tabernacle, behind the altar was a large hanging pyx. They had found the pyx more convenient than the tabernacle.

As all those who had gone behind the ikonastasis—the Holy of Holies of the Church—were priests, the Metropolitan, after much bowing and crossing, removed his head-gear, and, opening the pyx, showed us the consecrated Bread wrapped up in linen. When infants or the sick and dying are communicated, a piece of this Bread, which has been dipped in the consecrated chalice, is cut off,

dipped in unconsecrated wine and given to the communicant. Close by was a lamp burning brightly. We asked the Metropolitan why that lamp was burning. He replied, to remind us of the abiding Presence of Christ, and our duty to worship Him present in the great Sacrament. The Greeks do not kneel or genuflect, they bow very low, somewhat after the custom of the Church of England, according to the Alcuin Club, in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.

Then we visited the Patriarchate. After the conquest of St. Sophia, its original home, it was removed to the Church of the Apostles, thence to St. Mary, Pammarristos, and thence to St. Mary, Blancherae, where once our Lady's girdle was kept and venerated; thence to St. Dimitri of the Phanar, and then to its present habitation.

In the reception room we found five Metropolitans of the Synod to greet us—namely, those of Aenea, Prinkipo, Heliopolis, Chalcedon, and Sardis. Dr. Russell Wakefield, after the usual courtesies, made a speech which Canon Douglas translated. He said that continually we prayed for the peace of the Church and of the world; that we knew of the piteous sufferings of the Orthodox Church, and greatly sympathised; that we prayed they might have strength to stand fast; and further, that we rejoiced in that we were permitted to visit the centre of Eastern Christendom, which we know to be our sister Church. The Metropolitan Germanos replied that this reception was altogether unique, and that it typified the close ties existing between Anglicans and the Orthodox Church. Before leaving the Phanar we visited the great door in front of which the Œcumenical Patriarch Gregory V. was hanged, after being dragged from the church where he was celebrating Mass on Easter Day, 1821. The door is closed and will not be opened until the day when Constantinople is restored to the Greek nation. Standing in front of this sacred spot we asked the martyr's prayers, pleading for moral courage to enable us also to confess the Faith of Christ crucified.

All pilgrims will deeply sympathise with the Metropolitan Germanos who, a few weeks after our visit, was the victim of a shameful outrage, for which the notorious Papa Eftim is said to have been responsible. Certain ruffians, having lured him to a lonely spot, hacked off his hair, beard, moustache and eyebrows with a knife! And yet there are still Christians who adopt a pro-Turkish attitude!

After leaving the Phanar we visited the beautiful little church of St. Mary Mouchliotissa, the only pre-conquest church in Constantinople which has not been degraded into a mosque.

Until comparatively recent times the streets of Constantinople were thronged with pariah dogs who acted as scavengers, keeping strictly to their own district. Some years ago it was suggested that

their presence caused disease and consequently the wretched animals were deposited on the island of Prinkipo, there to starve to death! Now there is only to be seen a pariah here and there—we counted two—and a few miserable-looking yellow cats. Yet the streets remain filthy, the paving broken and the smells indescribable. A dog in the street to-day is as rare as a veiled woman: in Stamboul very few women are seen at all; it is like a city of men, but in the European quarter there are as many women as men.

The Turks have got back all they lost in the war, and, indeed, more. To what purpose? To make Constantinople once again the great city of the East, restoring its pristine splendour, and making Asia Minor the fairest garden in the world? Nothing of the kind! The Turk is marvellous in battle, hopeless in peace. Most of his Armenian subjects, as most of the Greeks, have been massacred or deported: these were the merchants, these were the workers; they have gone, and left behind a lazy crowd of officials and sub-officials, underpaid and discontented, adding to their miserable wages only by a calculated system of bribery, corruption and blackmail.

Time will bring its own revenge, the punishment that should have been meted out to Turkey by "Christian" governments will come in due course, not through force of arms but through her own ineptitude. The goose with the golden egg is killed: her harbours are derelict, her trade at a standstill. Yet the Turk is quite content: has he not been hovering on the brink of bankruptcy for many years? Hitherto he has always been saved from catastrophe through the folly of the Christian Powers, and thus he imagines himself to be immune for ever!

PART III.

The third pilgrimage Sunday, May 17th, was spent on board ship and Masses were being said while the s.s. *Sphinx* was still at anchor in the harbour of Constantinople, under the very shadow of St. Sophia. The landing-stage was crowded with picturesque natives plying their wares, and the usual excitement consequent on leaving an Eastern port was everywhere visible. None of these thrills, however, interfered with the pilgrims' devotions, for practically everyone was present at the sung Mass in the grand salon at 8 a.m., and many had to content themselves with standing at the door or around the portholes. Fr. Child celebrated, Fr. Laing served, and the music was sung by Fr. Bark's choir, the pilgrims joining heartily in the hymns, much to the joy of some Swiss pilgrims

travelling with us, for they, as everyone knows, are past masters in the art of congregational singing.

Thus was the Holy Sacrifice offered in the harbour of New Rome, the desecrated church of Holy Wisdom gazing at us from its height ! Naturally the intention at Mass was for the redemption of that once holy shrine and also the restoration of Asia Minor to her "first love." The seven golden candlesticks have now been removed "out of their place" from all the Seven Churches of Asia (and Smyrna last of all), whose martyrs, being "faithful unto death," have been awarded "a crown of life." So St. Sophia, flanked by her four Moslem minarets, guarding, as it were, her peerless Christian shrine as warders might a captive princess, dominated the entire harbour and everything else in our minds at the moment of our leaving Constantinople later in the morning.

Silently we gazed at the once peerless city as the s.s. *Sphinx* floated towards the Sea of Marmora, and thought of our many lost opportunities as a Christian nation and those of other European peoples, for, had not Europe abnegated her destiny in these post-war days, the Crescent which now surmounts Constantinople would have given way to the Cross, and the scanty remnant of Eastern Christianity would have found peace and prosperity under the protection of the Entente. Alas ! Europe knew not the time of her visitation ! For, aided by the madness of imperialism at the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street alike, and the consequent rivalry between Great Britain and France, the modern Nationalist Turk has been gradually built up by *Christian aid* until, thanks to the shameful Treaty of Lausanne, he has become strong enough to demand licence and facility in order to extirpate almost every Christian from Asia Minor, once the homeland of the Catholic faith. Only the most superficial pilgrim could forget the terrible apostasy on the part of Christian Europe and, indeed, on the part of a great section of the Christian Church, while travelling on a pilgrimage commemorating the sixteenth centenary of the great Council of Nicæa.

Chanak, the nearest port of call to the Gallipoli battlefields, was reached the same afternoon. Here travellers are given the opportunity to disembark and visit the graves of those who died for their country, for every ship on its journey to or from the Dardanelles is bound to halt at Chanak for purposes of examination. This little town is the headquarters of the Imperial War Graves Commission for Gallipoli and the starting point for visits to Suvla, Anzac and Helles, and accommodation can be obtained at the "London Hotel." Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Hughes, director of the work at the Commission, was on board and gave us all the information we desired. Clearly we could see the monument to Australians, New Zealanders, and British—one brotherhood—who fell with wondrous heroism, and,

surrounding the monument, a wall on which are inscribed the names of those who died at sea. Close to the graves of the Empire heroes are the last resting-places of the French, and, as the ship passed, a company of French soldiers, together with their Commandant, stood at the salute, the while Fr. Cornibeer led the pilgrims in the recitation of *De Profundis*.

Quiet reigns on that peninsula : men are working among the graves, native waggons pass along the roads laden with stone for the cemetery walls, the few farmers are busy in the fields, oxen rest in the shade of olive trees and the stork builds its nest. In this tranquil spot rest our dead, but

Their name liveth for evermore.

Evensong is sung on deck late in the afternoon, conducted by Fr. C. B. Moss. It is not possible to sing the Office hymn, as we have no books ; so, having recourse to our old friends, the Anglo-Catholic hymn leaflets, we all join in such favourites as "How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds," and, "Praise to the holiest in the height" ; Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis are chanted to simple plainsong, and then the President, robed in purple cassock and rochet, speaking clearly above the roar of the waves and the noise of the winds, gives us a short and homely address on the words, "In Him is life," reminding pilgrims that during their visit to the Holy City they had seen much that was associated with our Lord's Passion and Death. "If life is to be true, suffering for truth must be a necessity. Every Eucharist gives us the life of Jesus, our very religion is a great adventure and not a mass of routine duties. Christ is the Way, the Truth and the Life : it is His drawing power that alone can help us to live. Pilgrims who had knelt at the Holy Places must bring people nearer to God by reminding them of the Man of Love, Who lived, died and lives again for us, by Whose power we are enabled to live to-day."

Our Sunday programme is not yet complete, for after dinner we all assemble in the great saloon to hear a lecture by Canon Douglas on "What to see in Athens," in view of our arrival at the capital of Greece on the morrow.

Our days on board ship are fully occupied and the pilgrims take every advantage offered them to make our great adventure one of worship and personal devotion. Apart from the daily Masses and evensong, there are prayer meetings, and the clergy set apart for the purpose of giving instruction and spiritual advice or hearing Confessions tell of wonderful results. The pilgrims are happy and contented : there is no compulsion in any spiritual matter, for each is expected to use the opportunity to the best advantage for himself and for the great cause that binds us together. Lectures are given

almost every evening after dinner, and presided over by our Bishop-President, who refuses to miss any function whatever. Needless to add, all the pilgrims have been won by his loving sympathy, courtesy and *bonhomie*. His addresses are simple and earnest, and many pilgrims can tell of spiritual help given to those who consult him privately.

Next morning (May 18th) found us in the Piræus, the flourishing seaport of Athens, which, in its present aspect, is entirely of modern growth. This seaport may well be called "flourishing." Long ago it outstripped the commerce of its rival Patras, and now it would seem to have enticed most of the shipping that once was seen on the Bosphorus. The harbour has the advantage of being accessible for the largest vessels, and numerous ships are seen enjoying its hospitality alongside with the smaller vessels trading with the other seaports of Greece. To-day commerce with Constantinople is at a standstill. Long before the *Sphinx* came to anchor in the harbour of the Piræus we were amazed at the activity all around; the whole place was alive and, doubtless, in a few years' time Greece will have captured practically all the commerce that formerly belonged to Constantinople. The harbours of the latter are deserted, the harbours of the former are full of ships and of activity. The carpet factories, tobacco firms, etc., etc., are to-day almost entirely in the hands of the Greek, great houses managed by Greeks and Armenians have deserted Constantinople for the more hospitable shores of Greece, together with the majority of their employées. In 1912 the population of Athens was 167,000; to-day it is over 1,300,000. It will be said that the population has increased owing to the great number of refugees. This is, to some extent, true, but hundreds of such people are being daily absorbed in factories and business houses. The contrast between the degenerate Turk and the active Athenian is as great as that between the bright atmosphere of life in Athens and the pathetic and depressing existence of the native in Constantinople.

Soon after our arrival in the Piræus a deputation came on board to greet us on behalf of His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostom, Metropolitan of Athens, and Primate of All Greece, consisting of Mgr. Stavroupolos Theokritos, Bishop of Pischof and the Archimandrite Chrysostomos Dimitrios, Secretary of the Holy Synod, and with them some professors of the University of Athens together with Dr. Wigram, the Anglican chaplain, all of whom gave us a hearty welcome to this ancient and renowned seat of learning. After the usual introductions had been made, the 214 pilgrims were rowed ashore and there found cars waiting to take them to the city. The priest-pilgrims were robed in academic habit and thus drove to the Metropolitan, followed by the lay-pilgrims, where we all assembled

in the reception room and waited His Grace's leisure. Presently the Metropolitan appeared, accompanied by some of his Bishops and Archimandrites. He is a man of medium height, thin and spare, with scholarly appearance and somewhat nervous and severe in manner, probably because never before, as he himself said, had such a pilgrimage been received at Athens. Dr. Wigram having performed the duties of introduction, the Bishop-President read the address already published in *The Christian East*.

Canon Douglas having given a translation in the vernacular, much appreciated by ecclesiastics of the Metropole, His Beatitude made reply in the Greek language, duly done into English by Mr. Alivisatos, Professor of Canon Law at Athens University :—

"It is a great joy to me to have at this moment the opportunity and privilege of addressing the Anglo-Catholic pilgrimage, among whom are venerable prelates and clergymen of the Church of England.

"This lately instituted pilgrimage, as an expression of a very deep religious feeling, reminds us of a very sacred custom of the first Christians. The historian Eusebius mentions that the great teacher of the Alexandrian School, Origen, went to Palestine in order to visit and study the Holy Places. The pious English people having succeeded in delivering these Holy Places by its heroic and glorious army from the Mohammedan yoke, and in raising the flag of the Cross on the place where for centuries floated the flag of the Crescent, it was natural to bring back the old custom of pilgrimages to the Holy Places by members of the Anglo-Catholic Church. This custom is consonant with the attitude of the Anglo-Catholic Church, which is trying to re-establish the doctrines and life of the undivided Church of the seven Ecumenical Councils. In the accomplishment of these noble and holy purposes the Anglo-Catholic Church meets the Eastern Orthodox Church. We do not know, dear and revered pilgrims to the Holy Land, what are your impressions, but undoubtedly you find this Church such as you knew it from the history of Christianity. The Orthodox Church has the same faith to-day as it had in the time of the seven Ecumenical Synods. For the Greek Orthodox Church, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and for ever.'

"Examining our Church, you will find it keeping exactly the doctrines of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Apostles, and the traditions and the customs of the old and undivided Church. You will find it such as it was when Theodore of Tarsus came to England as Archbishop of her Church. Theodore renewed the first ties of the Christian East with the English Church, because

undoubtedly the first missionaries in Britain came from Greek Asia Minor. We can see this from the diversities of the Christian customs which the missionaries who came from Rome later found in England. And it is true what the Saxon chronicle says about Theodore's work, that before him the Bishops in England were Romans and after him were English, because from him the English Church has acquired its own local character. From about this time the Christian East suffered several terrible devastations from various barbarians at first, and then from Christian peoples, but especially from the Arabs and the Turks. Such devastations have rooted out in past times the Christianity of the Church of Tertullian and Cyprian in Carthage—nothing remains. Similar devastations have taken place later without, through God's grace, similar results! Having visited the Mother-Church, you have seen and heard continued the tradition of St. James, first Bishop of Jerusalem and of St. Cyril. In the Holy Land you have heard the original tongue of the gospel and the Holy Liturgy of the first Christians.

"In Athens you will hear with no great difficulty the echo of St. Paul's speech on Mars Hill. It is true that your visit happens a little after one of the greatest devastations of the Christian East in Asia Minor and Thrace. The awful ruins of the Churches of the Revelation are yet smoking, and the blood of thousands of Christians is still fresh. Where, till yesterday, Christianity was flourishing, Mohammedanism prevails. According to God's Will we believe firmly that with God's help this trial for the Christian East will pass. But on this occasion a new token of love and sympathy has been shown on the part of the English people and the Anglo-Catholic Church. The Greek people were deeply moved by the sympathy shown to the refugees through the various philanthropic organisations and especially the 'Save the Children Fund.' And how can we express our deep gratitude for the warm defence of the cause of St. Sophia, and lately that of the Œcumenical Patriarchate after the terrible action of the Turkish Government?

"I wish you, dear friends, to be assured that all these, working together, are ties of spiritual union. There is no better way, indeed, than this for preparing for the other union which we all so heartily desire. Repeatedly we have expressed to you the deepest gratitude of the Greek Church for everything that you have done and in His Holy Name we greet you, brethren, and we call upon you and your beloved people God's blessing."

The business part of the reception being concluded, an adjournment was made to the Metropolitan Church close by, the clergy, headed

by the Bishop-President, his chaplains, Dr. Wigram and the Dean of Winchester. On entering the Cathedral, the processionists venerated the sacred ikon and were led to the large space without the Ikonastasis, the clergy forming a ring with the President in the central position. When His Beatitude, accompanied by two deacons, had taken his place at the Great Throne, the Bishop of Syra sang the service of Reception of Pilgrims, the musical portions being rendered by a choir of seminarists. Rarely have I heard any singing more beautiful, the voices of the lads had been so carefully trained that one could follow almost every word of the hymns and litanies of greeting. It was, quite apart from the devotional aspect, a musical treat, greatly appreciated by every pilgrim. At the conclusion His Beatitude gave his blessing from the Throne and then from the Ikonastasis, and the short and beautiful service was ended.

The Cathedral is a large building of the late 'forties, quite destitute of architectural taste, but sumptuous and gay in its appointments. We were told that it was erected with the materials of some seventy small churches which was, perhaps, responsible for its devotional atmosphere. The 214 pilgrims were but a fraction of the great crowd of people, mostly men, which thronged all around us, deeply interested in an occasion to them wholly unique.

Close to the Cathedral is the small Metropolis or Church of the Panagia Gorgopiko, said to date from the ninth century. This is one of the several small Byzantine Churches, situated in the heart of Athens in the midst of modern streets, but unfortunately only a few of the pilgrims had time to visit any but the "small Metropolis." It is a superb little gem, and said to be the earliest specimen extant of a Byzantine monument built on Greek soil. It is full of interesting sculptures and on the frieze above the principal entrance is an ancient calendar of Greek festivals, with crosses added at a later date by Christians. Beside the church is a block of grey marble with an inscription in Greek characters to the effect that it is the stone from Cana of Galilee "where Jesus Christ turned the water into wine."

After leaving the Cathedral the President and his clergy repaired to the house of the English Chaplain, where Dr. Wakefield gave a short address to the students of the seminary, thanking them for the delightful rendering of the music we had all so greatly enjoyed. Many of the students were able to follow the President's clearly-spoken words, but in order that they might be understood by all Dr. Wigram gave a Greek rendering. Within easy distance of the Chaplain's somewhat ascetic quarters is the English church built in the Gothic style of 1840, with a window erected to one who was murdered by brigands in the 'seventies. Somewhat unkindly, it has been stated that this church stands on the site of the "Altar to the

unknown God" mentioned by St. Paul in his speech on Mars Hill. As the pilgrims had breakfasted at an early hour, and the morning's work had been somewhat arduous, we were not surprised, when joining the main party about 2 o'clock, to find them doing full justice to an excellent lunch in the Palace Hotel.

The afternoon found Dr. Wigram at his best. As in Constantinople, so in Athens, guides are plentiful but not efficient. Consequently the pilgrims clustered round Dr. Wigram, who seemed thoroughly to enjoy the giving of his delightful and simple addresses interspersed with charming similes and anecdotes. Those who, on their return to the *Sphinx*, were not too tired to write up their diaries, have a résumé that will always be of the greatest service to them. I believe that a fairly inclusive programme was mapped out for the one day in Athens, morning and afternoon. The morning portion was perforce "washed out," and as for that of the afternoon, Dr. Wigram's *fiat* went forth that the Acropolis would be quite as much as any pilgrim or tourist could assimilate, and naturally he was obeyed. Quite indefatigable, in the Parthenon, in front of the Caryatides (or Portico of the Maidens) and elsewhere, the Chaplain could be seen standing on a pre-Christian pedestal, haranguing the pilgrims, many of whom managed to obtain excellent photographs of him which will serve as a lasting remembrance of this wonderful afternoon.

But our time was limited, for at 5 p.m. the priest-pilgrims had been invited to take tea with the Metropolitan, and so with some reluctance we tore ourselves away from one of the greatest wonders of the world and the main objective of the ordinary visitor to this, the most beautiful of all European cities.

Punctually to the time arranged, the clergy, having resumed ceremonial habit, arrived at the Petit Palais Hotel, where a sumptuous tea *à l'anglaise* had been prepared for us in the pleasant shady gardens. There was a high table for the dignitaries, presided over by the Archbishop, and smaller tables for the lesser lights. At one of these latter our friends of the early morning were seated, the Bishop of Pischof and the Archimandrite Dimitrios, and so Father Pinchard, Father French and I were delighted to join them. Although we were thirsting not only for tea but for information, we found the ecclesiastics were more anxious to hear about us than to talk about themselves. Conversation was not exactly easy, the Bishop could only talk Greek and German, and was greatly disappointed that none of us could talk this latter language (he took it for granted that we could not speak the former), though slightly reassured when he heard that our President was a German scholar. However, these things generally arrange themselves, and we managed to give an intelligent account of ourselves, of the places we had visited and of the objects of

the pilgrimage, to the Archimandrite's satisfaction, and he rendered our remarks into Greek for the benefit of the Bishop. No meal, no gathering in Greek circles is ever complete without speeches, and this delightful afternoon was no exception to the rule. The President, who has the enviable aptitude of being able to make a speech on any subject and at any time, having, in a few choice words, thanked the Archbishop for his kindly hospitality, His Beatitude, in the course of a very friendly reply, translated by Mr. Andreades, said that the union of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches was much nearer than we believed; yet such a momentous concern required time, for nothing could be done in a hurry and without much prayer. It was coming nearer and nearer, but the union of souls must come first, then the other union would come by itself. The Latin Church did not understand any idea of union except that which came from without. We understand that union must begin first with the union of souls and then the formal union. His Beatitude, in conclusion, said that he welcomed with all his heart this Anglican pilgrimage, and that he was thankful for the opportunity of obtaining a closer acquaintance with members of the Anglican Church. "Once Christ stands between us, union will come."

In the light of the fact that the Autocephalous Church of Greece has not yet recognised Anglican Orders, the words of the Archbishop may be regarded as carefully measured, but at the same time hopeful, while his speech in the evening, to which I shall refer presently, was considerably more definite.

At one time it was within the bounds of possibility that His Holiness, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, might be induced to make a special visit to Athens as the guest of Sir Henry Lunn to meet and receive the members of the pilgrimage. Accordingly, on the advice of Dr. Wigram, a cable was sent to His Holiness at Salonika and, in reply, the Patriarch cabled that we should hear his decision on our arrival in Athens. Later, however, we received a second cable to say that such a visit would not be possible. We were not altogether surprised, as the question of etiquette made the invitation difficult to accept, apart from other and more urgent reasons, but it is hardly necessary to add that the pilgrims would have regarded the acceptance as a gracious condescension on the part of His Holiness and welcomed him with much enthusiasm and sympathy.

As, therefore, the address to the Ecumenical Patriarch could not be presented in person, Professor Alivisatos promised to forward it to His Holiness at Salonika.

After the reception by the Metropolitan, Canon Douglas took me to visit the ex-Patriarch Meletios, who is living at a small village,

eight miles from Athens. On the way we passed hundreds of little wooden houses, not unlike Swiss chalets, where Greek refugees are being housed, to the number of over 130,000. The refugees are of all sorts and kinds, they have two things only in common—their religion and their poverty. Each family has its little house and acre cared for by the Government, assisted by the "Save the Children," the "Imperial War Relief" and other British and American funds. There were several priests among the refugees, and we saw some of them sitting outside the doors of their houses. Many of the refugees are being absorbed in factories and other kinds of business in Greece, but the vast majority are unemployed, and generous help is needed to keep this excellent work going. There are about 1½ millions of these refugees scattered over Greece and its islands.

Meletios is living in a picturesque little house, rather like a miniature French villa, with a tiny garden fresh and green after the recent rains. The house is two-storied, one room leading out of the other in the continental fashion generally adopted by the modern Greek. The villa he has rented only for a while, as all things are possible. At a small church in the village he officiates, otherwise his life is entirely private, though he does receive some visitors. He had been made aware of our visit, and as our car approached the gate he came out to meet us. He is a fine-looking man of over six feet, still young for a Patriarch (fifty-one, I believe, is his exact age), keen, searching eyes, handsome, with dark brown hair and beard just beginning to turn grey. He received us with much cordiality and charm of manner, and soon one realised his fascinating personality. Born to command men, there was something intensely pathetic about this exiled prelate. He took us to his study, where surrounded by a few of his books, most of them having been left in the Phanar on that awful day when he was nearly torn to pieces by the scum of Constantinople, he works and writes, and who can blame him if one suggests that he plots also? He talked of many things, chiefly in connection with the Phanar crisis, and seemed much disturbed at the attitude taken by one of the Metropolitans in favour of coming to terms with the Turks. Never, he said, would the Turk give the guarantees required for a free election of the Œcumenical Patriarch, and if they did give them they would not keep their word. In this, at least, he showed greater wisdom than did the allied powers at Lausanne!

He told us that, though he had no definite news, he regarded the resignation of Constantine VI. as imminent and, like all the prelates in Greece, regretted it as a submission to Turkish tyranny. Incidentally, I might add, this resignation was already regarded as a *fait accompli* in Athens and confirmed on the day we left the city. After discussing the political turn of affairs in the Orthodox Church,

he spoke much of the twenty-five years spent in Jerusalem, remarking that he owed everything to those days in the Holy City.

Shortly after, he gave us his blessing and we left him standing at his door, a lonely figure, indeed. But not for all time—Meletios is a politician, he may even be a wire-puller (there are such in the Roman and Anglican Communions), but he is a good man with a striking personality, and though he may never again be Œcumenical Patriarch, other Patriarchates will become vacant through infirmity or death. We may be sure that his active life is not ended, and that possibly one Patriarchate, which I need not mention, may yet have the privilege of welcoming him as its chief, an event which would doubtless be for its great advantage. The exiled Patriarch has the greatest respect for England and for England's Church, and Anglicans will never forget that during his short and stormy reign at the Phanar he was the first to recognise that Anglican clergy were priests and that Anglican Sacraments were as valid as those of Armenians or Roman Catholics.

Later in the evening, at the request of Sir Henry Lunn, the President and Committee entertained Greek ecclesiastics and professors of the University of Athens to dinner at the Hôtel del' Angleterre. Some time before our arrival at Athens we cabled to Dr. Wigram to arrange such a dinner on our behalf, but on our arrival the Doctor informed us that there could be no dinner, as the Metropolitan deemed it inopportune to come, and had invited us to tea instead. The President and Committee were nevertheless insistent, and a compromise was reached, namely, that representatives should come instead. However, our President made himself so pleasant to Archbishop Chrysostom at tea that the latter announced his intention of accepting our invitation. Consequently the dinner was held at 8.30 p.m., an early hour for Athens, and the President, Colonel Shaw-Page, representing Sir Henry Lunn, together with Canon Douglas and the Secretary, received the Metropolitan and the other guests in a room provided for the occasion. Dr. Russell Wakefield presided, His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostom sitting on his right, the other guests, including the Bishop of Syra (Mgr. Trikkala), two other Bishops and an Archimandrite, Dr. Wigram, the Secretary of the British Legation, Mr. Alivisatos, Professor of Canon Law, Mr. Dyvounides, Professor of Dogmatics, Mr. Vallanos, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, Mr. Andreades, Professor of Economics and National Representative of the League of Nations, and several other professors of the University of Athens. On the English side were Canon Douglas, Frs. Pinchard, Maurice Child, G. Napier Whittingham, H. J. Fynes-Clinton, Colonel Shaw-Page and others, about twenty-five in all. This gathering was considerably less formal than others which had been held, and the

guests conversed with one another, discussing all-important matters *sans gêne*. The Archbishop was anxious to hear about our reception in Palestine and elsewhere and was very pleased to see three of the pilgrims wearing the Order of Commander of the Holy Sepulchre. His Beatitude was fully informed about "our unhappy divisions" and had many questions to ask the President about the present position of parties in the Church of England. Somewhat stiff and nervous in his manner at the beginning of the day, Archbishop Chrysostom had become most friendly and obviously anxious to make the acquaintance of members of the Church of which he spoke so highly. Towards the end of dinner Dr. Wakefield, in proposing the toast, "The Metropolitan of Athens and Primate of all Greece," said that a unity "which makes for the good of the whole world should be acquired as soon as possible. Differences between the Churches undoubtedly arose from the fact that their members were too superficial and did not look at the great things which really mattered. Reunion between the Orthodox and Anglican Communions would be of equal advantage to both. Not only would it strengthen the driving force of Christianity against anti-Christ, but it would be an encouragement to another great communion to reconsider its position in regard to unity." The Bishop, after speaking of the amazing faith of the persecuted and martyred members of the Orthodox Church, concluded: "If we can go to death for Christ, surely we can stand together for Christ in life, united as one Church. God bless and prosper the labours of the Orthodox Church in Greece, its Archbishop, clergy and faithful laity."

The President's words having been duly rendered into Greek by one of the University professors and received with much enthusiasm, the Archbishop made reply. Speaking with great sincerity, His Beatitude said that there were to-day far more points of union than disunion between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches. *Between the East and West, divided since the ninth century, stood the Anglican Church as the natural breach. "All my hopes for unity are based upon the efforts of the Anglican Church."*

His Beatitude continued: "I desire a unity, not in words only, but also in action, and it will be a happy day when Rome will give a friendly hand. I pray that God will grant us such joy in His own good time." In conclusion, His Beatitude rendered much praise to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for all his labours on behalf of the persecuted Christians in the East, and prayed that God would bless and prosper the pilgrims on their great adventure.

The friendly speech of Mgr. Chrysostom evoked great applause and was much appreciated by the pilgrims present.

The Bishop of Syra (Mgr. Trikkala), who followed, said that the

Bishops of the Church of England were the leaven of the Church of Christ in the world. He firmly believed that our Lord was working through them. The Orthodox Church already was working in fellowship with them, touched to the heart by their practical sympathy in times of slavery and persecution. Patriarchs had been hanged, priests massacred at the very altar, the great service of God had almost ceased in Asia Minor, yet in spite of all the lamp of faith was still kept burning. The Œcumenical Patriarch had been shamefully driven from his rightful throne, yet the Greek Church remained the true Jerusalem, the Church of God! They relied on the English Church and English nation for support more than ever now, when their bishops and clergy and laity were scattered. The Bishop concluded with an encomium on the Anglican Church and prayed God to prosper its work.

The speeches of the Metropolitan and his chief assistant bishop made a great impression on all present, for such definite expressions of opinion had not been expected. The pilgrims were greatly encouraged, knowing that their prayers had not been in vain. The toast of the President was next proposed by a layman, Professor Vallanos, who, speaking in excellent English, said:

"The Theological Faculty of the University of Athens has charged me, as its Dean, to express to you its deepest joy for the great opportunity that is given to us, through your visit, to come into contact with the theological and clerical circles of the Church of England. We would like to assure you that the Theological School of our University follows with the greatest interest the procedure of Reunion and that we professors of the School are trying our best to promote its cause. Of course, we feel that the best way to do it is to know each other. We are trying to bring our students nearer to the knowledge of the English Church and we should be very glad if your students would study more deeply the Greek Orthodox Church. In this respect we should be very happy to know that in this our effort we are the subject of your prayers. I propose the toast of His Grace the Bishop, the President of the pilgrimage."

The speeches that followed, given by English and Greeks, were interesting from the fact that insistence was laid on the necessity of a better understanding of the points at issue, the need of careful study of the Greek and Anglican religions and the necessity of dogmatic agreement. Each speaker, lay and clerical alike, though the laity were in a majority, urged that the time for platitudes was past and that both sides should prepare themselves for useful action.

We all felt that the evening had not been wasted : a representative gathering of the hierarchy of Athens and of learned professors, together with the leading members of an Anglican pilgrimage, had at least got to know each other a little better, and just as our presence and hospitality gave encouragement, so did the words we heard urge us to still greater endeavours to bring about a definite unity, always being mindful of the difficulties and the need of caution.

During this eventful day Canon Douglas presented a valuable painting of Santa Sophia in a handsome frame, in the name of the Second Anglican Pilgrimage, to His Beatitude the Metropolitan, who promised to find a suitable home for it in the Metropolitane.

The following morning being Rogation Day, the special intention at Mass was for the Metropolitan of Athens and the Orthodox Church of Greece, together with supplications on behalf of the thousands of refugees scattered throughout that country.

The boat sailed soon after lunch and many were the regrets at leaving this fairest of cities, the home of culture and orthodoxy, of courteous men and graceful women.

The next two days were spent quietly in the *Sphinx*. Our President, never quite happy unless actively employed, paid a visit to the lower deck where a company of French soldiers waited to receive him. They were of various branches of the Service—Infantry, Aviation, Cavalry and Artillery : *Repatriables*, that is, "due for home," because their time of service was completed. Dr. Wakefield, accompanied by Capt. Piétri and several of the pilgrims, was received by the charming officer in command, M. le Commandant Gillot, at whose request he made a pleasant little speech in excellent French, of which this is the translation :

"M. le Commandant, I ask your permission publicly and formally to thank you and your comrades for the recognition you gave to our English soldiers and sailors who rest side by side with their French companions at the entrance to the Dardanelles. It is not only on behalf of those English who are in the ship that I make this request, but I am sure that the whole of England would like me to say how such an act helps more and more to bring our two countries into permanent friendly association. We here, in the *Sphinx*, were deeply touched by seeing you thus showing the brotherly sympathy between us, and I confess that tears came into my eyes when I watched you all for more than a quarter of an hour keep your hands raised *en salutation des morts*. Sometimes we English are considered cold and without emotion, but when our hearts are touched we are no less full of affection and gratitude than those of other nations. I had the honour of being with the French Army during the late war and

I was allowed to receive the hospitality of Maréchal Joffre, General Castelnau, General Goureaux and General Foch. The German shells passed over us many a time, and there were moments when I expected that I might die in the ranks, voluntarily, of France.

... May God keep our countries ever at peace, the one with the other, to work together for the common good. The world to-day is still the world of which one cannot say that it will always be at peace. I am confident that the two countries we are representing desire peace, but I am also certain that in regard to each of them, soldiers, sailors and airmen alike, will do their duty heroically, and therefore I pray the good God to give peace in our time through the power of religion : I would also pray that whatever may come we each of us may do our duty. I know that all of you are soon to quit the army and I trust that habits of discipline taught during your service will inspire you in the days to come in whatever may be your life's vocation. May God be with you now and for eternity."

The soldiers listened with great attention. It must have been a unique experience for them to be addressed by an Anglican Bishop, especially by one who had been brought up and lived in France for many years and was thus able to understand the French point of view. The Bishop then presented a packet of cigarettes to each soldier, and as they filed by each soldier saluted, obviously pleased by the Bishop's friendly words and his kindly gift.

For the first time on this pilgrimage the sea was slightly emotional with the result that certain pilgrims absented themselves from evensong and dinner in order to express their feelings below. Thus only a few were present when Fr. Fynes-Clinton, later in the evening, gave a lucid and interesting lecture on the "Elements of Eastern Christianity." He was preceded by the Secretary, who, much against his will, as the carpet would keep receding, was called upon by the President to make a statement of the gifts offered by the pilgrims to the Eastern Churches. The total amount showed a slight increase over that collected on the first pilgrimage. Full details of these gifts appear elsewhere.

Wednesday, May 20th, being the sixteenth centenary of the opening of the Council of Nicæa, 325 A.D., Mass was duly said for the propagation of the faith. By the wish of a large number of pilgrims to-day, the Vigil of the Ascension was kept as a Quiet Day. Over 100 pilgrims observed it as such, and these were adorned by small pieces of blue and pink ribbon pinned to the lapel of the coat or the front of the dress, to warn people not to enter into conversation with the wearers. Some few pilgrims who wanted to be quiet, but could not keep the Quiet Day in the technical

sense, were allowed to wear the ribbon and found the wearing of it restful and useful. To all of us it was a blessed day of quietude, and those who, like myself, had work in hand, could perform it without interruption. The Quiet Day which was taken by the Rev. A. E. Cornibeer, began with the Litany at 6.45 a.m., followed by a short address given by the President, and then the Mass of Retreat at 7 a.m. Prayers and addresses followed in due course during the day, the last one being given at Evensong. Fr. Cornibeer's addresses were much appreciated, and it has been proposed that on future pilgrimages a Quiet Day shall be held on the outward as well as the return journey.

MALTA. ASCENSION DAY, MAY 21st, 1925.

There is something very wonderful in the approach to Valletta, the miniature capital of the island of Malta: in appearance it is medieval with its lofty bastions, ramparts and moats. The little town is built on a narrow peninsula, the sides of which rise sharply from the sea, while deep harbours extend on either side of the peninsula. On the east lay the deep blue Mediterranean, while to the west one saw the suburbs of Valletta and open country. Certainly it formed a very delightful picture on our arrival in the early hours of Ascension Day. Most of the pilgrims were up and dressed long before the hour of disembarking, chiefly because Maltese time was an hour behind that of our good ship. Thus the first Mass at 4.30 a.m. was really said at 3.30 a.m. and almost in darkness. Two other Masses were said well before 6 a.m., and at all three there were large numbers of Communicants. By kind permission of the Captain, pilgrims were able to breakfast at 6 a.m. (Maltese time), and even during breakfast friends came on board to welcome the pilgrims—Captains, Commanders and Naval Chaplains from the ships in the harbour, and most of the Mediterranean Fleet seemed to be gathered in and around the harbour, and vied with each other to give us hearty greeting. The Rev. Basil Oswell, formerly Chaplain to the Bishop of Gibraltar, and now Naval Padre in H.M.S. *Calypso*, was our welcome M.C. and guide during the very short stay on this hospitable island. It had been arranged by Canon Moreton that we should be responsible for a sung Mass in St. Paul's Cathedral, Valletta, but we were asked to be very careful not to offend the susceptibilities of the Established Church of Rome on the one hand, nor of the Protestant members of St. Paul's congregation on the other. Thus, shortly after seven o'clock (Maltese time) there might have been seen a boat-load of priest-pilgrims disguised as tourists, carrying bags containing the offending ecclesiastics' habits, arriving at the landing-stage and thence taking delightful little toy carriages to the

Cathedral, followed by dozens of other such vehicles and motor-cars conveying the lay-pilgrims.

As we entered the Cathedral Canon Moreton had just finished the 6.30 a.m. Mass and welcomed us in the vestry. By the time our service was due to commence, namely 7.30 a.m., the Cathedral was well filled with pilgrims, together with a fair sprinkling of local residents and naval officers. The musical director of the pilgrimage, Fr. Bark, presided at the organ, and the pilgrims sang the Mass to Merbecke, together with popular A. and M. hymns. Fr. Cornibeer celebrated, assisted by Frs. Whalley and Ledbury as servers. Dr. Russell Wakefield, who presided, was attended by Frs. Fynes-Clinton and Napier Whittingham as his chaplains, said the Absolution and gave the Blessing. At the conclusion of the service, Dr. Wakefield gave Confirmation to two naval candidates presented by the Chaplain of H.M.S. *Malaya* with the permission of the Bishop of Gibraltar. The Bishop, wearing cope and mitre, was given a throne at the entrance to the chancel, and after a short address administered the Sacrament, the candidates being presented by Canon Moreton. The solemn dignity of the Mass, together with the reverent and stately manner in which the Sacrament of Confirmation was given moved the Verger (who admitted to over forty years of service) to tell me that never before had he seen such a beautiful service nor did he imagine that such things could be done in the Church of England. Yet the prayer-book rite was followed *verbatim et literatim*.

St. Paul's Cathedral, a lofty and dignified building though somewhat bare inside, was built at the expense of Queen Adelaide at a cost of £20,000 and opened in 1844. Until 1895 the Church received a government grant, but at that date it was "disestablished," and since then exists on voluntary support, the rector's stipend being somewhat less than £250. Probably the Cathedral is unique in keeping its festival not on the Conversion of St. Paul, but on the anniversary of St. Paul's shipwreck, *viz.*, February 10th.

The little town, not unlike Naples in appearance, though very much cleaner, was gaily decorated with flags and most of the shops were closed in honour of the feast of the Ascension, and we were struck by the number of priests and members of religious communities, especially Franciscans. Most of the native women were dressed in black and wore black hoods of amazing size, somewhat like a small umbrella without handle. The origin of this hood seems to date from 1798, when the French troops sacked Malta and the women registered a vow that "in memory of the brutal treatment they had received at the hands of the licentious soldiery, they would for the space of a hundred years dress in black and wear a distinctive hood (*faldetta*), which is called the hood of shame." The hundred

years are now long past, and yet this quaint and uncomfortable-looking head-gear is still worn. We visited St. John's Church, where the monuments of the Grand Masters of the Knights of Malta are the chief attraction. High Mass was being sung, the Bishop of Malta, who is also titular Archbishop of Rhodes, pontificating. Many of the pilgrims paid a visit to Citta Vecchia, about six miles distant, the former capital of Malta with its splendid cathedral, monasteries and catacombs closely connected with the once world-famous order of the Knights of Malta.

A glorious island, with its fair city Valletta, streets of palaces and picturesque houses, we were sorry that necessity compelled us to return to the ship at 11 a.m., shortly after which hour we steamed out of the gaily-decked harbour.

The visit to St. Paul's Cathedral at Malta was the final ceremonial act of the pilgrimage.

Thus we left the "island called Melita," where the people, though no longer "barbarians," certainly "showed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire (of warm-hearted welcome) and received us everyone."

Never again will pilgrims sail under the ægis of Captain Piétri: in October next his term of service concludes and the *Sphinx* will see him no more. The delightful little dinner he gave to the President and a few members of the pilgrimage one evening before we reached Marseilles thus took the nature of a farewell. In proposing the President's health, the Captain referred to this in a delightful little French speech from which I quote these sentences:—

"Pendant deux jours encore j'aurai le grand plaisir de vous avoir sur le *Sphinx*. Cependant, le voyage est sur le point de se terminer et alors permettez-moi de profiter de ce moment pour vous dire combien votre présence à bord nous a été extrêmement agréable. Ma carrière s'achève. Je n'aurai plus le bonheur de transporter une autre fois un pèlerinage anglo-catholique. Du fond de ma retraite il me sera bien doux de penser aux deux voyages charmants en compagnie de ses membres. Etant encore parmi eux, vous me permettez, Monseigneur le Président et Messieurs, de lever mon verre et boire à sa prospérité, à la conservation de votre précieuse santé, Monseigneur, à votre bonheur, Messieurs, et au bon souvenir que vous laisserez sur le *Sphinx*."

The President then voiced the feelings of the guests in a short and well-delivered speech, also in French, and a few days after, when we parted at Marseilles and said farewell to our charming and courteous skipper, with the knowledge that we should not see him again, we all felt that we were taking leave of a real friend.

There is not much left to tell. We continued to follow St. Paul's

voyage; we passed by Rhegium and so on to Puteoli, for the ship stayed some hours at Naples, and from thence some 25 of our company journeyed to Rome. Canon Douglas had left us at Athens to visit the Ecumenical Patriarch at Salonika, Fr. Fynes-Clinton headed the gallant twenty-five on their *iter Romanum*, for he, being of slender stature, could have no difficulty in negotiating the Porta Santa.

As the *Sphinx* was due to arrive at Marseilles on Sunday morning, it was decided to keep Saturday as a day of general thanksgiving. Low Mass was said at 5.30 and 6.15 a.m., and at 7 a.m. High Mass was sung, the Bishop-President pontificating. The great saloon was crowded with pilgrims, who all made their communions of thanksgiving. In the early afternoon Fr. Maurice Child conducted a class of instruction for lay-pilgrims, and this was followed by a conference of clergy, presided over by Fr. Pinchard. Evensong was sung for the last time at 5 p.m. and at its conclusion the President gave a final address, in the course of which he said how thankful all must be for the privilege of going on this pilgrimage, for the experiences we have had and for the benefits received. "Give thanks to God for the pilgrimage, for being allowed to visit the Holy Places, for the Communions you have made on this ship, for the services you have been privileged to attend. This pilgrimage has taught us many things, we must remember them still when it is over, for our life is a pilgrimage." In the evening Fr. Child summed up the main objectives of the pilgrimage ideal, with the result that a large number of the pilgrims added their names to the increasing roll of the Pilgrimage Association.

Early Sunday morning, while the Lord's service was being offered on board for the last time, the *Sphinx* steamed into the harbour of Marseilles; the pilgrims had completed a voyage of some 4,523 miles and the great adventure was over. Soon the overland journey was made, Sir Henry Lunn met the pilgrims at Boulogne, and many friends greeted us on our arrival at Victoria.

Thus, as was announced months ago, the "Pilgrims' Way" had brought the members of the Second Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to the great centres of historic Christianity, and also along the path which St. Paul passed on his wondrous journeys. The pilgrims had the inestimable advantage of (1) being missionaries of Christian Reunion, (2) of increasing their own devotion at the sacred Shrines, and (3) above all, of being able to offer a corporate act of worship to Almighty God.

The President, a few days later, wrote:—

"God has been good to allow me to do this piece of work."

(The substance of part of this article appeared in the "Church Times" during May, 1925, and thanks are due to the Editor for permission to reprint.)

Among other outside institutions was a home for incurable consumptive women of the poorest class, which the Grand Duchess visited twice a week; and during the Great War a home for blinded soldiers was opened, and they were carefully tended.

It was during these years that, when able to do so, she acceded to some of the many requests to attend various ecclesiastical celebrations; the consecration, or the re-opening of some special church after restoration; the patronal festival of a monastery, or any special occasion of the kind, even if it involved a long journey; and her reverent devotion rivalled that of the local worshippers. Her interest and delight in the beauty and completeness of the best aspects of the life of the Church grew as she learnt to know it better and more intimately, and she was a most devoted daughter of the Church, for which she lived and died, and whose servants delighted to honour her. Her zeal and self-sacrifice were inexhaustible, and her friends wondered how she could exist with so little sleep and rest. Only on the outbreak of the Great War she broke down, realising all it would mean, and was disabled for a few days; then with renewed courage and vigour she took up the increased burden and endured to the end.

Her Highness was indefatigable in visiting the wounded in the various hospitals, and alleviating their sufferings in every way in her power. Many false accusations were made of her favouring wounded German prisoners of war, but nothing could be substantiated, and she avoided anything that might give rise to misinterpretation, as well as all interference in the affairs of State or political matters, except once, when in her distress at the way her clear-sightedness showed her that things were going, she wrote to warn the Emperor, and a little later, in December, 1916, she went to St. Petersburg to plead with the Empress, but it proved useless.

At the very beginning of the Revolution, in March, 1917, a lorryful of men, mostly criminals let loose from prison, went to arrest her on a charge of being a German spy. She received a deputation of five, asking what they wanted. They said they had come to take her to be tried, and accused her of concealing weapons and of hiding German Princes. She allowed them to search the house, but first told the sisters to gather in the church for a short service of prayer, and the men to put down their arms and to come into the church, and they followed her. At the end of the service, when she went up, as usual, to kiss the Cross held by the priest, the Grand Duchess signed to the men to go also, which they did, constrained by her calmness and dignity. On leaving the church she asked what warrant they had for her arrest, and they could produce none, and did not persist in their purpose, and left, telling the mob, which had gathered outside, that they had found nothing incriminating. For the time

the danger was averted, and a few hours later some members of the Provisional Government went to apologise for the attempt which had been made without their knowledge, and to beg her to remove to the Kremlin, where it would be easier to safeguard her. This the Grand Duchess refused to do, and continued her life of service and suffering for a little more than a year longer.

Then in May, 1918, she was suddenly arrested, and taken to Siberia to the town of Alapaievsk, in the Government of Perm, together with the Grand Duke Serge Mikhailovich and the Princes John, Constantine and Igor Constantinovich, and the Prince Vladimir Pavlovich Paley. Two sisters of her Community went with the Grand Duchess, of whom one returned to Moscow, and the other, Sister Barbara, who had earlier been in her service and entered the Sisterhood with her, remained to the end and shared her fate. They reached Alapaievsk on 20th May (2nd June), and were placed under guard in an empty school-house containing six rooms, one of which was occupied by the Grand Duchess and the two Sisters, and where they also had their meals. Her Highness occupied herself with painting, a favourite pursuit with her, and spent much time in prayer.

In the night of the 17th-18th of July (30th-31st) they were all taken to a deserted mine in the forest and thrown into it, and it was afterwards filled up.

In October the bodies were found, during the occupation of the White Army, and were recognised and conveyed through Siberia to Harbin, and then to Pekin. Later the Dowager Marchioness of Milford Haven accompanied her sister's remains to Jerusalem, and there they rest, beneath the Church of St. Mary Magdalene on the Mount of Olivet, a church built by the Emperor Alexander III. and his brothers in memory of their mother, the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, and consecrated in the presence of the Grand Duke Sergius and the Grand Duchess Elizabeth. A resting place had been prepared for her in her convent in Moscow, in the crypt chapel, where she often remained for the Offices, which could be heard there while going on in the church above; but while churches and tombs are desecrated in Russia, her uncorrupted body lies in the sacred city, as her deathless spirit lives in the heavenly Jerusalem.

LITERATURE WORK IN THE NEAR EAST.

BY THE REV. W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

THE Anglican Church, during the last few months, has taken a most important step by setting up an Inter-Diocesan Literature Committee of the S.P.C.K. for Egypt and Jerusalem. The Home Society has made a substantial grant of £500 a year, which may be supplemented from a trust fund for Arabic literature, perhaps also from American sources. The Secretary for both dioceses is Miss Padwick, a skilled literary worker in Arabic and English alike. In each case the Bishop is chairman. An essential part of the scheme is the holding of joint meetings of the two dioceses.

The first duty of the new organisation was to take over the existing C.M.S. Arabic publications as they run out of print and to reissue them on a diocesan basis. Then it had to take responsibility for various publications which were already in preparation. The most important of these was a harmonised Arabic Passion Narrative, the work of a calligraphist and plentifully adorned with Christian arabesques—emblems of the Passion, etc. To the Moslem mind a *cheap* Bible is hardly a holy book, so this has been prepared as a Christian version, so far as *format* goes, of the illuminated MSS. of the Qur'an found in mosques.

The tasks in front of the Committee are many and serious. First in importance comes the circulation of literature in lands where the book-buying public does not yet exist, and books have to be hawked in the streets. It was laid down that, whatever was spent on production, an equal amount should be spent on circulation. But the diagnosis of needs in the direction of production is being actively taken in hand. We pick out the following from the many projects discussed:

1. An Arabic Wall Calendar with the Church dates of Coptic and Anglican Communion.
2. A Book of Prayers in the form of a Christian adaptation of the forms of prayer used by dervishes—addresses to Christ under His various attributes, etc.
3. A careful study of Sufi mysticism in order to be able to choose works of Christian mysticism suitable for translation into Arabic, to be read by Moslems of Sufi antecedents.
4. Lives of the Coptic Saints, for which Qisr Ibrahim Luka, Dean of the Coptic Cathedral at Assiut, was to be consulted.
5. Church history stories based on the lives of Eastern saints. If possible, one for each of the Oriental Churches.

A task which must be left for future consideration is the provision of Hebrew Christian literature in the language spoken at the Jerusalem University. That a new start in the presentation of Christianity to the Jews is necessary will hardly be denied, and modern Hebrew, though an artificially stimulated growth, seems likely to continue.

Thanks to a generous special gift the S.P.C.K. has been enabled to send out an Art Missionary to Cairo. She will work for all missions, who will buy her drawings, but her activities will be controlled by the Inter-Diocesan Committee.

Anglican mission work in the Near East is on a small scale compared with that of American Protestants, but it has its own distinctive *ethos*, and under the guidance of its two Bishops behaves with the utmost correctness to the Eastern Churches. The Protestant Missions have of late been strongly influenced by Anglican ideals of the proper attitude to be observed towards these bodies. They are coming to recognise that the only justification for their presence is the fact that age-long antagonisms, national and religious, make it impossible for Oriental Christians to evangelise their Eastern neighbours. But supposing they succeed in achieving their end, their success will be of a dubious character if they merely add a Protestant community to the existing sects. Somehow or other, their converts must be brought into relations with the Eastern Church. One of the earliest publications of the new S.P.C.K. of the Near East is a manual of instruction for Catechumens based upon the Nicene Creed, issued in English and Arabic. This has been accepted by a conference of Protestant missionaries, realising that the principles of their mission work must be brought into closer relation with those of the Eastern Church.

Anglican work, we repeat, is a puny thing in the Near East, but it has a wonderful opportunity of bearing witness to sound principles, and making up for quantitative defects by its quality. What we have described is remarkable so far for promise rather than for achievement, but a good beginning has been made, and the Committee of S.P.C.K. is to be congratulated on its wisdom in devoting so large a share of what is available for new work to strengthening the forces of the Church in a strategic centre like Cairo.

THE RUSSIAN WHITE CROSS SOCIETY AND MOTHER EUGENIA.

A SKETCH OF PAST AND PRESENT ACTIVITIES.

THE Russian White Cross Society was founded in 1880, soon after the Russo-Turkish War of 1875-77 was over. The object of the Society was to help the military invalids and their families, and to establish special homes and schools for their orphans.

When the World War broke out in 1914, the late Grand Duchess Elisabeth was put at its head; and those terrible years, stretching from 1914 to 1917, up to the Bolshevik *coup d'état* on October 25th (old style), saw them doing wonderful work. But then the Tsarist Army had already grown so disorganised by the Bolshevik Propaganda that hospitals were plundered, wounded and sick officers killed, physicians and nurses ill-treated, thus rendering all work impossible, either at the front or in the rear.

As soon as General Alexieff issued an appeal to all loyal subjects of His Majesty Nicholas II., to gather round him and try to save Russia, the Russian White Cross Committee joined him. General Alexieff was elected President of the Russian White Cross Society.

It was at this time, the end of October (old style), that Mother Eugenia (then still Madame Elisabeth Evguenievna Mitrofanoff) came to Rostov on the Don, where her husband was Rector of the local University. Like everybody else, she had had to leave the front, where she had been at the head of one of the numerous mobile field hospitals.

Mother Eugenia made her *début* as a social worker during the Russo-Japanese War, when she was enrolled as a trained nurse on the staff of the Warsaw Military Hospital. There she worked until she was taken seriously ill. When she recovered after a few years of great suffering she resumed her Christian activity, working amongst the poorest people of Petrograd, teaching children in the People's Kindergarten, presiding over the Children's Home School Council and giving much of her time to the care and the visiting of the prisoners in the Petrograd gaols.

As soon as the war was declared (July 20th, 1914, old style) Mother Eugenia was appointed Matron at one of the most important hospitals in Petrograd. Some time later she was transferred to the mobile field hospital attached to the Imperial Guard Corps, and so worked at the front itself, until the stormy days of the October Revolution forced her to flee to Rostov, where General Alexieff

when the Civil War broke out, asked her to start some organisation to take care of the wounded. There was at that time no one to do so, as even the Russian Red Cross Society had no representative there. When this proposal was made to Mother Eugenia she was already acting as assistant surgeon at the Rostov University Surgical Clinic, which had had to be transformed into a hospital for seriously wounded officers as soon as the Civil War began.

Owing to the great popularity of the Russian White Cross Society and to Madame Mitrofanoff's well-known skill—she had been elected to the Presidency of the Rostov Section of the Society—money was not lacking. And a very happy circumstance this was, as pecuniary means were badly wanted. From all parts of the front and from every town in Russia officers came to the Don Cossacks' region, bound for Rostov, where the Voluntary Army was being formed by that most noble-hearted and clear-headed man, General Alexieff. General Kornilof, who was later on to be called "the heart of the voluntary Army" (as General Alexieff was known as its "brains"), was still a prisoner at the front at this time and the officers who arrived were in a pitiable state, indeed! Most of them were disguised as peasants, workmen, fishermen, dockers. They came ragged, bare-foot, half starved, worn out by their long journey, which had generally been made, now on foot, now under some railway-carriage seat, now in a peasant's cart hidden under bundles of straw, etc. There were among them many sick and wounded also, who had fled from the military hospitals in the endeavour to escape being shot by the Revolutionists. Before fighting again, they were able to have a much-needed rest, to be nursed and fed, to be clothed and provided with shoes, etc.

And the Russian White Cross Society people, high and low, set to work with all the devotion and energy of which they had already given such abundant testimony—and most wonderful work they did, indeed.

In February, 1918, Bolshevik forces, by far outnumbering the handful of men at General Alexieff's disposal, invaded the Don region. They were well armed and Rostov was taken by surprise on February 10th. Unspeakable horrors were committed by the rebels. Among other things there occurred the shooting of all the sick and wounded officers who did not succeed in escaping from the numerous hospitals. Mother Eugenia was also arrested and sentenced to death by shooting, as her patients had already been shot before her very eyes. But there was this sole difference in her case, she was given time to prepare herself to appear before her Father's throne, as the death sentence was to be executed in two hours' time. But discipline was already so lax in the Bolshevik Army that the soldiers posted at her cell door went away under some

pretext. Then one of her former patients came in and led her rapidly out.

To get out of Rostov was impossible. However, until the end of April, 1918, when this town was taken back by the White Voluntary Army and the Rumanian detachments under Colonel Drosdovsky's command, she succeeded not only in keeping herself hidden from the sharp eyes of Bolshevik commissaries and spies, but even in working secretly, aided by a staff of devoted and courageous men and women, nursing the wounded and the sick, feeding the starved, rescuing the hunted. Grants and gifts of all kinds—money, victuals, clothes, shoes, surgical instruments, etc.—were generously handed over to her by well-to-do inhabitants of this most oppressed town.

From the end of April, 1918, until December, 1919, the Russian White Cross Society proved itself a most useful organisation, the more so as it was working alone for some months, for lack of any other organisation of the kind, as already stated. During this period many and various activities were instituted, partly supported by the generous grants of the Allies in the matter of victuals, clothing, linen, medicines, etc. Among the activities of the Society were dispensaries, hospitals, workshops, a canteen for three thousand officers in Rostov, a convalescent home, an orphanage, a children's home, a home for officers, etc.

Similar institutions were started all over South Russia, wherever the White Army was in possession. At the front, stores of victuals, clothes, linen, shoes, medical equipment were established, as well as canteens, public baths for soldiers, dispensaries, mobile field hospitals, etc.

At General Alexieff's death Mother Eugenia was elected President General and plenipotentiary mandatory of the whole of the Russian White Cross Society, and this position she still holds.

Meanwhile a terrific epidemic of exanthematic typhus had broken out all over Russia, devastating towns and villages and Cossack stanitzas, carrying off young and old, rich and poor. Dead bodies were lying for days and days in houses, on railway platforms, in gardens, everywhere, for people breathed their last on the high roads, in railway trains, everywhere. Whole families were wiped out, leaving no survivors to bury them. Once more the Russian White Cross Society workers proved equal to their task. They fed and nursed the sick, collected and sheltered orphans, buried the dead. They were, indeed, all things to all men that as many as possible might be saved.

From the end of November to the last days of December the Voluntary Army passed through a series of heavy defeats. The resources of the Russian White Cross Society were strained to the uttermost, as the numbers of wounded and sick increased. A fair

illustration of this is the fact that they had to feed as many as eleven thousand people at this time.

A final and heavy blow, inflicted upon the White Army on the 26th December, 1919, caused it to evacuate Rostov and to retreat to the Kuban Cossacks' region. It was followed by those citizens of the doomed city who had everything to dread from the Bolsheviks, that is to say, by those citizens who represented the best elements, the heart and brains of the city, as it were. Panic was overpowering men's nerves; the railway station as well as miles and miles of the main track were encumbered by hundreds and hundreds of railway carriages in a more or less derelict state, mixed up with unheated locomotives and coalless tenders. The governmental highways were a mass of bicycles, automobiles, carts, wagons, open carriages, charrs-à-bancs and coaches. Everywhere there were frightened weeping children, half-maddened women, shouting swearing men. Horses kicked and neighed, cattle were frightened out of their usual calm, the cows were lowing, the sheep bleating, and everything and everybody sinking deep in the snow. Yet in spite of all this the Russian White Cross Society people succeeded in their endeavours to rescue the lives of all those in their charge. Not one of their protégés was left behind. The whole staff, President, secretaries, doctors and nurses followed in the rear of their people, working all the while. They preceded the fighting army and opened mobile field hospitals, dispensaries and canteens along the roads on which the White military men and civilians were advancing. Thus they went on and on until everyone was safe in the towns and stanitzas of the Kuban Cossacks' region and in its capital, Ekaterinodar.

Later, after the fall of Ekaterinodar, when the White Army had to give way under pressure of the Red Army's advancing forces, and to retire to Novorossisk on the Black Sea, the Russian White Cross Society acted and worked in the same heroic fashion.

When, in 1920, this last bulwark of the Voluntary Army fell into the hands of the enemy, the Russian White Cross Society staff and workers were the last to start on their *via dolorosa*. They took with them not only their own protégés but also all the weary and sick and helpless people that they happened to come across.

They resumed their activities in the Crimea, whither the White Army and those of their partisans who could afford to follow them had retreated. The number of their organisations, orphanages, hospitals, canteens, etc., in this area amounted to ninety-six.

Then came November, 1920, and the last desperate fight for Russia's freedom and independence and restoration and peace was fought by her valiant sons—fought and lost!

Then thousands and thousands of Russians went into exile, out into the wide, wide world, leaving their native land in the hands of

criminals of the worst type. They went out to meet misery, loneliness, starvation, death in foreign lands. Their sufferings—or rather a new kind of suffering—began as soon as they boarded the steamers which were to take them away. Even then one might witness scenes of unspeakable, unforgettable grief and despair: parents failing to find their little ones who were supposed to be on board the same steamers, children crying and calling out for their mothers, the sick recovering consciousness only to find that they had been separated from their dear ones, wives who had got separated from and lost their husbands in the process of embarkation, husbands who saw their wives still on shore and sprang overboard that they might not leave them unprotected and an easy prey to the bands of criminals with which the Red Army teemed. (And these husbands went back at the risk of being arrested and shot or hanged.)

Mother Eugenia and most of her fellow-workers were on board the S.S. *Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich*. As the steamer was full of half-starved and sick people—most of them with exanthematic typhus—medical and canteen work were started there and then.

In Constantinople, where Mother Eugenia remained from 1920 to 1923, the Russian White Cross Society developed a most wonderful organisation, in which they were greatly helped by the generosity of the Allies. During this time thirty-eight thousand Russian refugees received material help, to say nothing of the moral support which was readily accorded to them, when required. Various organisations were started in Constantinople and its neighbourhood, in Gallipoli also, where General Wrangel's troops were first concentrated, and in Serbia among the thousands of refugees dispersed in all parts, even before the military contingent had been permitted to come and settle there.

In Constantinople itself it was soon found necessary to open a canteen for women and children, a refuge for nursing mothers, a maternity home and a dispensary. The first Russian Home for Disabled abroad was founded. There one hundred, mostly cripples, worked in the different workshops, which were arranged in the building itself. There they did tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering, knitting and various work of an artistic nature. In this way the Home for the Disabled became self-supporting.

At St. Stephano a hospital with two hundred beds was opened. On the Bosphorus a sanatorium was founded for nervous diseases, for patients who could not afford to pay any fees. As the number of such patients increased, it was found necessary to move into a large palace in Valikioi. Part of the palace was then used as a home for the aged, as the place was very large and had plenty of accommodation. This home also received such invalids as were totally unable to work, orphans and expectant or nursing mothers.

There were many among the women and girls (mostly of good birth) who had been brought to Constantinople, who were in danger of descending the broad way "that leadeth to destruction" for sheer lack of any profession. A millinery school was therefore opened. Here one hundred and fifty women went through a course of training and were thus enabled to earn an honest livelihood.

By this time the ranks of the Russian White Cross Society's workers had been greatly depleted by overwork, sickness, under-feeding and death; there remained but a handful of the few hundreds who had worked so wonderfully during the years of war and misery. Those who still remained at their posts could no longer do all the work that was expected of them. Mother Eugenia therefore made an urgent appeal to women and girls who were attracted to the religious life of a mixed character—that is, a combination of prayerful contemplation and Christian activity. She suggested that such should gather together to form the nucleus of a religious community. Her appeal was readily responded to by a few willing souls.

As already stated, the activities of the Russian White Cross Society were not confined to Constantinople. In Gallipoli a surgical hospital with one hundred and fifty beds was established. This was soon followed by the erection of Russian public baths and a disinfecting station. But many a wounded or sick man lived in some remote part of the concentration camp and was too weak to walk as far as the hospital. Animals had therefore to be acquired in order to convey the patients.

In 1920 a Russian sanatorium with a dairy farm attached had been founded near Belgrade. But when General Wrangel's army, with its thousands of sick men, was removed to Serbia, this sanatorium had at once to be transformed into a hospital. A sanatorium was therefore opened on the sea shore, in a quiet bay. Up to the time of the end of the epidemic of exanthematic typhus two hundred patients were nursed here daily.

Two canteens were established where the immigrants, who had not yet been able to settle down, were able to have a few hours' rest and a good meal on their weary way.

The miserable condition of the Russian Students in Belgrade made it clear that a home for them was badly needed. A house was, therefore, taken and furnished with what was necessary, and one hundred and fifty young men were sheltered under its friendly roof. This home still exists.

In 1923 the political state of Turkey compelled the Russian White Cross Society to close down all its activities one after another. The Valikioi home, with its seventy-five inmates—old and young, sick and well—had to be transferred to Bulgaria. On arrival there Mother Eugenia made an appeal to the Bulgarian Synod. The

Synod very willingly granted her the free use of a monastery near Tynovo, with everything belonging to it, some agricultural land and a few acres of vineyard. Thus the daily bread of her protégés was provided for, or so, at least, she thought at the time. But alas, the fond hope of turning this monastery into a self-supporting organisation never became a reality. The protégés were either too old or too young or too ill to do much, if any, hard work. The sisters were few and were worn out and unaccustomed to agricultural work. It therefore became necessary to employ paid labour, and that meant money. To add to the difficulties, there came the sad news of a definite cessation of all pecuniary help from former friends and benefactors in Constantinople.

In spite of this heavy blow, Mother Eugenia and her sisters went on with their work, bravely fighting their way through difficulties of all kinds. One of the great troubles was the lack of suitable farm implements. The sum of one thousand dollars was needed to buy these and "to keep the pot boiling" until the next harvest. But though Mother Eugenia tried hard to obtain this sum, she was unsuccessful, and therefore was obliged to restore the monastery to the Synod as soon as she had found safe shelter for all its inmates in various Bulgarian philanthropic institutions. This was finally accomplished only a few months ago.

In 1923 the League of Nations insisted that the Home for Disabled, with all its workshops, should be removed to Varna in Bulgaria. Mother Eugenia was reluctant to do this, for she foresaw that there would be no market for the products of her patients, seeing that in a peasant country such as Bulgaria the people make all that they need for themselves. She submitted, however, to their pressing advice, and events proved that she had been right in her suppositions. Shortly after the arrival in Varna the workshops had to be closed and the disabled were obliged to look out for any work that they could get in the town or out of it. They still, however, keep on the house which Mother Eugenia took on their arrival. There they may get meals and may also stay and be looked after if the poor cripples get ill or are suffering from overwork.

Mother Eugenia herself went to Paris, hoping to be able to raise funds for her work in Bulgaria. In this she was unsuccessful, but the sight of the misery of the Russian refugees in Paris could not but awake an echo of sympathy in her heart. Of these refugees there are two especially deserving classes—the aged and the children. The former are, in most cases, not only destitute and lonely, but also unable to obtain work, as they are too old and infirm. They are, moreover, as foreigners, ineligible for French refuges and they get no relief of any kind. As for the children, if they are educated in foreign schools, they lose their creed and their nationality. There is

only one Russian college in Paris and this has too few vacancies and the fees are too high for the parents, who are mostly unable to pay anything, as they earn very little.

After due consideration and much prayer, Mother Eugenia decided that, with God's help, and aided by the eight sisters of the Community, she would start a home for the aged and infirm, and would devote part of the house to a boarding school for little girls who could then be brought up on Russian lines and in the Orthodox Creed. All the Sisters are refined, clever women, and have had nursing training, and they would devote themselves to the work. The school was to be conducted on the lines of the Russian colleges of pre-Revolution days, and the children would, in addition, be trained in some profession which would enable them to earn their living. They would also be thoroughly grounded in house-keeping, cooking and laundry work, etc.

At this time Mother Eugenia found that there was a suitable house to be let in the neighbourhood of Paris. The house was formerly the property of the celebrated Madame de Sévigné. Mother Eugenia and the Sisters moved in and applications for admission from old and young came streaming in to the Villa des Orangers. But alas, what can be done with nineteen rooms when the whole of France is teeming with Russian children and old people?

And there are two great difficulties—there always are difficulties in this sublunary world of ours! One is the total lack of money in the Community; the other is the absolute impossibility for the majority of its destined inmates to pay for their board, clothing and other expenses.

If Mother Eugenia could obtain a certain sum of money she could organise something to make her work self-supporting—agriculture, poultry-keeping, rabbit-breeding, canteens for the Russian men and women who work in the factories near Paris, or she could start workrooms for lingerie or millinery, etc. The house has a beautiful garden, partly a market garden and partly flowers.

She is also most anxious to get people interested in her protégés, and would like to find "godfathers" and "godmothers" for the most destitute among them. The total cost for the maintenance of a child is two hundred francs a month, that for one of the old people two hundred and fifty francs a month.

There are already twenty little girls in the boarding school and eight aged people in the home.

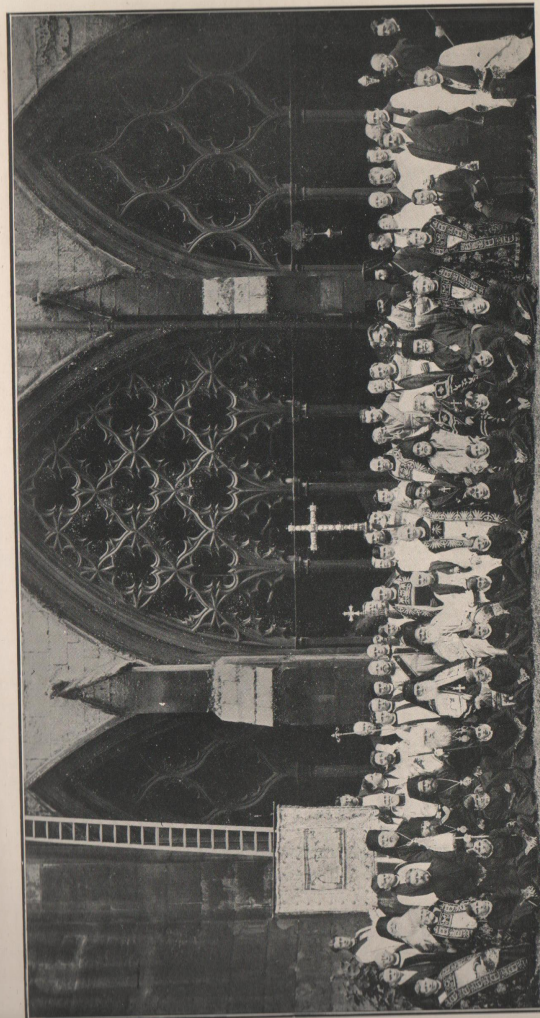
The Reverend Mother Superior of the first Russian Orthodox Religious Community in Western Europe therefore appeals to her Anglican brethren to pray with her and her spiritual daughters to Our Heavenly Father that He may bless and protect this newly-founded work. She asks the Anglicans to support her with fraternal

sympathy and advice and to do what they can in the way of affording material help to her protégés. The Community is dedicated to "Our Lady of the Unhoped-for Joy" and the present address is:—

Madame Mitrofanoff, Villa des Orangers, 17, rue de Paris, Gargan-Livry (Seine-et-Oise), France.

In order to make this work self-supporting, 1500 francs will be needed for starting it.—Margaret Thiévert, R.W.C.S.—Sister.

AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY, JUNE 29, 1925.





FRONT (left to right).—Abp. of Jordan, Abp. of Nubia, Dr. Alivisatos (repr. Abp. of Athens), Metrop. of Kiev, Patriarch Photios, Abp. of Canterbury, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Mar Shimun, Abp. of Upsala, Metrop. Evlogie, Bp. of Sevastopol. BACK.—Revs M. G. Haigh, R.E. Borough of C/ple, H. de Candolle, J. Ellison, Sir W. H. Dickinson, Archdn Waddy, Dr Jenkins, Prof. Glubokovsky, Armenian Vardapet Goussan, Dr. Radu (repr. Patriarch of Rumania), Canon Douglas, (American) Bishop Darlington, Sec. of Jerusalem Mission Bp. of Gibraltar, Commander Luke, Fr. Heazell, Mr. Riley, Mr. Turner.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE NEW ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH—AN ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL?—
THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE—THE PATRIARCH PHOTIOS—
THE MOSUL ISSUE.

THE election of the new Œcumenical Patriarch, Basil III., which took place on 13th July, brought the well-wishers of Orthodoxy a sense of relief almost too great for words. The resignation of Constantine VI., under pressure applied by the Greek Government of the day in return for the promise of certain concessions—a promise which, by the way, like most things Turkish of the kind, was intended to be illusory—had opened dangerous possibilities. Angora had intimated that no Bishop of the Patriarchate other than non-exchangeables was to be elected, and that except the non-exchangeables none of the legal electors might vote. Further, it had hinted in forceful fashion that the best Patriarch would be found in the Metropolitan of Rhodopolis, who, though received on the Synod in 1923, had formerly been an adherent of the Turkish Orthodox Church which Mustapha Kemal had employed the notorious Papa Eftim in 1920 to call into being with the hope that it would play in the Œcumenical Patriarchate the part played by the Soviet's Living Church in the Russian. Frankly, a strictly canonical election was out of possibility, and the probability seemed that either the Patriarchate was condemned to a lengthy widowhood, or that there would be imposed upon the long-suffering Great Church of Constantinople, a puppet whom, except the Soviet's creation, no autocephalous Church would, or indeed could, recognise. The pregnancy for mischief of such a happening was palpable. Wisely, perhaps, the Holy Synod of Constantinople accepted the outrageous restrictions which the Turks had imposed, and no one other than the seventeen Bishops who are non-exchangeables voted. But among the non-exchangeables was the scholarly and saintly Basil of Nicæa, of whom we have long had personal knowledge. To its exceeding credit, the Synod ignored the suggestions of Angora, and elected him with only one dissident. The other sixty or so Bishops of the jurisdiction out of Turkey proceeded with practical unanimity to recognise the election, and so, extra-canonical though it was, regularised it. We will not recapitulate the new Œcumenical Patriarch's career. He is now past his 75th year, but is still vigorous. During his long rule in the Diocese of Nicæa he showed himself a diligent pastor, and won the appreciation of all visitors to the City of the Creed by his reverent

and wise zeal in the restoration of the Church of the Koines, of which accounts have been given recently in our pages, in the *Church Times* and elsewhere, by one of our Editors. Except for Wolf's ponderous heavy treatise, his brochure on that famous shrine which to-day is represented by a heap of débris, gives the only scientific account of it, and makes delightful reading. During the War he did not take the German side. After the Armistice he refrained from that precipitate repudiation of Turkish rule which the declarations of the Entente led most of his brother Metropolitans to make. Though not a political Anglophil he is an intense friend of the Anglican Church, and shared the investigation into our ordinations which induced Professor Comnenos to advocate their acceptance. That theologian had been his pupil at Halki, and he himself pronounced the eulogy at his funeral, a summary of which was given in *The Christian East* in September, 1923. His goodwill to us is evidenced by his addressing an Eirenikon, viz., a letter in which an Orthodox Patriarch notifies his accession to his brother Patriarchs, to the Archbishop of Canterbury as well as to the heads of the particular Orthodox Churches. That his reign will be peaceful and that he may be privileged to guide the Œcumenical Patriarchate out of the dangers which threaten it will be the earnest prayer of us all.

The Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem are now all occupied by men who have passed three score years and ten. The Patriarchate of Russia is, of course, in widowhood. Of the two modern titular Patriarchs, the Patriarch Dmitri of Jugo-Slavia is an octogenarian. The Patriarch of Roumania is a relatively young man of about fifty.

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The Times of 5th August printed a letter from its Constantinople correspondent in appreciation of the person of Basil III., and followed it with a leader. To criticise our premier journal would be uncongenial, for it has taken a uniformly right and chivalrous position in regard to the Orthodox Church in general and to the Œcumenical Patriarchate in particular, the friends of which owe it a large debt. None the less we regret that its correspondent should have construed what he had heard about the project of an Œcumenical Council being convened by the Orthodox next year at Jerusalem into a decision on the part of Basil III. to convene one, and still more that the leader in question should have debated as to whether the Orthodox intention to invite the Anglican, the Swedish and other historic Churches to be represented thereat, might or might not mean the summoning them to take part in it as constituent members. In fact, though there has been much debate, no actual

step towards the convention of a Council of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches has been taken since the project was first mooted, viz., immediately after the Armistice in that Constantinople Encyclical of 1920 which did much to bring about last month's world conference on Life and Work in Stockholm. The tragic happenings in Turkey and in Russia, which have postponed the putting the project into effect in the past, continue to operate. That, for example, such a Council can be held without Bishops from Russia is hardly thinkable, and while the Karlowicz Synod may be doubted to possess the requisite authority to nominate representatives, those who in the Russian chaos would claim to represent the Russian Church would not be such as the rest of the Orthodox World could accept. Therefore, while there exist extremely grave and cogent internal reasons for the holding of a Pan-Orthodox Council and one may be held, there is no present prospect of the requisite conditions for the assembly of an Œcumenical Council. Again, there never has been any talk—much less has there been any mind among the Orthodox—to convene a Council which would be Œcumenical in the sense that Churches other than itself would participate in it on equal terms. As we have shown elsewhere, the Orthodox Church can recognise no Church outside itself as a constituent part of the one Visible Church. It has never dogmatised as to what may exist outside its limits, but its principles compel it to restrict its cognisance to its own Communion. For the Orthodox, therefore, their Church is the whole Church, the One and Only Ark of Salvation and, an Œcumenical Council being a General Council of the whole Orthodox Church, its members must be members of the Orthodox Church. That which the Locum Tenens Dorotheos had in mind in 1920, and which has been intended in the many references to his first statement as to Anglicans and others being invited to attend the proposed Council, was no more than that the Anglican and other Churches would be invited to send delegations after the manner of the delegation sent by the Œcumenical Patriarchate to the Lambeth Conference of 1920. The fruits of the sending that delegation were considerable, and since its sending much water has flowed down the Thames. A similar Anglican delegation to a Pan-Orthodox Council might result in an agreement which would be the preliminary to Inter-Communion. On the other hand, there are many urgent and pressing questions—such as the change of the Calendar and other reforms recommended at Constantinople in 1923, some of which have been adopted by certain autocephalous Churches but not by others—that press for solution. Accordingly, the need for a Pan-Orthodox Council is agreed by the whole Orthodox Church, if only because the present practical divergence between the autocephalous Churches are a serious breach of the Œcumenical principle that no change of any importance should be made by a particular

Church without the authority of such a Council or by General Consent. It is, therefore, very possible that the sense of this need may lead to a Council of the whole Orthodox Church being assembled even under present conditions, but no decision has been made and no step taken to that end.

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After leaving England on 20th July, the Patriarch of Alexandria spent three weeks in France at a watering place, and thence proceeded to Stockholm to take part in the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work as the guest of the Archbishop of Upsala and of the Church of Sweden. That Conference was concerned, of course, not with the confessional relations of its members, but with the practical attitude of Christians towards economic, industrial and similar matters, and did excellent work. Seeing that it was Universal in the sense that all Christian Confessions were invited to be represented at it, and that German and Scandinavian, as well as British and American Liberal Evangelicalism, responded readily to the invitation, its atmosphere was tinged with Protestantism of that Liberal Evangelical type which sees no obstacle to Inter-Communion in the lack of dogmatic agreement. But to say that the presence of the Patriarch and of the other Orthodox delegates compromised their Church is an absurd statement. Apart from other and more direct results of the Conference, was the establishment of an atmosphere of goodwill among the delegates who met at Stockholm, which must react favourably upon the world situation. That, with Protestantism represented fully, and historic Christianity represented less fully, some of the speakers and even of the leaders in the organisation of the Conference, should use phraseology which none of the latter could accept, was probably inevitable. At their worst, however, those utterances were simply personal and individual, and committed no one except their authors. We are glad that the Conference was held, and also that Anglican and Orthodox took part in it.

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It is often said that the Anglican Churches are in Union with the Swedish. An economic Inter-Communion was sanctioned, indeed, at Lambeth in 1920, and Anglican Bishops have taken part in the consecration of a Swedish Bishop, but the position of the Swedish Church in many matters needs elucidating and, perhaps, amending before formal and full Union between the two Churches can rightly become possible. On the other hand, those Anglo-Catholics who visited Stockholm were deeply impressed by the reverence, dignity and ritual accompaniments of the Swedish "High

Mass" at which they were present in the Engelbrekt Kyrk on 23rd August. Thus the Altar was very Western, the Swedish Ministers, were vested in copes and chasubles, there was a profusion of Lights, the Crucifix was in evidence, and so on. The Swedish Liturgy with its *Agnus Dei*, its *Se Gotts Guds Lamm*, etc., is certainly capable of favourable consideration. That Anglicans and Orthodox should encourage whatever tendency exists among the Swedes to find their way towards the Historic Faith is a plain duty.

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Besides the Patriarch Photios and Archbishop Germanos, among the Orthodox present at Stockholm were Archbishop Nicholas Balan of Sibiu, the second Prelate in the Rumanian Church, who has special jurisdiction over Transylvania, the Metropolitan Nektarios of Czernowicz, the Archimandrite Scriban, our old friend, and Professor Ispir of Bucharest, the Archimandrite Valerian and Professor Irene Georgevic, both of Serbia, and the Metropolitan Stepan of Sophia, the Bishop of Znepole and Professor Zankov representing Bulgaria. If the Orthodox contingent was less impressive both for number and for dignity than that which was present at the Abbey on 29th June, the part they played at Stockholm was none the less a remarkable rebutment of the slander that the Orthodox Church is indifferent to great moral issues.

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As we go to Press, we are shocked to receive news of the sudden death of the Patriarch Photios at Zurich on 5th September, whom one of our Editors had left only a week before in Stockholm, tired and anxious to get away, but apparently in good health. His Beatitude had accepted invitations from the Patriarchs Dmitri and Miron Christea to break his journey to Egypt from Sweden at Belgrad and Bucharest for the purpose of discussing some of the problems to which we have referred above. Of course, the travelling to Europe at all had been a serious undertaking for a man well past 70. His medical man, Dr. Karapoulos, who accompanied him, had been uneasy on account of his weak heart, even during the stay in London, and the fainting fit which caused the interruption of his speech at the dinner in the Holborn Restaurant had alarmed those present. Consequently his Anglican friends had done their best to persuade him not to accept the Stockholm invitation, and were surprised when he put the good which he could do in front of his inclination and responded to pressure from the Archbishop of Upsala. It would appear that the strain of so much further travelling and public speaking,

together with a cold snap of weather, proved too much for an enfeebled constitution. That his death should have occurred away from Alexandria and during the first visit which he had paid to Western Europe is indeed a sad coincidence. But history will record that he paid that visit in order to be present in the Abbey on 29th June, that he thus obtained a first-hand knowledge of the Anglican Church and, having done so, abandoned his prejudice against it and with wonderful freshness of mind not only became convinced of the possibility of the Reunion of the Orthodox Church with her, but had begun to work eagerly for that end. Indeed, to his twenty-five years, rule of the Alexandrian Patriarch he thus added, at the last, the great service to the whole of Christendom that he served as an ambassador of Christian Unity.

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The Supreme Catholicos of the Armenians has appointed the Vardapet Goussan to be Vardapet Episcop in Great Britain. This means that, though not in episcopal orders, he will exercise episcopal jurisdiction over the members of his nation in this island.

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As a token of his appreciation of the way in which the Rev. Father Timotheiev has represented him at Lambeth and towards the English Church, the Metropolitan Evlogie took the occasion of his celebrating the Liturgy at St. Philip's on Sunday, 12th July, to advance him to the dignity of the Protopresbyterate. We Anglicans feel this action to have been a delicate compliment to our Primate and to the Anglican Church. We record also with pleasure that the Metropolitan presented the Rev. W. R. Corbould with a Russian Protopresbyter's insignia.

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We congratulate the Archbishop of Thyateira on having received the rare honour of a D.D. *honoris causa* at Oxford on 16th June. The following speech of Mr. A. B. Poynton, who took the place of the Public Orator, will interest our readers:—

Honorary Degree of D.D.

"The Right Rev. GERMANOS, Metropolitan of Thyateira.

Nos qui profectum Sacrosanctae Matris Ecclesiae in formulis nostris commemoramus, eos praecipuo studio excipere solemus qui

Christianae Fidei sanctitatem non modo pietate sed eruditione et doctrina tuentur. Nunc ad vos is accedit quem diligentissimum et doctissimum Ecclesiae praeceptorum defensorem esse omnes qui norunt una voce confirmant. Nullam enim vitae suae partem non ita egit, ut modo docendo, modo scribendo, modo res administrando utilitatem suam commendaret. Magna est ei philosophiae peritia, magna Theologiae. Testatur Academia Lipsiensis in qua summos honores adeptus est, Adolphi Harnack iudicio probatus; testatur Novum Eboracum; testatur denique Halkiensis Insulae Collegium, in quo cum esset educatus postea eodem reversus alios in eisdem studiis instituit. Quo opere, utilitatis pleno illo quidem, etiam maius aliquid aggressus est, namque ad principatum Collegii electus Episcopus, ut fit, consecratus est, qui Seleucia provinciae Metropolitanus praesideret. Decimo deinceps anno ita Thyateira Seleuciam mutavit, ut occidentalis Europae partis Exarchi dignitatem obtineat, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi legatus a latere. Thyateirae quidem Ecclesiae lampas ad tempus exstincta est, sed aliquando daturus est ei Spiritus 'stellam matutinam.' Nos Christianae fidei ac disciplinae vindicem, Fidelium in urbe Constantini 'pressuram' ob nomen Christi habentium defensorem, pacis inter gentes et concordiae inter Ecclesias studiosissimum nostris ordinibus libentissime adscribimus. Praesento vobis reverendissimum Archiepiscopum Germanos, ut admittatur ad gradum doctoris in sancta Theologia honoris causa."

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Having attended the Stockholm Conference, Mar Grigor Antau, the cultured Syrian Orthodox, *i.e.*, Jacobite, Bishop of Jerusalem, came on to London, and was our guest for the greater part of September. The many Anglicans to whom he had shown kindness in the Holy City, and notably the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrims, gave him a warm welcome.

The Jacobites, who are, of course, the modern representatives of that part of the Syriac-speaking peoples who became "monophysite" in the fifth century, are often termed West Syrians to distinguish them from the East Syrians, *i.e.*, the representatives of that other part of the Syriac-speaking peoples, who, living in Persia, broke off from Byzantine Christianity in the same century, and are known equally erroneously as Assyrians or Nestorians. These latter have been treated very callously by the Entente, whose splendid smallest ally they were in the War. As is well known, the Turk aimed at exterminating them and, in consequence, after the Armistice the survivors did not dare to return to their homes in the hill country to the north of the Mosul vilayet. To that vilayet Angora laid vehement claim at Lausanne, but in spite of the French intrigue

which M. Franklin Bouillon had engineered, and which had brought about both the Smyrna holocaust and the renaissance of Soviet strength, was resisted firmly by Lord Curzon. After much wrangling it was settled in the infamous Lausanne Treaty that, if England and Turkey could not agree, the League of Nations should arbitrate as to whether the Mosul lands should go to Iraq or to the latter. The League accordingly appointed a Commission, which, after visiting the vilayet, has at length recommended that Great Britain should continue to be the mandatory power for Iraq and that, if she does, Mosul, and with it the Assyrian lands, should be freed from Turkish tyranny for ever. Mr. Amery, on behalf of Great Britain, having declared himself willing to the extension of the Iraq mandate, it might be thought that at last the long-drawn tragedy of the Assyrians was to cease. As we write, however, the Turk is giving notice that he will not accept the decision. If it be asked how he hopes to defy the civilised world, the answer is that Mustapha Kemal relies upon the same support which encouraged him to his *chef d'œuvre* at Smyrna. This the *Daily Mail* Rothermere Press, the sinister Turkophilism of which in 1922 was responsible for a sea of blood, is busy with rancous leaders, demanding that, whatever the League decides, the Mosul vilayet and its unhappy peoples should be handed over to the tender vengeance of Angora. If that cry be sustained, Kemal may reckon that he has enough friends in England to secure his impunity.

Meanwhile, we note with satisfaction that, at the wish of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the work of his Mission of Help to the Assyrians is to be reinforced by Fr. Panafil, a priest sent to Mesopotamia by the American Church.



+ Ο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Πατριάρχης.

HIS ALL HOLINESS, THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH, BASIL III.

See p. 213.

The Christian East

A. AND E.C.A. ANNIVERSARY.

IT is sixty-one years since J. M. Neale and the other stalwart visionaries who dreamed of Reunion stubbornly, when there was never "a rainbow in the sky," founded our mother society, the famous Eastern Church Association, and nineteen years since, thinking their parent a bit sleepy, the Revs. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, R. F. Borough (who is still one of our secretaries), Dr. Dearmer, and a few others of us, grumbled brightly in a tea shop after an E.C.A. meeting and with the Archimandrite Teknopoulos—R.I.P.—Zeus-like, gave birth to the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches' Union. Finally, it is nine years since, under the leadership of Mr. Athelstan Riley, the mother and daughter amalgamated and became the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association.

The annual reports of E.C.A. and A.E.-O.C.U. societies before and after 1916 contain abundant material for the historian, but neither in their record of work accomplished nor in the pregnancy of reasonable hope for the future, is any one of them equally rich with that which our present General Secretary is engaged in drafting for 1923-25.

The period with which he is dealing is noteworthy not only for events of first importance for Reunion, such as the Nicæan Commemoration of last June, the Stockholm Conference of August, or for many historical happenings in the Near East, such as the erection of the Rumanian Patriarchate, the death of the Confessor Patriarch Tikhon, and so on. It is marked also by great developments in A. and E.C.A.'s history—e.g., the two Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimages with their effect upon the ordinary Anglican, the acceptance of the office of Patrons of it by the Patriarchs Damianos and Photios and other Eastern hierarchs who had been cold towards it, and so on.

Among these pleasing *memorabilia* the 1925 anniversary has a significant place. Thus on Tuesday evening, Nov. 17th, we sang *Te Deum* in Southwark Cathedral, the Diocesan (Dr. Garbett) himself preaching to us a noteworthy sermon. On the Wednesday Dr. Goudge, Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, preached for us at All Saints', Margaret Street, the famous choir of which church sang the Eucharist in a

fashion which was exquisitely beautiful. In the evening of the same day, Earl Beauchamp, K.G., presided at an open meeting in King's College, London University, when the speakers were the Bishop of Winchester, Lady Surma d'Bait Mar Shimun, Regent of the Assyrian Nation, and Father Izvolsky, of Brussels, a former Ober-Procurator of the Russian Holy Synod. The season and the weather kept down the attendance, it is true, but, as Canon Douglas declared, the platform was "historic." The Chairman was a notable British "elder statesman"—a K.G., a former Governor of Australia, leader of the House of Lords. The Bishop of Winchester is the second in dignity of the suffragans of Canterbury, and is pre-eminently to-day our "Reunion Bishop." Who does not know Lady Surma? and Father Izvolsky's distinction as a statesman—he was ordained after the War—is likely to be matched as an ecclesiastic. Further, Sister Margaret, from whom, as successor to the work of the Grand Duchess Elizabeth, we printed an article in September, spoke to us. Add the fact that Mr. Riley was there as the link with the eighties and the driving force of the twenties, and Fathers Puller, Heazell, Sir Henry Lunn, and many another who has done or is doing fine work, and Canon Douglas' term will be seen to be fitting.

We reprint the *Church Times*' summary of the King's College speeches.

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER'S SPEECH.

The Bishop of Winchester made a speech characteristic of his wide breadth of vision in regard to reunion. "Any meeting," he said, "which is designed to promote the reunion of Christendom ought to command the attention and support of all earnest Christians. We shall only influence the great course of European politics when we can speak as a united Church. By our disunion we put a weapon into the hands of those who wish to put politics and morals into separate compartments. In these days people are quite disposed to look at these questions from a moral standpoint. The cause which brings us here is not only momentous but one which we desire to see commanding a much deeper general interest.

"Of all the avenues towards reunion there is none more hopeful than the avenue with which we are concerned this evening. There has been a certain amount of impatience at the slow response to the great Lambeth Appeal, but I do not think that it is reasonable to expect history to move quite so fast, and I venture also to think that the slowness is not a sign of weakness. It is quite true that the conversations with the leaders of the Nonconformist bodies in England have come to an end for the time being, but that is no indication of any set-back to the great movement of reunion in that direction. The leaders of that movement have gone as far along the road towards agreement as they can at present, and it is impossible for them to go any further until the main body behind them has

reached the same point. Therein lies one of the greatest tasks of the Christian leaders in England. As for reunion with the East, we meet in an atmosphere not of flimsy optimism but of solidly based encouragement, for I suppose that the movement has made more progress in the last two years than in the twenty years before them. That is due to the quiet, persistent work of this Association, and of men like Bishop Gore and Canon Douglas at home, and Bishop MacInnes and Bishop Gwynne in the East. The mere mention of the service in Westminster Abbey, in commemoration of Nicæa, is enough to make us realise the difference in outlook between to-day and even five years ago, and the recognition of our Orders shows what a long step we have made upon the long road towards mutual understanding."

The Bishop went on to refer to the eminence given to leaders of the Orthodox Churches in the great Conference at Stockholm. He continued: "I do not envy the task of a Patriarch or a Bishop in the Near East at the present time in dealing with people who, even if they know the elements of the Christian religion, have not learned to apply them. But our advance along this line of approach towards reunion is not calculated to delay but to help and to encourage our advance along other lines. Our advance towards Rome is not going to be hindered by our advance towards the Orthodox Churches, and the same applies to the Free Churches. We are seeking a closer co-operation with a Church that is essentially Catholic, and with which even stout Protestants can find points of contact. And the three roads will, not in our time but in the providence of God, one day converge. Anything that I can do to advance the progress of the Church along this extraordinarily interesting road will be done."

THE PRINCESS'S SPEECH.

Lady Surma d'Bait Mar Shimun, Regent of the Assyrians, delivered her speech in Syriac, which was interpreted by Fr. Heazell:—

"We do not forget," she said, "that the English Church, through its Archbishop, has long been a great friend to our Church in Kurdistan. This has been shown chiefly through the band of devoted priests sent out to our people during the last thirty years. The efforts of these priests and laymen have been greatly blessed by God, as is shown in the type of educated clergy they have raised up through the Assyrian deacons' schools and by the education given to the lay people of our nation through the village schools.

"But since 1915 two-thirds of our nation have been lost through war, disease, and famine. While every other nation has been allowed to find a place on the earth in which to live, and so rise above their poverty caused by war, our people have been kept in suspense since the Armistice, and are still refugees and wanderers on the face of the earth.

"We look to England to see that justice is done to our little nation. For a thousand years our nation has possessed villages, lands, and churches in Kurdistan. We were in the country long before the Turk; and in the years before the War there were no Turks settled in the country south of the disputed frontier line. The Turkish language was not spoken anywhere south of Van, except by a few Turkish officials who were sent as petty Governors. The Assyrians are a brave, noble and upright people, deeply attached to their Faith and their Church. To-day, they are being squeezed out of existence by the cruel hand of the Turk in the same way that he destroyed the Armenian nation.

"Only two months ago the Turkish troops invaded Christian villages in Goyan, driving out the people who lived there. This happened while the frontier line was being considered at the Geneva Conference. These people are now in great poverty, without food and clothing, and with no houses to dwell in.

"It is for these people that the Archbishop and Sir Henry Lunn have recently made an appeal; and I ask all here to see that that appeal for the refugees of last year from Tkhuma and Tyari, as well as for the present number, meets with a generous response.

"The presence of British administrative officers, guiding the young State of Iraq, has been a help everywhere. Order has been very largely restored, justice has been administered, and such things as sanitation and those matters which concern our health have been improved. To give one instance: water, the best of all blessings, has been brought in a plentiful supply to such cities as Mosul.

"In the work of keeping order, the Government has had the assistance of many of our people who have enrolled themselves in the Assyrian Levies. Every British officer I have ever met has told me what an excellent force the Assyrian Levies are, and how well they do their work under British officers. During the War thousands of our people fought side by side with Indian troops and helped to drive out the Turks. Is it for this that we are to be punished? Those men who were the allies of the British in the Great War expect to be treated with justice when the war is over. We are only asking for the same treatment that has been granted to every other nation. The name of England stands high in the East as a just and fair nation. If at this time England does not keep her word and carry out the mandate entrusted to her, she will sink in the eyes of the Eastern nations as one who no longer cares for the suffering and oppressed: then the Turk and other Moslem nations will think that England has neither the power nor the wish to fulfil her honourable obligations.

"I hope this meeting will help your Government in understanding how important a speedy settlement of this question is to the life of our nation. May God help England always to defend the right!"

THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

A SERMON BY THE LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK, PREACHED FOR A. AND E.C.A. IN SOUTHWARK CATHEDRAL, 17TH NOV., 1925.

"And the Apostles and the elders were gathered together to consider the matter."—Acts xv, 6.

SIXTEEN hundred years have passed since in the large and prosperous city of Nicæa some two hundred or more Bishops gathered together to consider a matter of vital import to the Christian Faith. A parish priest with the desire of making the doctrine of the Incarnation more easily understood by simple people had been teaching that as a son is born later in time than his father, so there had been a time when the Son of God was not, and though prior to and above all other created things He had been nevertheless created by the Father. The simplicity of the teaching rapidly made it popular. It spread rapidly. It was expressed in popular verses sung in the streets and in the market places. The Bishop of Alexandria attempted in vain to check the rising tide of a movement which he and many of his fellow Bishops saw might ultimately prove fatal to the Christian faith. Local synods failed to check the spread of this false teaching. There was danger lest this might rend the Church. To avert this the newly-converted Emperor Constantine summoned a General Council to declare what really was the faith of the Church.

The history of the Church shows how frequently from the people there have arisen doctrinal and devotional movements which have had to be curbed or checked by those in authority as hostile to truth. The popular mind is ever seeking for that which is both direct and simple, and often, therefore, has expressed itself in the demand for devotion or doctrine which is more simple than true. Such demands for change in the statement of doctrine or devotional innovations must be judged by the Catholic test, if they are to be defended as Catholic, of *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*. To submit Arianism to this test the first General Council was summoned. We cannot be too thankful that God the Holy Spirit guided His Church to deal with this problem in this manner. Other methods might have been adopted. The Emperor might have condemned the movement as illegal and have set himself to suppress it with the weapon of force, and a fatal precedent would have been made of the State defining the doctrine of the Church. Or individual Bishops might have endeavoured in their own diocese to deal each in his own way with it. But a Bishop, acting in isolation, or as one of a small group, might have been mistaken as to what was really the mind of the Church, and the result would have been chaos, for in one diocese or province Arianism

would have been accepted or tolerated, in others condemned and suppressed. Through a General Council it was possible to discover the mind of the Church. True, the Council which met was mainly Greek in its composition, only six Bishops came from the Latin-speaking world. But it was sufficiently representative to be able to declare authoritatively the Faith which the Church had received.

We thank God, therefore, in this our Commemoration for the fact that this Council was held. It pointed the way in which in the days to come disputes and controversies in the Church could be solved. It set the seal of the whole Church on the method of consultation and deliberation which long had been adopted locally. The prestige which the Council of Nicæa has had for sixteen hundred years, strengthens the hands of all those who are working for the restoration of Synodical Government. A Bishop is not given by his Consecration the gift of infallibility; through prejudice, ignorance or misunderstanding he may err in his decisions; his clergy may hesitate to obey some ruling he has given for fear it be not in accordance with the mind of the Church. But the Bishop speaks and directs with an almost overwhelming moral authority if he can show that his clergy in Synod agree with him in his decision, and that his rulings are in agreement with the decisions of the Bishops of the Province. Some have sometimes spoken as if the Church must wait in uncertainty on most disputed questions until another General Council is held. All that is essential to faith is found in the Scriptures, and in those early Councils whose decisions met with universal acceptance: for the claim of a General Council to authority is only justified by the subsequent acceptance of its conclusions by the whole Church.

In the East and in the Church of England we are convinced that God the Holy Spirit gives His guidance to the Bishop and priests of local or national Churches when in prayerful and solemn deliberation they meet together to discover His will on matters of faith, discipline and worship: though they have not the power to depart from or to contradict either the teaching of the Scripture or the decisions on matters of faith of those early general Councils which subsequently received universal recognition.

And next we thank God not only for the summoning of the Council but for its clear and uncompromising affirmation of the belief of the Church in Jesus as its Lord and God. Arius and his supporters presented their case in the name of logical simplicity. But simplicity and edification have sometimes proved to be dangerous rivals to the austerity and grandeur of the Christian Creed. If their doctrine had been accepted, the Church would have been committed either to the belief that there were two Gods or to the sanction of the worship of a created being. The difficulty of dealing with the situation was increased by the way in which the Arians were ready to give terms, definitions and interpretations different from that given by their

fellow Bishops and by the ordinary grammarian. To make a declaration and secretly to interpret it in a sense different to that which it holds to those who impose it, is a failing which unfortunately has not been confined to the Arians of the fourth century.

St. Athanasius vividly describes the difficulty of finding a definition which could not be explained away. "When the Bishops said that the Word must be described as the True Power and Image of the Father, in all things exact and like the Father, and as always, and as in Him and without division," the Arians were silent, "being put to shame by the arguments which were urged against them, but, instead, they were caught whispering to each other and winking with their eyes, that "like" and "always," and "power" and "in Him" were, as before, common to us and the Son, and that it was no difficulty to agree to these." The Council had to find some term which would state so definitely the eternal nature of the Son and His union with the Father that it would exclude all ambiguous interpretation, all dishonest quibbling. This was discovered in the word *homo-ousios*—of one substance. Modern thinkers sometimes criticise this term on philosophical grounds. No human language is capable of expressing adequately divine truth; its success must be relative; but the fact remains that sixteen centuries have failed to suggest any alternative term to express so fully and completely our belief in Jesus as God. Of one substance with the Father means, "The inmost being of the Father, His Very Self." Once for all it rules out as incompatible with the Christian Faith all attempts to explain the personality of Jesus as One who was the noblest of men, as One who by His goodness became God; it proclaims Him as "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things are made."

The Creed we use day by day is not identical with that drawn up by the Council: its present form comes through the Council of Constantinople from the Church of Jerusalem, but it enshrines the central teaching of Nicæa: it is rightly called the Nicene Creed, for the very words and the spirit of the great Council are found in its doctrine of Christ. The city of Nicæa of Roman days has long vanished, save for a few ruins; its last Christian survivors have of late been cruelly massacred; but its message of faith and life in Jesus who is both God and Man, has come down to us through the long centuries, and at each Eucharist Christendom both in the East and in the West still unites in making it its central Creed.

The teachings of the Creed have survived the changes of centuries. But this is not the case with all that was enacted at the Council. The Creed was not the only result of its deliberations, with all the weight and solemnity given to them by the first General Council there went forth twenty Canons. Many are ignorant even of the fact that this Council promulgated Canons. At least half of these Canons

are no longer observed. In this there is to be found a striking lesson of the importance of a due sense of proportion. The Creed deals with what is vital to the Christian Faith, and so it has survived revolutionary changes in thought and life.

The Canons dealt with questions of administration, discipline and worship, and they have lapsed with changed conditions. The substance of the ancient Creeds must never be changed; to surrender them would be to withdraw from Catholic faith. But Canons are on a different plane, they have no essential elements of permanence; unlike civil law, which must be repealed, they become void through desuetude, especially when a contrary custom has grown up. Some Canons may survive for centuries, but Canon law is no fixed and rigid code, it is fluid and elastic, it changes as the living Church adapts itself to and expresses its mind on the new circumstances of every century. But while many of the Nicene Canons have long been ignored or forgotten, the Council still lives in the Creed, for in it we have that on which our faith is built. Let us not to-day, in our anxiety to secure or to defend that which is only secondary in faith or practice, fail to give right emphasis to the central facts of the faith, which are rejected by, or unknown to, great multitudes of our contemporaries. Too often we dissipate our energies in the advocacy of pious opinions, while we take for granted that the foundations of the Christian Faith are accepted. Nothing to-day is further from the case. The greatest need of the Church to-day is for its life and teaching to convince mankind that Jesus Christ is not only a perfect and beautiful character, who has given to us by His example and teaching some vision of the character of God, but that in Him we see God, and that He claims not merely our reverence, but our adoration and love as our Lord and our Saviour.

Thanks be to God then for this great Council and its Creed. Our commemoration of it this year has taught us afresh how much we owe to the Eastern Churches and how much we have in common with them. Vivid in the minds of some of us here is the recollection of how in this Church only a few months ago patriarchs and revered representatives of the East joined with us in our worship. Year by year we are drawing nearer one to another. Prejudices and misunderstandings are gradually vanishing. Thank God for all that has been done, for all the progress towards Reunion that has been made. And with the quickening of this sense of fellowship in the faith there burns more brightly within our Church the white flame of sympathy for the Eastern Churches in the terrible suffering they have had to undergo. Their martyrs are not of the past but of the present. Our profound sympathy and earnest prayer go to the Russian Church, which has had of late its roll of martyrs inscribed with a multitude of fresh names. I see it has been stated that in the past two years 1,200 of its Bishops and priests have been murdered. Under Turkish

rule massacres of Christians during the last ten years have reached a height of horror unequalled before in the blood-stained history of that barbarian race. It is a hideous blot on Christendom, a terrible reminder of how division makes it impotent, that to-day there are Christian girls held as slaves and branded like cattle by their masters in Turkey, that Armenians are dying of cold and hunger, that Assyrian Christians in nakedness and want are still uncertain of their future safety. It is our bounden duty to make it clear beyond all dispute that as Christians we shall refuse to surrender again our fellow-Christians to their age-long persecutors, and as far as lies in our power we will send what help we can to save from starvation and exposure to the bitter cold those Assyrian Christians who have trusted to our honour, and have preserved their faith through centuries of cruel persecution and bitter tribulation.

EAST AND WEST.

A SERMON PREACHED BY CANON H. L. GOUDGE, D.D., REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, FOR THE A. AND E.C.A. IN ALL SAINTS', MARGARET STREET, W., ON WEDNESDAY, NOV. 18TH, 1925.

"And the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, saying, Considerest thou not what this people have spoken, saying, The two families which the Lord did choose, He hath cast them off? Thus do they despise my people, that they should be no more a nation before them. Thus saith the Lord: If my covenant of day and night stand not, if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth; then will I also cast away the seed of Jacob, and of David my servant, so that I will not take of his seed to be rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: for I will cause their captivity to return, and will have mercy on them."—Jer. xxxiii. 24-26

THERE are, brethren, two characteristics of the Hebrew prophets which are very remarkable. First they are profound believers in the abiding purpose of God. What God purposes, He purposes indeed; quite certainly His purpose will be fulfilled. But, secondly, this confidence of theirs never brings with it any illusions as to the facts of the present. They see the sins of the people of God just as they are; they see the judgments which have fallen, or have still to fall, just as they are. They are perfectly aware that, when the world "despises" the Church, and is sure that its end is near, the world has strong justification in almost all which the eye can see. Thus, when their faith triumphs, as it always does triumph, it is not because they do not see the facts; it is because they are sure of the divine purpose, and know that God cannot deny Himself. Death, and nothing but death, they may see all around them; death physical, death moral and intellectual, and death spiritual. Yes, but God can give life out of death. He "callethe the things that are not, as though they were"; and, when He calls, they come.

I.

Consider for a moment the circumstances under which the words of our text seem to have been spoken. The people of God, "the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," seemed to the outward eye utterly

doomed. To the overwhelming force of the world arrayed against them what resistance could they possibly make? In the first place, the Church was divided against itself. To the outward eye there was no such thing as one Church, or people of God. There were two distinct and separate kingdoms, that of North Israel, and that of South Israel, almost as often at war with one another as with the heathen, and at times willing even to accept heathen aid in their attacks one upon the other. Jeremiah might speak of the Church as one; that was a matter of faith. But the world spoke of "the two families"; that was the matter of fact. In the second place, even had the Church been united, it was only the power of God which could have saved it. The land of Israel was situated midway between the vast Empire of Assyria or of Babylon to the north and east, and that of Egypt to the south. Directly the great armies moved, Israel was sure to go down. Indeed, when Jeremiah wrote, in the north the blow had already fallen. North Israel had been overwhelmed by the Assyrians. Jeremiah, it is true, speaks of the house of Israel. But, strictly speaking, there was no longer a house of Israel. North Israel, once much the larger section of the people of God, had no longer a king or government of its own; its people, by methods which the East still knows only too well, had been slaughtered, or deported, or driven into exile; those that remained were but a handful living among a hostile population. Moreover, so far from the people of Southern Israel being able to help their brothers, there was every reason to fear that the house of Judah would soon be in the same case. Though Assyria had fallen, Babylon had taken its place; and Babylon, though a less brutal power than Assyria, was an even stronger one. Jeremiah had no illusions about the immediate future of his own Church and people; they too would go down. What says the world? Once it had felt that there was something strange and uncanny about the people of Jehovah; Jehovah was a very great God, and it might be wise to let His people alone. But the old dread has now passed away. "The two families," the world says, "which Jehovah did choose, He hath cast them off." The world despises God's people; it has ceased to account them a nation. But does Jeremiah despair? Certainly not. God has chosen this Church to fulfil His purpose, and therefore it must live to fulfil it. That is as certain as that day follows night, as certain as the laws of Nature themselves. "Thus saith the Lord: if my covenant of day and night stand not, if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth; then will I also cast away the seed of Jacob, and of David my servant, so that I will not take of his seed to be rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: for I will cause their captivity to return, and will have mercy on them."

II.

My brothers, at our festival to-day I need hardly apply the prophet's words. Surely they apply themselves. The Church Catholic has its life absolutely continuous with the life of God's people of old. If we wish to see how well grounded was the prophet's confidence in God's word, how true it was that He had not cast away the seed of Jacob, and of David His servant, one need only look at the Catholic Church to-day. It is built upon the faithful remnant of God's people Israel; its patriarchs and bishops fulfil Jeremiah's promise of an unbroken line of rulers: God has "caused our captivity to return," and has indeed had mercy upon us. For it is not Israel after the flesh, not the Jews, to whom the Old Testament promises belong, but Israel after the spirit; and Israel after the spirit, St. Paul teaches us, is nothing else than the Church Catholic.

But how do we stand to-day? Might we not have hoped that with such warnings before us as the Old Testament supplies, and with such an assurance as St. Paul gives us that the things that happened to God's people of old "happened unto them by way of example," and were written for our admonition—might we not have hoped, I say, that the Church would at least have avoided the more obvious roads to disaster; and, if it proved unfaithful, would at least have proved so in a different way? But what says history? What was the Great Schism but the Church reproducing in the division of East from West the old disaster of the division of North from South, God's people once more turning away from their conflict with the world to an internecine conflict with one another? What was that degradation of the Church's life both in East and West, which followed the influx of heathenism into the Church in the fourth century, but an almost exact parallel to that practical acceptance by Israel of the Canaanite religion and morality, against which the prophets of the Old Testament thunder without ceasing? Or, once more, what was that deplorable reliance, which we see both in East and West, not upon God, and obedience to His will, but upon wealth and position and the support of the kingdoms of the world, but that old reliance upon the kingdoms of the world which Isaiah and Jeremiah alike denounce? Schism within the Church, the acceptance of heathen standards of morals and religion, reliance upon the world—it is these things, after, as before the Lord's coming, to which our disasters have been due. If to-day the world has no sense that the Church in East and West is the sacred people of God, if it finds little or nothing "numinous" about us, if it speaks of us as "two families" for which God has no longer any use, we must not complain that some strange thing has happened to us. There has never been any power of the world ranged against any part of the Church of God, from which God would not have protected us. The trouble is that we have lost our

mutual love, our Christian standards and our trust in God ; and so we have not been protected. But, though all this be so, God has not cast off His people. His purpose for us stands sure. While day and night succeed one another, while the laws of nature stand firm, that purpose will never be laid aside, though it may lie dormant. God can give us life from the dead : He can cause our captivity to return, and have mercy upon us. Only, as Jeremiah says, we must acknowledge our iniquity, as we make our prayer for restoration. " We acknowledge, O Lord, our wickedness and the iniquity of our fathers : for we have sinned against Thee. Do not abhor us for thy name's sake ; do not dishonour the throne of Thy glory : remember, break not Thy covenant with us."

III.

My brothers of the Anglican and Eastern Churches' Association, how can we and Eastern Christians help one another? Too long there has flowed between us "the salt estranging sea"; in our reaching forth our hands one to another to-day, what hands shall they be? The hands of fellow-believers? Yes, certainly that. Jesus is God, "of one substance with the Father." But the hands, too, of fellow-penitents. We will remember—we will build upon our common faith. But we will remember, too, our common unfaithfulness, remember from whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the "first works"; and so tread hand in hand the way back to God. If we are brothers in Christ, why have we been separated all these centuries and yet been so little ashamed of our separation? Did not He, Who is "of one substance with the Father," say that we were to love one another as He had loved us? Why together have we called Him "Lord, Lord," and together not done the thing that He said? That is why we must be reunited—because He wills it, because He commands it, and not that we may present a "united front against Rome." No abiding union was ever based, or can ever be based, upon a common hatred; it can only rest upon a common love. If we desire union with the Christian East, and the Christian East desires it with us, it must be because we desire to be "perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgment" with all Christ-lovers throughout the world. Again, if we have a common faith, why have we set aside the standards of our Lord to follow the standards of the world? We may be very orthodox; but the moral standards of Eastern Christians in some ways shock Westerns profoundly, and the moral standards of Westerns in some ways shock Easterns profoundly. We must be united, that we may help one another to recover the Christian "Way";—united, not to drag one another down, but to lift one another up.

Once more, how about that reliance upon the powers of the world, in which both we and our brothers of the East, if I mistake not,



HIS BEATITUDE, EL TOURIAN,
Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem.

To face p. 205.

have so greatly sinned, and from which we have both so terribly suffered? What has the arm of flesh done for either of us? What is it ever likely to do?

Do not let us for a moment encourage our brothers in the East to suppose that intercommunion with us will mean their protection by the British Army and the British Fleet. It will mean nothing of the kind. Let us tell them the truth. Real Churchmen are but a small minority of the English people. They have never in the past shaped national policy, nor are they likely to do so in the future. The confusion of politics with religion, and especially of nationalism with religion, has been ruinous in the East as with ourselves. What we and our brothers of the East must alike recover is faithfulness to God and reliance upon Him. English Christians may help those of the East by their alms and by their prayers, but only God can cause their captivity to return. It is for this that we shall pray, at our Eucharist to-day, and as their fellow-penitents. As we think of the sufferings, known and unknown, of our brothers in the East, we do not rebel against the ways of God, nor do we think ourselves better than they. We remember our Lord's words—"Think ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they have suffered these things? I tell you, Nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all in like manner perish."

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AND SEMINARY OF ST. JAMES, JERUSALEM.

BY THE REV. H. HAROLD BUXTON.

FROM the Jaffa gate it is only a few minutes' walk to Mt. Sion—the same area, by tradition, as the ancient Sion, the city of David. On the north end of the mount, *i.e.*, the south-western area of the city, is the Armenian quarter, one of the four districts into which Jerusalem is divided. Here it is we find the Cathedral Church of St. James, the official residence of the Patriarch, the convent or monastery with its seminary attached, the Library and Museum and extensive gardens. Beyond these is the Convent of the Armenian Sisters, whose chapel, the Chapel of the Angels, marks the site of the palace of the High Priest Annas. According to the tradition of certain ancient fathers, a church was built here in honour of the Holy Angels who covered their faces when their God was struck by a servant of the High Priest. It has been commonly held that this insult was offered to our Lord in the house of Annas.

The house of Caiaphas is a little further down on the southern end of Mt. Sion outside the walls, where is also the ancient burial

place of the Armenian Patriarchs. And close to this latter is the Holy Cenacle, the scene of the Last Supper, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost.

From the fifth century the Armenians have retained their important position in the Holy Land, and have preserved right down through the ages their jealously guarded rights as guardians of certain of the Holy Places; notably at Calvary, at Bethlehem, at the Holy Sepulchre, and Gethsemane, where their privileges are shared with those of Greeks, Latins, and Copts.

Considering the general interests of the Armenians, it will readily be seen how important is their Patriarchate in Jerusalem to-day. In the first place the Supreme Patriarch or Catholicos at Etchmiadzin finds himself isolated from the rest of the world through the circumstances of Soviet rule, and although he is in no sense a prisoner of the Bolsheviks, yet it is impossible for him to function freely as the spiritual head and leader of his people, dispersed throughout many lands as they are to-day. Furthermore, the Patriarchate in Constantinople is more or less in abeyance, for the Turks have expelled almost all the Armenians from the country, and the well-known seminary of Armash, near Ismid (Nicomedia) lies in ruins. And Sis, another famous ecclesiastical centre, dating from the days of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia, has been utterly destroyed. The fact is that Jerusalem is the one historic centre of Armenian Christianity, which has survived both war and revolution, and is renewing its life and activity once again.

Happily for the Armenians an eminent scholar and divine is at the present time holding office in Jerusalem. Yechiche Tourian is an ex-Patriarch of Constantinople and is universally esteemed among Armenians. He is a man of firm but gentle character, and is known as a writer and thinker of distinction. He speaks both French and German, and keeps *au courant* with the thought and literature of the West. It is interesting to recall the circumstances of his election. The Patriarchate in Jerusalem had been vacant for more than 10 years when Monsignor Tourian came to be appointed in September, 1921. His election took place under the British mandate, and, in consequence, had to be confirmed by His Majesty in London. The consecration took place at Jerusalem in November, 1921, in the presence of the High Commissioner, the Governor of the city, and the heads of the various rites.

The Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem is in constant and most friendly intercourse with the Patriarch, and on the occasion of the recent Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage, Dr. Russell Wakefield, late Bishop of Birmingham, with a deputation of priests and laity, including the Dean of Winchester, Canon Douglas, Fr. Napier Whittingham, etc., paid a formal visit to His Beatitude, and presented him with an address, expressing the deep sympathy which all Anglicans feel with

the Armenians in their tragic losses and uprooting. We were all impressed with his quiet dignity and courage, and quite a number of our pilgrims came to realise for the first time the wonderful witness which has been shown for Christ and His kingdom by the Gregorian Church. We did not lack evidence of this either at Jerusalem or at Beyrout, or elsewhere, for at almost every stopping place we were confronted with those terrible refugee camps, speaking more loudly than any words could do of the suffering which has been endured.

No visitor to Jerusalem ought to miss at least one visit to the Armenian Church of St. James. It is beautifully kept, and by common consent the cleanest building in the city. It is under the special care of a Bishop Sacristan, Mesrop, who was consecrated at Etchmiadzin, unhindered by the Soviet Government, as recently as September, 1924. The Cathedral is built on the spot where by tradition St. James was beheaded in the year 44 A.D. by order of Herod Agrippa I., grandson to Herod the Great. According to the monk of St. Sabas (615 A.D.) the monastery was ravaged by the Persians, and the earlier church was destroyed. The present church was constructed about the middle of the 12th century.

A simple vestibule (not the original narthex) gives access to the church, whose interior is most dignified and beautiful. Its ground plan is a square. Four massive pillars support eight arches and a remarkable dome of great height and beauty. One of the first things to strike a visitor is the blue tiling. The walls and pillars are cased, up to a height of seven or eight feet, with rare tiling of blue faience. We have mentioned the remarkable blue tiling of this church. Tile-making was originally a Persian art, but when the Shah Abbas exiled the Armenians from Julfa to Asia Minor, they carried the art westwards, and became famous for the making of porcelain, glass, etc. The best work came to be associated with Kutahia, a small town near Angora, the ancient Kotéyum in Phrygia. Rich carpets from Asia Minor and Armenia lend additional warmth and colour to the general effect. The three altars and the woodwork above each are elaborately carved and gilded. In the choir the most conspicuous object is the ancient seat chair, inlaid with mother of pearl, which bears the name of "St. James' Throne." Not even the Patriarch himself may use this; but on St. James' Day he stands in front of it and gives his blessing, with one hand resting on its arm. The ostrich eggs which hang in graceful curves between the arches are a minor but beautiful form of decoration.

The little Chapel of the Martyrdom, built into the north wall of the Cathedral, is a lovely little shrine; pilgrims go in and kiss the floor where the saint rendered up his life.

On the north side of the church are two small chambers, respectively the Sacristy and the Treasury. This latter (the Gantz, as it is called in Armenian) is shown to only a very few privileged visitors,

two of us, Canon Douglas and the writer, were so fortunate as to view it with the Sacristan himself (Bishop Mesrop), and with Bishop Papken, formerly in U.S.A.

To anyone with an eye for colour the altar frontals were a perfect feast. Lovely greens and reds worked into gold, and the designs very free from stiffness, were a joy to behold. Most of them date from the period 1600 to 1750. The workmanship is extremely delicate and loving, each of the Mysteries being shown in very original designs in embroidery.

As to colours, I am told that at Etchmiadzin there is no fixed use. But at Jerusalem there is a more or less definite tradition, namely, red for Easter, Pentecost and Martyrs; white for Ascension and Christmas; green for Apostles; and blue for festivals of Mary; yellow for ordinary days.

We saw a gorgeous specimen of a Pallium (Yémporon or "Porourar" in Armenian) with embroidered representation of the Passion. The "Gonkuer" is the square case worn by Eastern prelates, signifying the shepherd's bag which hangs at his right side. It is worn by the two Catholicoses and by the Patriarch of Jerusalem only at the Great Entrance in the Liturgy; at Ordinations; and occasionally in processions at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

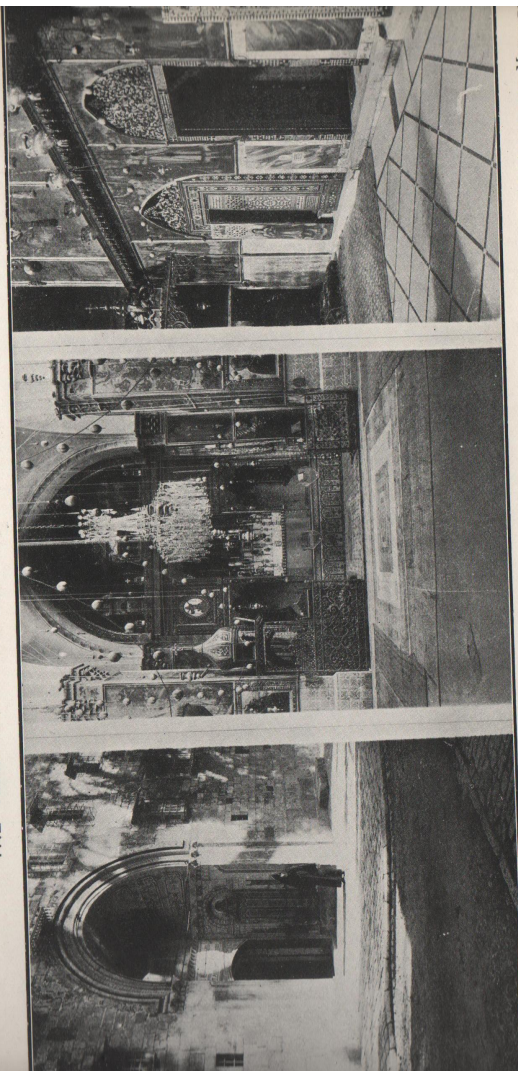
A very rich mitre (Tak), worth hundreds of pounds, with representations of each of the 12 Apostles (Arakyal) was brought out for our inspection. This mitre was said to have belonged to Grigor, Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem in the 16th century, and styled the "Chain-bearer." His convent being in debt and the people backward in giving, he adopted a novel method of obtaining alms. Bound in heavy chains like a prisoner, he proceeded to walk the streets, and refused to go home or to remove the chains until sufficient alms were collected!

A beautiful manille (Pazban), used by Johannes, Patriarch of Constantinople, was dated 1735. Morses and girdles, worked in enamel and precious stones, revealed the wealth of the Treasury as much as any other articles. The episcopal rings were exceptionally fine, as was to be expected—as likewise the episcopal crosses. A cross (Khatch) of green jade, inlaid with pure gold, was particularly fine. We were also shown a large piece of the True Cross, which is rarely exhibited to visitors.

The chalice is, of course, a good subject for special design and ornament. One of these, enamelled with pictures of the four Evangelists, called for our special admiration; also the crosier, given by King Hetum (13th century), consisting of a single piece of jade from 3 to 3½ feet long, with gold top.

In the Treasury itself there are three altars, dedicated respectively to SS. (Sourp) Minas, Sourp Haroutioun and to Sourp Sarkis, where are preserved the relics of many saints. In the Sacristy are also

THE ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL OF ST. JAMES, JERUSALEM.



ENTRANCE TO CHAPEL OF THE MARTYR OF ST. JAMES.

CHIEF ALTAR AND "ST. JAMES' THRONE."

MAIN GATE.

To face p.

three altars, to St. Stephen, St. Cyril and St. Gregory. The vestment chests are worth an hour in themselves . . . they contain 60 sets of vestments for the Patriarch alone.

The Library would require an article to itself to do it elementary justice. Here one can only state that it is housed in the Chapel of Theodorus. This chapel has a remarkable altar and carved screen. Being unused for worship, the chamber forms an appropriate repository for the more valuable MSS., particularly those of the ninth century. For ceremonial purposes at the altar, their church is very rich in gospel books and service books of all kinds. A MS. made at Sis in Cilicia for Queen Keranne, wife of Leo II. (Rupenian family), is dated 711 (Armenian era), *i.e.*, 1262 A.D. It is a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, written by the scribe Avetis and illustrated by the famous illuminator Thoros Roslyn. Thoros was undoubtedly the greatest illuminator of his time. "Influencé par l'art occidental, dans les miniatures où il montre un rare talent personnel, il révèle une richesse d'imagination, un sens de l'harmonie des couleurs, une finesse de dessin extraordinaire dans l'ornementation des frontispices et des images marginales, où l'on voit le tempérament ethnique fusionner l'esthétique orientale et celle de l'Occident en un ensemble harmonieux." (Tchobanian.)

No one acquainted with the facts is likely to doubt that there is a critical period ahead for the Armenian Church. The present leaders are qualified for their posts. There are strong men among them. But a large proportion of them are old, and have borne the stress of an unprecedented crisis. Where are the men to succeed them? For 10 years past it has been impossible to recruit or to train men for the ministry. The whole nation has passed through the fiery trial of war, famine, deportation, massacre and revolution. One in every four of the whole nation has perished, and of the various professions the clergy has suffered more severely than any other. It is, therefore, of prime importance to find, and for the Church to set to work without delay to secure young men of the right kind, with genuine vocations, and to begin their training at once. Patriarch Tourian being the man he is, was one of the first to see the need, and no sooner had he assumed the reins of office than he set to work to establish a school for clergy, at Jerusalem.

The present arrangements are as follows. Both a preparatory school and a seminary have been opened. In the school are 26 boys, chosen for the most part from the orphanages which are accessible to Jerusalem. This fact has its disadvantages in that these future priests have known little or nothing of a stable home or of family life. On the other hand, they are selected with great care from the best material available. They have entered upon a five years' course, which is intended to bring them up to a high school standard, more or less equivalent to Matriculation at an English

University. It is hoped that upon completion of the school course most of these boys will enter the seminary.

The seminary has been opened with four students, all of them in the first year of what is to be a three years' course. They average in age about 22 years.

The scheme of study has been drawn up on western lines, and embraces, of course, dogmatics, philosophy, ethics, Old and New Testaments, Liturgies, and the history of religions.

The staff is a strong one, and it is of special interest to us that an American priest co-operates with the Patriarch in this revival of theological training. Bishop Papken, who is an Armenian prelate well known in America, and who paid us a visit in London last year, is Superintendent of both school and seminary. Working with him is the Rev. Charles T. Bridgman, an exceedingly capable and devoted clergyman sent from New York by the American Episcopal Church about 18 months ago. Be it noted that this is only one instance of a remarkable development of American Church activity of recent years in the Near East. Our sister church is taking up work in many fields, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere . . . work which must result not only in closer fellowship between our respective sections of the Anglican Communion, but which must also establish more intimate ties between the American Church and the Churches of the East. In this connection it is impossible not to mention the name of Dr. Emhardt, for it is due to him more than to any other single individual that this development has come about.

Here then is our American brother, acting as one of the staff of Bishop MacInnes, and residing at St. George's Cathedral, devoting his best time and effort to the upbuilding of an effective ministry for the Armenian Church.

On the regular staff at the seminary is the Rev. Guregh Vartabed, familiarly known as Father Cyril, a good priest and a good friend, and a man of real learning. His home was in Calcutta, and he has been spared a life of horrors and of bitter memories, and for this reason and on account of his natural disposition he carries with him a certain quiet joy which is catching.

There is plenty of hardness about the life of the students, though there is room for improvement in their devotional training. The offices in the Cathedral begin at 4.30 a.m. and last for two hours. Six hours daily are devoted to lectures. At 3 p.m. the evening offices are commenced. All these offices are long, too long for real concentration. Moreover, they seem to be cold and uninspiring, and to us the absence of Communion and Liturgy and its restriction to Sunday is a loss for which there is no substitute.

We close this brief account with the earnest prayer for continued growth and blessing under God for the Armenian Church seminary at Jerusalem.

THE SAINT OF CORFU.

By E. KEPHALA.

ST. Spiridion was born at Trimythous, some time between the years 253-260, of a well-to-do family of shepherds, and received a good education; on reaching manhood he did not, however, forsake the calling of his fathers.

On reaching man's estate, Spiridion married; but his wife died, leaving him with one daughter, and, deciding to enter the ministry, he was ordained priest.

When the See of Trymithous became vacant, by popular acclamation Spiridion was elected Bishop, and fulfilled his duties in this capacity as a protector of the weak, a comforter of the distressed, and a guardian of the Christian Faith. Being humble-minded, he went on foot through his diocese. To those who remonstrated that what he did was a great fatigue, he replied smilingly, "For a man who used to lead flocks of sheep, these journeys on foot are but mere play."

So great a favour did this holy Bishop find in God's sight that, during a drought which scourged the island of Cyprus, his prayers of intercession were heeded by the Almighty, and the people were saved.

Spiridion, as Bishop of Trimythous, attended the first Œcumenical Council at Nicæa, in 325 A.D.

When the Emperor Constantine fell dangerously ill at Antioch he sent for Spiridion, and was healed by his prayers. Owing to this, and other manifestations of divine aid, Spiridion was credited as being a miracle-worker. And it is as such that he is described by Gelasius at the Council of Nicæa, in an account which Nicolas Bulgaris gives as follows: "In proof of the fact that God taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and that His kingdom is not in word but in power, this single-minded, holy old man silenced and subdued that great philosopher Areios, who conducted himself most excitedly and arrogantly in this peaceful assembly, and, hoping to prevail by his diabolical power of speech, insisted on disputing the truth concerning the Holy Trinity as proclaimed by the Bishops. Meanwhile the venerable Bishops, considering his simple-mindedness and want of learning, tried to dissuade Spiridion from interfering, lest he should incur the derision of the malicious enemies of the truth. But a brick which Spiridion held in his right hand was suddenly hurled to the ground, and lo! a stream of fire and water burst forth from it, thus demonstrating in a simple way the Trinity in Unity: the Father in the earth, the Son in the water, and the Holy Ghost in the fire."

There is an epigram by Barbesius, written in Latin :

" Spiridion laterem, dum dextra strinxit, ab ipso
En subito bellus exiit, ignis, aqua.
Sicque Patrem terra, unda Natum, Pneumaque flamma
Ostendit, trinum simplicitate Deum."

He is reported to have worked several other miracles during his later years, which he spent in Cyprus, where he died on December 12th, 350 A.D. The body was exhumed a century later, and placed in a sumptuous tomb in the church at Trimythous, dedicated to his memory. The exhumation took place, according to the ancient chronicle, as follows :—" A sweet-smelling exhalation proceeded from the tomb, which led to the body being exhumed and kept for two hundred years in the church, until the day when Cyprus fell into the hands of the Saracens, and the venerable remains were conveyed to Constantinople."

The connection between St. Spiridion and Corfu commences at the fall of Constantinople, 1453, when a Greek priest, living in that city, and possessed of wealth, was determined to save the relics of both St. Spiridion and St. Theodora.

Placing the two bodies in sacks of straw, on a mule's back, he managed to reach the parts of Epirus in Western Greece, which lie opposite to the island of Corfu. After remaining three years in the village of Paramythion, he finally reached Corfu, where he deposited the sacred remains of the saints in the church of St. Michael.

George Kalochaites bequeathed to his two sons, Philip and Luke, the charge of the sacred remains of St. Spiridion. Philip, who was a priest, eventually inherited, on the death of his brother Luke, the sole charge ; and he showed at first some inclination to send the remains to Venice, which he visited for that purpose in the year 1489. Eventually he abandoned the idea, at the request of the people of Corfu ; and on his death his daughter, who in 1525 married into the noble family of Bulgaris, in her turn became possessed of the saint's relics.

Since that day, this charge has been handed down from father to son, the eldest son of the Bulgaris family always becoming a priest in order to retain in the family the succession to this office of priest of the church of St. Spiridion.

The husband of Asimene Kalochaites, Stamatios Bulgaris, first built a church at San Rocco, to house the remains, which was dedicated to the saint. To this church the body was transferred from that of St. Michael.

An attack on Corfu by the Turks under Sultan Suleiman II. in 1537, caused the Bulgaris family to seek safety for the saint's remains, at a church in the fortress, that of the Holy Anargyroi. Whence, at the conclusion of the siege, and after the Turks had been successfully

repulsed, the saint's remains were transferred back to the church at San Rocco. By and by, this church at San Rocco was demolished, owing to the new fortifications erected by the Venetian Republic round the town. First the body was taken to the church of Saint Nicholas of the Strangers at Goritz, where it remained until 1545. Meanwhile the church of St. Spiridion in the town had been erected, so that in the same year, the sons of Asimene Kalochaites-Bulgaris, to whom the sacred remains had been bequeathed by their mother, deposited them in this church.

In this beautiful church, in a sumptuous tomb, there lie to this day the remains of the saint whose hand signed the articles of faith at Nicæa sixteen hundred years ago.

The church itself is situated among the narrow winding streets of the town of Corfu, and it has a wonderful Eikonostasion, with some wonderful old Eikons. The tomb itself is a mass of silver. Under the glass are visible the face and hands of the venerable saint.

Many people go there to do reverence, and offer up a prayer ; or light a wax taper before the shrine. Curiously enough, the Moham-medans of Albania, opposite Corfu, also bring their votive offerings. It is thought that they are the descendants of Christians converted under persecution. Processions take place in Corfu four times a year in remembrance of the delivery of the island from dire calamities averted by the intercession of the saint.

Chroniclers of the sixteenth century describe how the town of Corfu was suddenly attacked by the plague, which was raging in the other Ionian Islands. The inhabitants became desperate, until they thought of the wonder-working saint. Hurrying to the shrine, they prayed him to intercede with God Almighty on their behalf.

" Many of the victims," says Marmaras, " saw the saint appear to them in a dream, who promised them deliverance ; thereupon they were suddenly restored to health. While the disease prevailed, a small lamp was seen to hover at night over the tower of the church of St. Spiridion, and was constantly observed by the night sentinels of the fortress opposite. By degrees the number of cases so diminished that by Palm Sunday the disease had entirely disappeared. For this reason a procession was held on Palm Sunday, the body of the saint being reverently carried outside the church."

The people sent a petition to the Venetian authorities, dated June 24th, 1630, for an order that every year on Palm Sunday the body of the saint should be carried in solemn procession round the town. The Venetians concurred, and the procession started from the door of the bell-tower of the church of St. Spiridion. After passing through the principal streets, it reached the outer gates of the fortress, crossing the market-place, thence returning to the church, where the body remained exposed for three days.

Prior to this, there had been a procession of much older date, each

Easter Eve, in remembrance of the delivery by the saint of the island from famine. The legend says that, "On a day dedicated to the saint, which was also Easter Eve, the island being short of food, there appeared in the port ships laden with food. These ships, though destined for other ports, had been guided thither by St. Spiridion, who appeared in a dream to the captains. Thus guided, they proceeded to Corfu, and the inhabitants celebrated the Easter festival very joyfully, the saint having provided them with food."

A Byzantine chronicler describes "How the saint's body was exposed every year to the view of the faithful in the Queen City (Constantinople) and, while the multitude assembled, the divine service was celebrated most magnificently, the Patriarch himself officiating, and the Emperor attending."

There is a hymn also, composed by Emmanuel Chrysolaras of Constantinople (*temp.* John Palæologos II., 1419-1448), which is always sung at the festival of St. Spiridion on December 12th.

The third procession in honour of the saint is held on August 11th, in commemoration of the island being saved from the Turks by the saint. The decree of the Venetian Governor, Andreas Pisani, dated the 31st March, 1717, describes how the fortress of Corfu was besieged by the Turks, and how the protection of the saint over the island became apparent. "For the enemy struck their camp suddenly and hurried away, leaving their artillery, war materials and their baggage behind them. Through the intervention of the saint the island was saved. On August 11th a great procession, with a Litany, was ordered to take place, at which the clergy, the public representatives, the authorities of the town, and the whole of the city should be present."

It was also decreed that a salvo of guns should be fired, and a silver lamp be hung and kept alight in front of the tomb of the saint, for which the oil was to be provided out of public funds.

The following is the legendary narrative: "There being a war between the Venetians and the Turks, the bold General of the infidel Hagarites (Turks), after occupying the Peloponnesus, conceived the plan of subjugating Corfu also. Thus in the year of our Saviour 1716, on the 24th June, the infidel hordes suddenly appeared before the town, and besieged it by land and sea. From the beginning of the war they oppressed the town and the citizens with fire and sword, and after fifty days the barbarians resolved to concentrate their forces on Corfu. Then all the faithful besought the help of the saint, day and night, with tears and groanings; for, while the Corfiotes were awaiting wholesale destruction by the barbarians, at early dawn there appeared to the enemy our great father Spiridion with a mighty heavenly host, holding in his right hand a sword flashing lightning, and furiously pursuing them. So they fled,

through the invincible power of our Lord God, on the fervent intercession of the wonder-working of St. Spiridion."

The fourth procession in honour of the saint is held on the first Sunday of November.

As in previous cases, it was sanctioned by the Venetian Government by an order in Council bearing the date of 29th October, 1673.

"In the year of our Lord 1673, an infectious pestilence having ravaged farms, towns and villages . . . this miracle-working saint brought deliverance, effecting a sudden and entire recovery of all the afflicted. Most wonderful to relate, on July 13th, the anniversary of the miracle worked on blind Thomas, behold, there happened a second miracle. The pestilence ceased, as if in the twinkling of an eye."

During the days of the Venetian and French occupation the officials of the ministration took part in the procession and furnished an escort with a band. The British administration continued the custom by sending a military escort with a band. In the year 1837 the British representative, Lord Douglas, at the command of the Queen herself, informed the Greek Archbishop that in future this custom would cease. The people of Corfu were, not unnaturally perhaps, incensed at this order, which appeared to them in the light of a slight; also as a lack of respect towards their ecclesiastical ceremonies, which had been honoured by Venetians, French, Russians and English themselves until then.

Some of the more intolerant of the Greeks endeavoured to prevent the procession passing in front of the Palace, on the balcony of which stood bareheaded the High Commissioner with his suite. The opinion of the moderates prevailed, however, and the enraged officials, in order to revenge themselves, threw the candles they were carrying, taking aim at the High Commissioner himself.

The result of this decree, prohibiting the English band from accompanying the procession, proved in the end beneficial for Corfu. The Corfiotes founded the Philharmonic Society in 1838, which succeeded by the year 1840 in forming a band of its own, in order to accompany the procession of their Patron Saint. The band was a really good one, and made its first appearance in public at the procession of November 14th, 1841.

Henceforth, and to the end of the British occupation, in 1863, the local gendarmerie with its officers in full uniform accompanied the procession of the saint, the Greek Philharmonic Band marching at its head.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCHES AND ANGLICAN ORDERS.

By THE REV. C. B. MOSS.

THE question of Anglican Orders was not raised in Holland before the Vatican Council. No doubt the Church of Utrecht assumed that the Roman practice of re-ordaining converts from the Anglican churches was justified.

Ignatius von Döllinger, the leader of the opposition to the Vatican decrees, believed that Anglican Orders were valid. The Anglican Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Maryland were present at the first Old Catholic Congress in 1872. Many Anglican bishops and theologians, of whom the best-known was Dr. Siddon, attended the Conferences held at Bonn under the presidency of Dr. von Döllinger in 1874 and 1875, together with theologians of the Greek, Russian, and Rumanian Orthodox Churches. The discussions were on questions of doctrine, especially the "Filioque": the subject of Anglican Orders was not discussed.

In 1878 Bishop Herzog visited England at the invitation of the Bishop of Winchester. In 1879 Bishop Herzog confirmed some candidates at Paris for the Anglican Bishop of Edinburgh: and on August 10th, 1879, Bishops Reinkens and Herzog and the Bishop of Edinburgh communicated together at Berne. In 1880 Bishop Herzog visited America, and sat in the General Convention of the Anglican Church as an honorary member.

It appears that in 1883 the German and Swiss Old Catholic Churches offered the privilege of Communion to any Anglican who should ask for it.

On the other hand, in 1878, the Lambeth Conference expressed its desire to help the Old Catholics; in 1888 it offered the privilege of Communion to all Old Catholics in good standing, who should not have contracted marriages contrary to the laws of the Anglican Churches: and in 1897, 1908, and 1920 it renewed this offer. The Old Catholic Church of Holland, however, was still doubtful about the validity of Anglican Orders. A commission appointed about 1894 to enquire into the matter came to no conclusion. A new commission appointed after the War reported that Anglican Orders were undoubtedly valid: and this conclusion was formally accepted, first by the Old Catholic Bishops of Holland, and then by the whole body of Old Catholic Bishops assembled at Berne in 1925. The relations between the two Communions are thus described in a paper published by the Society of St. Willibrord about 1910: "Intercommunion between the Anglican and Old Catholic Churches as organised bodies is at present incomplete; but individual members of either communion are officially allowed by the authorities of both communions

to receive the Blessed Sacrament in each other's churches. The bishops or other ruling authorities on either side of course reserve to themselves the right of judging the fitness of any person to be admitted to communion. This statement applies as much to the Church of Holland as to the other Old Catholic bodies."

From the appended documents it will be apparent that, since the Old Catholics of Holland have now accepted Anglican Ordinations, a great advance to formal intercommunion has been made.

ANGLICAN DOCUMENTS.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF 1888.

"We see no reason why we should not admit their clergy and faithful laity to Holy Communion on the same conditions as our own Community, and we also acknowledge the readiness which they have shown to offer spiritual privileges to members of our own Church. We regret that differences in our marriage laws, which we believe to be of great importance, compel us to state that we are obliged to debar from Holy Communion any persons who may have contracted a marriage not sanctioned by the laws and customs of the Anglican Church. Nor could we, in justice to the Old Catholics, admit anyone who would be debarred from communion among themselves."

Lambeth Conference of 1888, Resolution 15.

(a) This Conference recognises with thankfulness the dignified and independent position of the Old Catholic Church of Holland, and looks to more frequent brotherly intercourse to remove many of the barriers which at present separate us.

(b) We regard it as a duty to promote friendly relations with the Old Catholic Community in Germany, and with the Christian Catholic Church in Switzerland, not only out of sympathy with them, but also in thankfulness to God, Who has strengthened them to suffer for the truth under great discouragements, difficulties, and temptations: and we offer them the privileges recommended by the Committee under the condition specified in its report.

(c) The sacrifices made by the Old Catholics in Austria deserve our sympathy, and we hope, when their organisation is sufficiently tried and complete, a more formal relation may be found possible.

(This resolution was renewed in 1897, 1908, and 1920).

OLD CATHOLIC DOCUMENTS.

1. *Letter of the Archbishop of Utrecht to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Reverendissimo Domino Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi salutem in Domino.

Felices nos habemus qui gratum Tibi nuntiare valemus. Ecclesia vetero-catholica Ultrajectina usque adhuc hæsitat de validitate

Ordinum Anglicanorum. De facto consecrationis Parkeri non dubitabat, sed de virtute ritualis Eduardi VI., anxia an illud rituale fidem catholicam satis redderet. Post longam inquisitionem seriamque deliberationem, clero nostro consulto, consilium cepimus, quod Tibi hisce litteris notum facimus.

Credimus ecclesiam Anglicanam regimen episcopale antiquæ ecclesiæ semper tenere voluisse atque rituale Eduardi VI. consecrationis formulam validam æstimandam esse. Ideo ex animo declaramus successionem apostolicam in ecclesia Anglicana non defecisse.

Magnam gratiam Tibi deprecans, salutat Te in Domino,

FRANCISCUS KENNINCK,

Archiepiscopus Ultrajectinus.

Datum Ultrajecti, die II. mensis Junii,

Anno Domini MDCCCXXV.

II. Resolution of the Tenth International Congress of Old Catholic Bishops, Berne, 1925, as regards relations with the Church of England.

(1) The Congress is glad to be able to state that friendly relations with the Church of England have been renewed. The question of the Apostolic Succession does not hinder a closer contact of both churches, as the Church of England did not wish to interrupt that succession. The ordinal of King Edward the Sixth can be accepted as a valid rite of consecration.

(2) The Congress requests the supreme ecclesiastical authorities of all Old Catholic Churches to pass a general resolution regarding the validity of the Anglican rite of ordination.

III. Statement of the Conference of Old Catholic Bishops regarding the Validity of Anglican Ordination.

The Conference of Old Catholic Bishops united in the Convention of Utrecht, assembled in their session of Sept. 2nd, 1925, at Berne, in taking notice of the acceptance of the Orders of the Church of England by the Church of Utrecht, fully stands to that decision, which corresponds to former declarations made by Old Catholic Bishops and savants of Germany and Switzerland, and gives expression to the fervent hope of a future more intimate and powerful contact with the Church of England and her daughter churches on a truly Catholic basis.

By order of the Secretary of the Conference,

(Signed) BISHOP ADOLF KURY, D.D.

Berne, Sept. 2nd, 1925.



PROCESSION FROM THE METROPOLIA, BUCHAREST, TO THE ROYAL PALACE, ON THE ENTHRONISATION OF THE PATRIARCH, MIRON CHRISTEA, NOVEMBER 1, 1924.

"Times" photo.

To face p. 219.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

OUR readers will be glad that our frontispiece this month is a portrait of the venerable Œcumenical Patriarch, Basil III., who was elected to the perilous vacant Throne of St. John Chrysostom on July 25th last. A scion of the eminent Constantinople family of Georgiades and born in Scutari in 1850, he was educated, first in his native city, and then in Greece. On gaining his Theological diploma at Athens in 1873, he was given the Chairs of Philosophy and Hebrew at Halki and held them fruitfully for seven years. In 1880 he began a series of studies in North Europe, spending several months in London, where he formed his first affection for England and the Anglican Church. Returning to Constantinople in 1884, he took charge of and reorganised the Patriarchal School of the Phanar, where Professor Comnenos, whose funeral oration he lived to pronounce, was his favourite pupil.

In 1887 he was consecrated Metropolitan of Anchialos and in 1889 began his membership of the Holy Synod, which had lasted just 30 years when he became Patriarch. In the same year, he went to Moscow for the Coronation of the Martyr Tsar Nicholas, to whom he was tenderly attached. In 1906 the Turks sacked Anchialos and refused to allow him to return. After a mission to Cyprus, and after ruling the diocese of Monastir, he became Metropolitan of Nicæa, 1910. Of his loving care of the City of the Creed, and of the tragic destruction of the ninth-century Church of the Koimesis, and of the extirpation of his people, we have written much recently.

A fine and distinguished *savant*, a wise and cautious statesman, he is undoubtedly the man for his difficult post, in which God guard and guide him!

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We are glad also to give a view of the Procession at the Enthronisation of His Beatitude Miron Christea on November 1st, as first occupant of the revived Patriarchate of Ungro-Vlachia, or All Rumania. Representatives of all the autocephalous Churches were present, and among them our old friends the Metropolitans Hermanos of Sardis, secretary of the Synod of Constantinople and Anthony of Kiev. The Procession is shown in the enclosure of the Metropolia, the ceremony taking place three-quarters of a mile away in the Royal Palace in the presence of the King, the chief officers of the State, etc. We hope soon to give our readers a portrait of the new Patriarch and a sketch of his career and personality.

The Russian Spiritual Academy in Paris may well be termed a Widow's Mite creation. Read the old stories of the stoic patience in bitter privation of the 18th-century French émigrés. Much the same may be written of thousands of Russian nobles and professional men in exile to-day. And yet, it is these very people, who in their proud penury have determined to keep alive the light of their lamp and have given and given every farthing of which they could stint themselves to set up this theological college. One of our editors, who has the privilege of being a member of the Academy's governing body, was there last month, and was surprised at the fine type of work being done. The Academy is housed in the pre-war German Schools, the upper story of the main building of which has been turned into a church, in which a daily Liturgy is celebrated, and the lower into dormitories, class and living rooms for the students. The Professors and Clergy, among whom are men of distinction, such as our recent visitors, Bishop Benjamin of Sebastopol, and Professor Serge Bulgakov, and as Professor Bergaiev, live in the German masters' house. The students are limited at present to 28, and have their dormitories, classrooms, etc., in the lower part of the school house under the church. Professors and students share a common kitchen, and everything is on the simplest basis. The purpose of the Academy is as much to give young Russians who are entering an ordinary secular life a liberal education in an Orthodox atmosphere as to train candidates for the priesthood, and it should be noted that three-fourths of the students now in the *Rue de Crimée* have not at present found vocation to the ministry. Anyone who reflects will see the inestimable value the Academy must have for the Russian nation in these days. Its purchase and equipment have been a labour of charity. Its inception was a brave venture of faith. To maintain it on the scale of to-day needs £2,000 per annum. *Funds in hand or promised are sufficient to carry it on only till February.* Could the Anglican Church better show its sympathy to the Russian Cause than by mothering this work? The Russian Clergy Relief Committee has opened a fund for it. If all the readers of the *Christian East* sent 5s. to the Hon. Sec., 8, Finsbury Square, E.C., as a New Year's gift, and promised the same for the next three Christmases, they would be reducing the Academy's financial year by one month.

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The full acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Old Catholics, past relations with whom are summed up in an article in our present issue, is a matter of satisfaction to us, not because our belief in their validity needs to be reinforced by anyone's recognition, but because intercommunion is impossible without the mutual acceptance of ministries. The Orders' question out of the way, Reunion becomes much easier.

The Greek Parliament, it will be remembered, accepted a revision of the Organic Law of the Church of the Kingdom of Greece in 1923, by which the government of the Church passed to its rightful canonical holder, the Great Synod. Rumour is very busy that the present dictatorship intends by order of the State to reverse this Enabling Act, and once more to make a small body of bishops, chosen by the State, the supreme central ecclesiastical authority. If this is done, General Pangalos will lose sympathy for his government outside Greece. It is strange that the modern Western European State should imitate the mediæval Divine Right monarchies in grasping at power through the Church. Thus in the recent Concordat between the Vatican and Lettonia, it is stipulated that before the Lettish R.C. Primate's appointment his name must be submitted to the Lettish Government. We shall soon have M. Kamenev demanding the same in regard to the Patriarch of Moscow, or Sgr. Mussolini in regard to the Pope. Kemal has seized already the privilege as to the Ecumenical Patriarch. Something may be said for the old rights of the Austrian Empire at a Conclave, our own King's power of nomination to English bishoprics, and so forth. After all, they were assumed by, and conceded to, the head of a State which identified itself with its Church. But in the secular state the President, etc., may be atheists, or what not. We trust there will be no backsliding in the East.

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Ignorance, which is the natural mother of alarm, was, we imagine, the cause of the *crise des nerfs* into which the Westminster Nicæan Commemoration has thrown the editor of the *Tablet*—a once dignified Roman Catholic London weekly—and has kept him up to the present. Fearing apparently that the occasion would witness an act of formal intercommunion of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, and greatly disliking their comity and amity, he began by an histrionic appeal to the two Patriarchs not to soil their Orthodoxy by the contamination of the Abbey. When they and their Russian fellow-delegates laughed politely at him, and said that they knew all about us poor Anglicans, our divisions and so on, he printed an article (July 4, 1925), entitled "Two Hoaxes," in which the impudent question was boldly posed: As a film producer had hoaxed an artillery colonel into bringing his men to be filmed as part of an ordinary story film, had the Anglicans hoaxed the Patriarchs into the Abbey? When the false coin, implicit in that query, had been nailed to the counter, he transmuted his busy solicitude from a zeal for their Orthodoxy into a zeal for their personal integrity. He had heard "rumours"—much though we have enquired, we have found no one else who has heard a whisper of them—that there was some "finance" at the back of the visit. In the "rumours" there was said to be more than the

defraying our Russian visitors' out-of-pocket travelling expenses—the payment of which the Editor expressed his gracious passing as proper. As to what that "something" was or might be, no wild horses could drag out of him, nor would he give it any tangible shape whatever. As he held, his business was to give Orthodox or Anglicans an opportunity to deny in generalisation the scandalous fruit to which he could only give publicity as an anonymous generalisation. To credit the fact that though one of our Editors, speaking with knowledge, tried in a two months' series of letters to convince him that there was—as there is—nothing but inventive and malevolent imagination in the rumours for the propagation of which he had lent his paper, you must read the *Tablet*. If we spend space on the business, it is, because once started, a lie gets repeated, and it is possible that, small though its circulation is, some of our readers may have heard of the *Tablet's* articles. It will be enough to have said what has been said above. There is no fire behind the *Tablet's* malodorous smoke. Its Editor has been charging about like a *deliganli*, like an insensate wild horse, who has invented a mare's nest. So much for the *Tablet*.

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To turn from the camp follower to the General. We rejoice to learn that Dom Louis Beauduin has begun to make Mont César, near Louvain, a centre at which Reunion may be discussed in the atmosphere of Malines without compromise of principle and in the spirit of charity. The account of the conference organised by him at the end of October makes fine reading. Cardinal Mercier himself opened it with an address full of courage and attraction. Among the speakers was the Uniate Metropolitan of Galicia, Archbishop Andrew Skeptycky, who delivered himself of these words (*Revue Catholique*, Brussels, Nov., 1925, p. 7, 8): "Nous ne nous proposons en aucun cas de faire une propagande, un prosélytisme, même le plus légitime et le plus modéré. Il nous semble même que, quand un de nos frères séparés vient à nous pour adhérer à la foi catholique, cela ne constitue pas un progrès dans notre sens. . . . Il est clair que la cause de l'Union retirera une immense utilité de ce que des orthodoxes soient convaincus du besoin de l'Union, de ce qu'ils s'approchent de nous, partagent de cette unité et puissent, à l'intérieur de l'orthodoxie persuader leurs frères." Approached in the method of that spirit, the whole problem of Reunion becomes different.

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A recent appeal by our Editor brought in over 100 offers to send the *Church Times* weekly to leading Eastern theologians. That is a fine bit of Reunion work. Will fifty volunteer likewise to send the *Christian East*?

The Rumanian Archbishop of Chishinau and Hotin—*i.e.*, of sarabia—sends us the following letter, which he wrote after reading of the Bolshevik bomb outrage in the Cathedral of Sophia. The force of his words is doubled by the fact that Bulgaria and Rumania were recently at war.

A CRY OF ALARM.

Having regard to what is going on in the whole world after the War, to the increase of crimes of every kind, to the loss of respect for the inviolability of human personality, to the desecration of all that is holy, honourable and noble, which has as its foundation the loss of faith not only in Christ but also in God, the Defender of all that is true, good and beautiful, we find, that it is necessary for all on the one hand who believe in God, and for all on the other who believe in Christ, God Incarnate, the Saviour of the world, to unite, forming one front of faith and love against infidelity and hatred towards human culture, art, and civilisation.

Being horrified at the degree of sacrilege, to which the individual, whoever he may be, without God in his heart has attained, that he should put a bomb (the invention of Hell) in the belfry of God's temple, through the destruction of which many innocent human souls have been killed in the holy place, which once was a place of protection and refuge even for criminals; we declare, that we ought not to lose time in forming this front. All who believe in Christ and God must unite, in order that we may not permit the *abomination of desolation* to establish itself in the holy place.

With this conviction we welcome the tendencies of the Anglican Church, and its appeal for the union of the Churches, and we consider it propitious, taking account of the fact that this tendency of the Russians is also the desire of some representatives of the Orthodox Church. If these desires have hitherto had an academic and platonic character, now that Hell so insolently exalts itself against God and His Christ, this should be changed into a definite resolve, that all we who believe in Christ, rising above confessional divergences, should close our ranks and unite for the defence of the deposit of faith in Christ against unbelief in God, of love against hate, of salvation for the soul through faith against murder of the soul through unbelief, and destruction of the spiritual life culture and civilisation.

So may God help us!

GURIE, Archbishop of Bessarabia.

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At St. Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road, on Sunday, Nov. 22nd, after the Liturgy, the following letter to Mr. Athelstan Riley was read

in the presence of the congregation by Mr. Sabline, President of the Russian Church Committee :—

“ Rescript of the Episcopal Synod of the Russian Church outside of Russia.

To the President of the Committee for the reception of the dignitaries of the Greek Orthodox Church in England—**ATHELSTAN RILEY, M.A.**

Having been informed by the President of the Episcopal Council and the Holy Synod of the Russian Church outside of Russia, the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev and Galicia, about the hearty reception of the dignitaries of the Russian Church during their sojourn in England at the celebration of the 1,600th anniversary of the First Ecumenical Council in Nicæa, the Holy Synod of the Russian Church outside of Russia expresses to you, Mr. Riley, as President of the Reception Committee, and to the members of the same : Canon Dr. J. A. Douglas, G. Napier Whittingham, Rev. Fynes-Clinton, Rev. R. M. French, Rev. E. M. Bickersteth, Rev. Harold Buxton, Rev. Robert Corbould, Dean of Winchester, and Mr. F. J. Hanbury, deep gratitude for the kindness and hospitality towards the hierarchs of the Russian Church and those who accompanied them, and for all care and attention to them.

May God bless your endeavour towards the reunion of the Anglican and Greek Churches.

This rescript duly signed and sealed issued at Sremski Karlovci, Serbia, 11/24th October, 1925. No. 3304.

President of the Episcopal Synod of the Russian Church outside of Russia,

METROPOLITAN ANTHONY.

Head of the Synod's Office :

(Seal.)

(Sgd.) **E. MAKHAROLIDZE.**

Mr. Athelstan Riley replied as follows :—

“ Monsieur Sabline, Reverend Fathers, Brothers and Sisters, in asking you to forward to the Metropolitan Anthony and the Russian Episcopal Synod my thanks and those of my colleagues for the kind letter which has just been read, will you allow me to address to you a few words? Anyone looking out on Europe to-day must be conscious that the only hope for the world lies in the Christian religion, and the Archbishops and Bishops of England and the Hierarchy of the Orthodox Church are agreed that for that purpose there must be a drawing together of all Christians ; the full force of Christianity can only be exerted in Christian unity. When it became known that the Eastern pre-

lates accepted the invitation of the English Bishops to the Nicene Commemoration, in order to make their visit as pleasant and profitable as possible, we issued an invitation to the chief clergy and laity of the Churches of England and Wales to join a Committee of hospitality. To the 700 invitations sent out only three unsympathetic replies were received—a most remarkable testimony to the warmth of Anglican feeling—and over 400 persons joined my Committee. The Christian religion is, as I have said, our only hope, and you Russians gathered together, Sunday by Sunday, in St. Philip's, know this to be true. If by the grace of God I have one good disinterested deed to the account of my life I feel that it is this : that I have been enabled to help in putting this Church at the disposal of the Russian congregation in London, and I pray Him that at the Day of Judgment this one good deed may be put against my many sins.

There is something else I want to say to you dispersed and afflicted Russians, and I will say it by reminding you of a story from the Old Testament. I do not know whether it is familiar to you : it is very familiar to us Anglicans, for it is read in the course of our Sunday lessons. The prophet Elisha was shut up with a little faithful band in the town of Dothan ; all around him lay the armies of the Syrians. ‘ Master,’ said one of his companions, ‘ what shall we do ? ’ And Elisha answered : ‘ Fear not, for they that be with us are more than they which be against us.’ And the Prophet prayed : ‘ Open Thou his eyes, O Lord, that he may see.’ And the Lord opened his eyes and he saw, and all the mountains round the town were full of chariots and horses of fire. And I say to you to-day in your exile and troubles, when your hearts are sad for your great country, be not afraid ; ‘ they that be with you are more than they which be against you.’ You have the blessed Mother of God ; you have God's Saints and Angels ; they have not forgotten you, and they are sufficient for you. And when you look round this church, and see the icons of the holy ones, and the little lamps twinkling in front of them, think of the chariots and horses of fire ; be not afraid ; you are in the hands of God ; the Lord of Hosts is His Name.”

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As is well known, the Russians and, except Constantinople, the ancient Patriarchates keep to the Old Calendar and wait for an Ecumenical Council to authorise that devised in 1923, which the Balkan Churches have adopted. Thus the Greeks kept Christmas on our December 25th, and the Russians on our January 7th. But all Orthodox will keep Easter on the same day—viz., May 2nd.

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Owing to unforeseen circumstances, this issue has been unfortunately delayed, and, although dated January, it is the concluding part for the year 1925, and there will be the four issues for 1926 as usual.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

I. THE ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS ON ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS.

Τὸ Ζήτημα περὶ τοῦ Κύρους τῶν Ἀγγλικανῶν Χειροτονιῶν.

By Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Archbishop of Athens. Athens, 1925.

We Anglicans have no doubt as to the validity of our Orders, the famous Bull of Leo XIII. notwithstanding. Of the very few priests of any distinction who have passed on to Rome, some, such as Basil Maturin, are said to have maintained—for the Bull was not an *ex cathedra* pronouncement—their belief in their priesthood and to have submitted to reordination only because demanded of them by the new authority to which they had submitted.

However that may be, the attitude assumed towards our Orders in 1895 by the Vatican has proved assuredly the greatest obstacle for the majority of those among us—and there are some—who, finding scriptural and historic warranty for regarding the Papacy as the providential centre of Unity, might have been drawn otherwise to seek filial Reunion with the Centre at the sacrifice of union with the brethren of their baptism.

That it should be so is not wholly without compensation to one who like myself puts his hopes for Reunion on the drawing together of the sundered parts of the Flock of Christ, and not on the process of individual conversion.

But there again, the Bull, *Apostolicae Curæ*, falls like a shadow on the labours even of the Conversants of Malines. How can corporate Anglican Reunion with Rome be possible, if it is to imply the admission of the invalidity of our Orders? Again, the documents published this autumn, reporting the position as to Home Reunion, *i.e.*, as to the Intercommunion of the Anglican Mother Church with those daughter Free Churches which have broken away from her, demonstrate that there is no problem more critical or more thorny than that of the *status* of the Ministries of the Churches which are to unite. That it could be otherwise is impossible. The impatient man in the street may say that when the Anglican suggests that the Free Churchman should submit to an economical form of ordination or the Free Churchman replies that he cannot do so, the postulate is characterised by arrogance or the demur by pride. Human nature is human nature, but in like circumstances the most selfless and the meekest of the canonised could neither have asked nor answered otherwise.

The objective of Reunion is intercommunion, a common mystic Church, and the Ministry is the cardinal of such life.

How can an Anglican to whom the Word and Sacraments are "necessary for Salvation," and who believes that they can be

ministered validly only by a Ministry ordained by Bishops, those successors of the Apostles whom and whom alone he believes Christ consecrated for their tradition, accept lightly as valid a ministry which bears neither the "external marks," the laying on of hands, etc., nor the "internal marks," the purpose of the priesthood, of that succession?

And how can a Free Churchman who has learnt the Power of Christ unto Salvation and has had mystic experience of the Grace of the Saviour in his own Communion, bring himself easily to appear to repudiate the Ministry by which he has found new life and by which he lives?

To say Peace where there is no peace is treachery. Every thinking man must realise that the deadlock is caused by the antithesis of essential principles.

Of course, the problem cannot be insoluble; for God prepares miracles. In His own time and in His own way Christ will justify the law of our hope by the law of His own Prayer; *that they all may be One!*

In the better atmosphere, men of larger heart—and they are to be found in Rome, Malines and Paris—no less than in London, Athens, or Karlowicz—see glimpses sometimes of the rightful road which the Divine Law is making ready, whereby to bring us to the Goal of Unity. But if *we* consider the ground as it is to-day, *we* cannot fail to see that there exists to Reunion no impediment more real or more solid than the Orders question.

Let the critic, therefore, employ a little fairness and a little common sense. The reason why we Anglicans or others concern ourselves or themselves with the Orders question is not that we or they are eager to secure the recognition of our Ministries for controversial purposes or because we or they are doubtful about them in our inner minds. Effective weapons are not to be drawn from that armoury, and the trouble is not that we Anglicans or the Free Churchmen have such doubts but that we and they have so great a confidence as to the validity of our ministries that we cannot consent to compromise it.

The cause of our solicitude is that without the mutual *acceptance* of their Ministries—or without the repudiation of its Ministry, by one of them, *i.e.*, of its past corporate mystic life—no two communions can enter into intercommunion, *i.e.*, can unite.

That is axiomatic, and the horns of the dilemma hold us at present in the case of Anglican Reunion with the Papacy or with the Evangelical Protestant Churches.

We Anglicans have no doubt whatever as to the Consecration of Parker or as to the Church of England having retained the Apostolic Succession, both in intention and in fact, in every requisite, external and internal. The Vatican, however, has declared that we have

lost it. If the Malines Conversations eventuated in full agreement on every other point, that deadlock would remain to be resolved.

Mutatis mutandis it is the same with the Anglican and the Free Churchman. Admittedly we are not a *bloc*, and to assert a quasi-categoric negative is temerarious. But granted that there is an Anglican minority—or, though few would claim the possibility, if you will, that there may be an Anglican majority—which is ready to accept as valid the Free Church Ministries, the Anglo-Catholic and the historic central school of Anglicanism hold solidly to episcopal ordination and a decision of the Anglican Episcopate to accept those ministries would at most be sectional, and would be taken at the risk of disruption. Conversely, no one who studies the mind and temper of the Free Churches can dispute that an agreement on their part to receive episcopal ordination as an authorisation to minister in the united Church would be repudiated by their stalwarts as an impossible compromise.

Schism cannot be repaired by schism.

General Reunion must be surveyed as a whole, and neither in one corner of the field nor from one angle. If with courage and trust, still *festina lente*. Time is an instrument of Him Who restores.

Happily in our special sphere the Orders' difficulty not only presents itself relatively as easy of removal, but is in process of being removed. All the world knows that the Œcumenical Patriarchate notified the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1922 that after full investigation his Synod had decided to accept Anglican Ordination as valid, and that he was notifying the other Autocephalous Churches of that decision with a view to their identifying themselves with it. In the past three years the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Church of Cyprus have followed his invitation and the Archbishop of Sinai as head of an autonomous Church has acceded to it. Moreover, many individual Orthodox theologians of great weight, such as the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, have declared themselves satisfied that our ordinations possess the marks of validity which would justify the Orthodox accepting Anglican priests in their Orders.

But the question is not finally settled.

It cannot be until the whole Orthodox Church, *i.e.*, all the autocephalous churches individually, or a council of them all, endorse the action of Constantinople.

That is well.

In view of the present state of the Near East, *e.g.*, of the chaos in Russia and of the Turkish persecution, as well as of the gravity of the issue, we could not wish that there should be haste or that the adversary should find colour for saying that things had been rushed or action taken on account of alien considerations.

If, and when, the matter is settled, it will be all the better that ample time for reflection and renewed investigation has been taken

and that the acceptance be unanimous, matured and without reservation.

That in all probability it must be so, will be evident from a perusal of the relevant monograph quite recently published, in which Archbishop Chrysostom of Athens surveys the history of the attitude of the Orthodox to Anglican Ordinations and precises their present position in regard to them.

Of itself that monograph is a scholarly, admirable production, worthy of the reputation earned by its author, when Principal of the Rhizariion, of being one of the ablest and most acute, if cautious, of modern Greek theological writers, and no less worthy of his cool, far-seeing statesmanship.

That the Primate of the Church of Greece should be at pains to produce such a work emphasises the importance of his subject, while, needless to say, his personal weight, and the great office which he holds, make his presentment of it authoritative.

As of necessity, and with considerable detail, the first section of his work summarises the Roman challenge of last century to the validity of Anglican Orders and the answers of our apologists.

The Archbishop does not say so explicitly, but it is manifest that on the principles of Orthodox theology he pronounces the attack to have failed.

An English reader may be pardoned expressing surprise at the large number of topical books from Gasparri's *De sacra ordinatione* to Gore's *Body of Christ* which he has used in his investigation, and of the mastery he has of their contents.

In the second section he starts with the statement (p. 24) that from century sixteen to century nineteen, no Orthodox questioned Anglican Orders, and gives several quotations showing that the Orthodox in writing to Anglicans took for granted the validity of their episcopate. During century eighteen, there was little relation between the Church of England and the Orthodox, and when, after William Palmer's celebrated visit to Russia in the forties, communication became more frequent, the Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow, though he confessed that he had made no independent study of Anglican Orders, was inclined to regard them with suspicion, born of the hostility of Latin writers. The attitude of the Greek Patriarchates reflected the same new reserve.

The fact was that at that period the Orthodox were hardly more than aware of the existence of the Anglican Church, credited the description of it as a Protestant sect and had to learn its characteristics before they could reverse that prejudice.

It was thus that in the sixties the Greek theologian Damalas expressed the judgment that without the repeal of the 39 articles the validity of our Orders could not be considered, and that Mr. Hatherly was reordained in 1870 and sent as a priest to Wolver-

hampton, (as a pronouncement of the Ecumenical Patriarchate laid it down) not to proselytise, but to minister to the Orthodox in that vicinity (p. 26). Mr. Hatherly and other proselytes such as the German Overbeck, who, in spite of the prohibition of Constantinople, set to work to found an "Orthodox Church of England," were eager in declaring the invalidity of our Orders, and there are still among us a few of their English proselytes who carry on their tradition. The knowledge of the attitude of their predecessors, however, in the 17th and early 18th centuries, and their natural caution, restrained the Orthodox authorities from expressing an opinion until they had fuller knowledge.

The remaining 40 pages of the monograph recount the successive stages of the investigation which, if not fully, is now approximately complete—the hesitation of Maltsev and other friends of Overbeck, the Bonn Conferences in the seventies, the favourable views of the Russians Sokolov (1897) and Bulgakov (1906), the opinion expressed by Androutsos (1906) that if it could be shown that a consistent current of Anglicanism regarded its priesthood as analogous to the Orthodox, Anglican ordinations could be accepted, the E.C.U.'s Declaration of Faith—a very notable document—answering his questions (1922), Professor Comnenos' brochure vindicating our Ordinal, Episcopal Succession and Sacramental Teaching (1922), and finally its fruit, the decision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to accept our Ordinations (1922).

If I do not review in detail the Archbishop's exposé of the Orthodox criteria of the question, it is because his monograph is to appear shortly in English.

In conclusion his Grace summarises the position reached thus (pp. 71-73): "The canonicity of the consecration of Parker has never been doubted seriously in the Orthodox Church, and up to the sixth decade of the 19th century Orthodox hierarchs held ecclesiastical relations with Anglican hierarchs, without any doubt as to the canonicity of their episcopate. . . .

"The doubts which have been aroused are due to the 39 articles and to the general nature of the teaching of the Anglican Church as to the Priesthood and Sacraments. The friendly relations subsisting from the beginning between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches and the movement in the Anglican Church towards the recovery of the Doctrine of the Early Church, owing to which the 39 articles are no longer regarded as the basis of teaching or are interpreted in an Orthodox fashion, supplemented by official documents and the opinions of hierarchs and theologians of this Church, have resulted in removing those doubts. In consequence, with but few exceptions, those Orthodox theologians who, after the issue of the Papal Bull of condemnation, have investigated the matter, have admitted that the acceptance of the validity of Anglican Ordinations is possible by

economy and in terms, and the last of them arrived at the conclusion that their recognition should be unrestricted and without terms."

Finally, after referring to the recent recognition of our Orders by the Old Catholics, he writes, "They agree that the Apostolic Succession has been preserved in the Anglican Church. With that judgment some of the Orthodox Autokephalous Churches concur. It remains for the whole Orthodox Church to solve decisively this often-debated question."

JOHN A. DOUGLAS.

II. THE ASSYRIANS, THEIR NEIGHBOURS, AND THEIR COUNTRY.

Mosul and Its Minorities. By H. C. Luke. Martin Hopkinson and Co

THIS is a book which we can heartily recommend to anyone desirous of knowing the facts about a position that is important just now, and in which the honour of Great Britain and the question of the future usefulness of the League of Nations are both very nearly concerned. This is the more needful at a time when the baser Press of this country seems to be more concerned with putting forward *ex parte* statements than with any thought of either the truth of the matter or the honour of the country.

The book gives an account which is at once brief and clear, and also sympathetic and reliable, of most of the various types in that land, where the confusion of Babel has never ceased to this day, and has indeed extended itself from the languages to the very scripts, which one had not hitherto regarded as included in the original confusion of tongues.

The writer does full justice to the martyr spirit of the land—a spirit by no means confined to the Christian elements—which has led so many thousands of its sons to give their lives for often the strangest of faiths, and which has led folk to die with equal devotion, for the names of Christ, of Ali, of Satan.

The best sections of the book are those in which the writer deals with the Nestorians or Assyrians, and it is most refreshing to find an official who can think of those tormented people, not merely as the administrative problem that they undoubtedly are, but as the modern representatives of the most romantic episodes in the whole history of the Church. Mr. Luke's account is almost the first that the reviewer has come across in English, which gives, for instance, any idea of the career of those two strange figures, Barsoma and Mark, the Chinamen from Peking who rose to the rank of Patriarch and Bishop in the Church of the East. Truth, as so often, quite outdoes fiction when we read of how the Great Khan of the Mongols sent these Christian Chinese as his ambassadors to the Christian Kings of

the West in his effort to get them as allies in his wars against the Soldans of Egypt. The pictures of the Chinaman Barsoma as honoured guest of the Papacy—which received him as Orthodox—or as giving the Eucharist to "Irid Alangitar," in "Kaskonia," otherwise Edward I., "roi d'Angleterre" in "Gascony," show how completely the idea of any schism had dropped out of the mediæval mind. Edward's declaration to his Chinese guest that it was his hope to go once more on a Crusade in his old age, was never to find fulfilment, but was quite honourably meant.

While doing full justice to the splendid war record of the Assyrians, Mr. Luke hardly mentions the existing contingent of Assyrians in British service, though they admittedly form the most reliable force at the disposal of King Feisul, and one that those responsible for the safety of British officers are glad to have at command. "I cannot allow you to go there unless you have an escort of Assyrians with you," has been said ere now by senior men to daring young "A.P.O.s." Kurds and Arabs may fail, but Assyrians at least will not come back without their Sahib.

Mr. Luke's account of the Yezidis is good and reliable as far as it goes, though slighter. His picture of "Malik Taus," the "peacock" symbol of the Devil, that is of supreme sanctity (though it much more nearly resembles a duck) is of interest. Those curious to see at least one of these "Sanjaks" can find one in the British Museum, though the bird there shown is of Indian work, and is most likely a substitute for one of the original seven, given to make up for a theft, and stolen in its turn.

We fear that, when the Yezidis told Mr. Luke that Sheikh Adi, their shrine, was never plundered by Kurds, as "they fear Malik Taus too much," they were saying what they wished to be true, rather than the fact. Sheikh Adi would be even more beautiful and interesting than it is, had plunderers never entered it. One statement made by Mr. Luke comes with a shock of quite personal grief to the reviewer. He refers to the statue of "Melek Nimrud" (otherwise Shalmaneser V.) at Nimrud, as standing still uncovered from the waist up, appealing mutely for kindly burial to protect him from Arab urchins. The writer in his time was so moved by the appeal that Mr. Luke has felt, that he made representations to the British garrison on Mosul, and he certainly understood from the British Colonel in command that he had sent down a fatigue party to Nimrud expressly to put Shalmaneser decently underground, as the government would not put him in the place of honour he merits. This was in 1922, but it seems that the King stands unprotected still—a scandal that could be easily abated.

It only remains to commend the work of Mr. Luke to all readers interested in the land, and to say that all students should be grateful to him, both for his work, and for the good, if summary, bibliography

that he has inserted in the book. Mr. Luke is a worthy inheritor of the fine tradition of sympathy with those under his charge, and of interest in the by-paths of his work, which is one of the secrets of the success of British administrators in the East.

W. A. WIGRAM.

III. THE UNIATS.

The Uniats and their Rites. Stephen Gaselee, M.A., F.S.A., C.B.E.; the Alcuin Club.

STRICTLY speaking an Uniat is a member of a Church, or, as in fact has been nearly always the case, of a schism from a Church, which has entered into an Unia with Rome, whereby on its part the Papal claims are accepted, and on Rome's part, the right to keep all its characteristics not inconsistent with those claims was conceded. That accurate and historical definition, however, does not include the Italo-Greeks who are generally described as Uniats. Mr. Gaselee supplies a practical need, therefore, in classifying as Uniats every "Christian in Communion with Rome who is following some Eastern rite" (p. 6). Of such Uniats, varying from the few thousands whom propaganda has detached from the Coptic Church to the tens of thousands won from the Russian, there are Churches corresponding to every Eastern Church, Orthodox, Monophysite, or Nestorian. A posthumous incomplete work by the late Dr. A. Fortescue is the only book in English dealing with these Churches and the bibliography of the subject in other languages is very scanty. We must, therefore, be the more grateful for this masterly and lucid paper on the subject. Since a truly supra-national Church must give scope for nationalism, Mr. Gaselee's deductions from the wisdom of these modern Popes who have interposed to prevent the assimilation of the older Uniats—most Uniats are quite modern—to Latin rites and customs are pregnant with suggestion for Reunion. The book contains some admirable and unique portraits of Syrian Melchite clergy in vestments, and for this no less than for its valuable letter-press will be of great value to the student.

THE ALEXANDRIAN ELECTION.

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

THE visit of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and of Jerusalem to London for the Nicæan Commemoration in Westminster Abbey was so outstanding an event last summer and the attention attracted by the personality of the Patriarch Photios was so lively that the readers of the *Christian East* cannot but be interested in the election to the Throne of Alexandria which has been necessitated by his lamented death.

Though it contains an Arab-speaking element, the Orthodox laity in Egypt is, of course, almost preponderatingly Greek, and the fact that for ecclesiastical purposes geographical boundaries do not exist among the autocephalous Greek Churches (*i.e.*, of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Cyprus and, last but not least, the Kingdom of Greece) makes the election a matter of active concern to all Greeks, wherever they are, in America as in Europe and Asia. Moreover, it has been as natural and usual for centuries that a vacancy in one Greek Church should be filled by the election of a Bishop from another Greek Church, as it is that a vacant diocese in our Province of Canterbury should be filled by the translation of a Bishop from the Province of York. Thus the Patriarch Photios himself, when elected to the Chair of St. Mark, was a Bishop of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem; and the ex-Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios, who is a candidate, was ordained in the Antiochian Patriarchate, was called to a Bishopric of Cyprus after being Secretary of the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, was translated from Kitium to Athens in 1917 and elected to Constantinople in 1921.

When it is remembered that the Patriarch of Alexandria is in dignity the second Hierarch in the Orthodox Church and that (*e.g.*, it is frequent in Russian and other non-Greek as well as in Hellenic text books of Ecclesiastical Polity to describe the Church as cohering in the five Patriarchs), as such his moral authority throughout the Orthodox World is very great, it will be understood that, although Russians, Rumanians, Serbs and Bulgars, as also the Arabophones of the Antioch Patriarchate would defeat themselves by actively interesting themselves therein, the present election attracts their attention greatly, and that, in affecting the whole Orthodox Church, its result will have repercussions upon their individual national Church life.

In another, but in a very real fashion the personality and outlook of the new Alexandrian Patriarch is obviously not a matter of indifference to those of us Anglicans who are engaged in developing friendship between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches.

The observation that of all things the Greek race loves an election, might be bracketed as alternative to St. Paul's comment upon the Athenians. It was so before Themistocles; and it is still the case to-day. In no country in the world are the people so devoted to newspapers nor are the newspapers so contentiously political. One of the drawbacks of the democratic system is that everything which can be turned into an election is so turned; and the Greeks are fathers and mothers of democracy. That is why we sometimes quite wrongly get the impression that Greek Church life is just a phase of Greek political life. In fact, the political characteristic is merely skin-deep; nor is it altogether unknown in our England that political considerations should be intruded into things ecclesi-

astic. But the result of the Greek passion for democracy is that, though by no means the dominating qualification, the political sympathies of the eligibles have a play in ecclesiastical elections. Nor is it unreasonable, perhaps, that they should; for where there is an election, the effectual influence of the person elected must be operative in the direction of his predilection, and in the Near East it was only yesterday that the Turkish *millet* system, of which the skeleton remains in the organization of the Greeks of Egypt as a civic community, identified Greek ecclesiastical polity with Greek secular polity and made the Patriarch or Bishop the local symbolic head of the Orthodox *rayah* within the area of his jurisdiction. Habits of thought are hard to change and, however remote from politics the attitude of individual Hierarchs, it cannot be surprising that the Greeks have not yet arrived at that virtuous keeping politics out of the Church to which we imagine we have attained, nor that an office such as the Patriarchate of Alexandria is not yet wholly divested of political significance in the minds of the electorate.

If an English Bishop had to be chosen by the suffrages of the parishes in his diocese, a strong Socialist would be opposed by some and supported by others, *mutatis mutandis*, for his politics.

In the past decade the Greek nation has been convulsed by internecine strife as sharp as that which produced party divisions among us English after the Great Revolution. First Venezelists and Constantinists, and then their successors, Royalists and Republicans, have fought each other incessantly, sometimes with pistol and gun, and sometimes with democratic political weapons. It was impossible that that struggle should not have its reaction in the Alexandrian election or that the political views of the owner of each name put forward should not be diligently canvassed. It is noteworthy—and happily—however, that, though two or more of the candidates have played a part on one or other political side, they have other and very strong qualifications for the high office which is to be filled. Thus, though it has weight, the political issue at Alexandria is far from supreme.

On the other hand, just as among us Anglicans there are acute religious controversies, so the whole Orthodox World is divided by controversies which, if incipient, are none the less very real, and in a measure analogous to our own. As yet, it is true, these controversies have not assumed openly the form of doctrinal controversies, though long before the War a fundamental difference of outlook between certain schools of thought pointed to the probability of acute conflict between sections resembling our Conservatists and Modernists. That that conflict has not broken out is due probably no less to the wonderful sense of unity which possesses the Orthodox than to the tragedies through which the Near East is passing. But the material for doctrinal parties is there. If moral discipline among the Orthodox

is too strong to permit the kind of vagaries in regard to doctrine and worship with which we are familiar in the West, there is another field in which there was necessarily even before the War a difference of opinion, and in which various events have divided the whole Orthodox Church into opposing parties—that is the practical field of custom and canonical observances which bear upon everyday life. That difference was deepened after the Armistice. Thus a change of the Kalendar was advocated by many of the intelligentsia in order to bring the Balkans into line with that of Western Europe and to decrease the number of weekdays in the year upon which work is forbidden. The second marriage of the clergy was pressed for, especially in Serbia, where the cruelty of invasion has widowed many priests. Leave to cut their hair and to wear dress of the type worn by Western clergy when away from ministerial duty was desired in many Orthodox centres. And so on.

The discussion of all these reforms was generally admitted *per se* to be reasonable, and their mooted did not create party spirit. On the other hand, many conservatives saw no reason for innovation or were opposed to it altogether, and were suspicious that a change in the *lex vivendi* would be the beginning of a change in the *lex credendi*. Further, others, who did not share their dislike or suspicion, held that the alteration of ancient tradition required mature consideration and that all such reforms should be postponed until the convention of an Ecumenical Council.

In 1923, however, a "Pan-Orthodox Conference" assembled at Constantinople at the invitation of the Patriarch Meletios IV., and passed resolutions recommending the autocephalous Churches to adopt a new Kalendar—not the Gregorian as is often said, but one devised on more accurate scientific data, though to the man in the street indistinguishable from it—the authorisation of the second marriage of the clergy, the annulling of monastic vows taken before the age of 25, and other changes.

Some of these reforms were adopted, *e.g.*, the change of the Calendar, by some of the autocephalous Churches, *e.g.*, by the Churches of the Kingdom of Greece, of Serbia, of Rumania, etc. Other Churches, such as the Russian—both the Patriarch Tikhon and the Karlowicz Synod not doing so—and the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, declared that the Constantinople Conference was not representative of the whole Orthodox Church, and that until Ecumenical, *i.e.*, general, consent in favour of its recommendations prevails among the particular autocephalous Churches, no single Church can adopt any one of them, especially such as annul the canons of an Ecumenical Council or a custom dating from the first nine centuries.

The situation therefore contained all the material necessary for a schism. Happily the truly supra-national solidarity of the Orthodox

has obviated one. Nevertheless, the controversy which has arisen has been of the nature of a *paroxysmos*, upon the rights and wrongs of which, since I am not an Orthodox, I am not equipped to form a judgment and, since I am an Anglican, I have neither mind nor warranty to express an opinion. If I write of it here at all, it is because, in an election such as that in progress at Alexandria, it is inevitable that it should form an issue of far greater moment even than the political questions of the day.

It will be germane to this article, however, to point out that of the two parties into which this controversy has split the Orthodox, the Patriarch Meletios, who abdicated the Ecumenical Throne in 1923 and is now living at Kephissia, near Athens, at once became the symbol of the one and the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, with the late Patriarch of Alexandria, the open leaders of the other.

The lamented death of the Patriarch Photios occurred in September last, and after the suitable period of mourning the Locum-Tenens, Theophanes, Metropolitan of Tripoli, together with the other four Bishops of the Patriarchate as Synodals—there is no permanent Synod of the Patriarchate, as there is of that of Constantinople—proceeded to prepare for the filling of the "widowed" Throne. For the election of a Patriarch of Constantinople there exists an elaborate law which, alas! cannot be put into effect, thanks to the handiwork of the Kemalist hordes. A very adequate description of its working was given in the *Christian East*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 64 *et seq.* By it, as by canon law, the election should have taken place within 40 days of the vacancy. That, however, was plainly inconvenient, if not impossible. Further, there was, and indeed has been for some centuries, no precise and prescribed method of election to the Throne of Alexandria. Many canonists were, therefore, of opinion that it lay in the power of the Locum-Tenens with his co-Synodals to adopt any method within the purview of the canons of the Orthodox Church, which they might decide to be most expedient. They proceeded, accordingly, with the co-operation of the Communities of Cairo and Alexandria—*i.e.*, of the representatives of the Orthodox parishes in those cities and their environs—to prepare the customary list of three eligibles from whom the final selection might be made. As I am informed, their voting had produced the *Katalogos* of Germanos, Archbishop of Thyatira, Meletios Metaxakis, ex-Ecumenical Patriarch, and Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond—the order showing the voting—when pressure from the Egyptian Government and from the other Orthodox Communities of Egypt caused them to desist, and to agree to follow the precedents of the election of the Patriarch Photios twenty-six years ago. The essential feature of that method was that a preliminary list of eligibles was prepared by a large Electoral Assembly consisting of all the clergy of the jurisdiction and of between 200 and 300 lay delegates representing the Orthodox communities

of the Patriarchate and certain professional classes—the latter category being electors in all such elections under the Turkish régime owing to the fact that in the Ottoman system the Patriarch was the head of the Orthodox *millet* in its civil as well as in its spiritual affairs.

Of those eligibles, as viceroy of the Sultan, of whose dominions until the Great War Egypt theoretically had been a part since the opening of the sixteenth century, the Khedive of Egypt exercised the right of striking out any name he chose, just as once at a Papal conclave the Emperor of Austria and other Roman Catholic sovereigns exercised the right of objecting to cardinals as ineligible for the Papal Throne.

The list so prepared was voted upon by the Assembly, Photios, then Bishop of Nazareth, being the final choice.

Accordingly, with the concurrence of his co-Synodals,¹ the Locum-Tenens issued an Encyclical, which is published in the Patriarchal official bi-weekly, *Pantanos*, for November 14th, convening an electoral Assembly to consist of all the clergy of the Patriarchal jurisdiction not only in Egypt but in Abyssinia, Libya, etc., and some 200 lay delegates from the several Communities of the jurisdiction and from the various professional and trade guilds.

The final session of the Assembly for the final election is fixed for February 3rd (January 20th, O.S.), after which the names on the *Katalogos* will be submitted to the Egyptian Government. On its return with or without deletion the election will be made, all members, of whatever category, having equal votes.

Meanwhile a preliminary *Katalogos* has been prepared with Nikolaos, Metropolitan of Nubia, Germanos, Archbishop of Thyatira, the Patriarch Meletios, and Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond, in the first list, and in the second, the ex-Ecumenical Patriarch Constantine, the Locum-Tenens (Theophanes, Metropolitan of Tripoli) and the Metropolitan of Leontopolis.

Inasmuch as five of these seven candidates are among the twenty most noticeable ecclesiastical personalities in the Greek world, and only three of them have connection with Egypt, and inasmuch as two of them have played a conspicuous public part in recent controversies, the complexity of the election will be apparent.

The Metropolitan of Nubia is a relatively young man, on the sunny side of fifty, a fine scholar and prolific writer, courtly and charming, with a very wide purview, modern in thought, but distinctly conservative as a theologian. In Egypt he has been a dominating personality for several years and, while the reverse of countenancing anything subversive of Orthodox Faith and Practice, is the leader of the younger and more progressive Greeks of Egypt. He has represented the

¹ The Patriarchate of Alexandria has no permanent Synod. There are seven dioceses of the jurisdiction, the Metropolitans of three of which—Tripoli, Nubia and Leontopolis—are candidates in the present election. The other four dioceses are Ptolemais, Pelusium, Memphis and Axome, the last two being now vacant.

Patriarchate on most of the Committees for the World Conference of Faith and Order and of Life and Work, and on similar bodies. The favourable impression which he made on all who came in contact with him in London last summer when he accompanied the Patriarch Photios to London for the Nicæan Commemoration was profound.

Of the Archbishop of Thyatira or of the Patriarch Meletios there can be little need to write here.

When the former was sent to London in 1922 by the latter as Apokrisarios of the Ecumenical Throne to the Archbishop of Canterbury and as Greek Exarch of Western Europe, he was well known as a distinguished scholar and head of the Theological College of Halki. Since then he has become a familiar and always welcomed personality in our English life. Oxford has given him an honorary D.D. On the Continent he has made no less mark wherever he has gone. Thus he was one of the Presidents of the recent Life and Work Conference at Stockholm. It is to the fact that he has been a most successful ambassador of Greek Orthodoxy no less than to the fact that no one can place him in regard to the controversies to which I have referred, that I attribute his nomination without his knowledge or work, as one upon whom all parties of every kind could agree.

As to the Patriarch Meletios, there are few men for whom I have a greater admiration and, if I may say so, affection. Of splendid vision, energetic, decisive, lovable, he has done great things and will yet do great things. Like most great men who hold high positions in times when action is needful, he possesses the quality of inspiring intense loyalty and enthusiasm—and almost irreconcilable antipathy. The part he played as Venizelos' friend in Athens during the tragic years of Greek indecision during the War 1917–8, and his short but crowded and vigorous Patriarchate at Constantinople, 1921–3, has left him, perhaps, the most loved and hated, as well as the best known, of all Orthodox hierarchs. In London we know him well, and value him for himself.

Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond, again, is a man whom one has only to know to appreciate, and on each of his visits to London has won golden esteem from all with whom he came in contact—as a scholar, a statesman, and an enthusiast for the Kingdom of God. In outlook he is the diametrical contrast of the Patriarch Meletios, to whose election to the Ecumenical Throne he led the opposition, coming to London, indeed, after its completion, to protest against it to the Government of Great Britain as the Occupying Power on the ground that it was uncanonical.

Very many Greeks of Egypt are Royalists, and his candidature is unquestionably strong because of his Royalism.

The ex-Ecumenical Patriarch Constantine, whose courageous stand against the Kemalists and expulsion by them in January, 1924, won him the admiring sympathy of us all, belongs to no party, political or ecclesiastical. The Athens Government is reported to

favour his candidature; and his past services no less than his personality give him strong claims upon the vacant office.

I was privileged to see much of Theophanes, Metropolitan of Tripoli, twenty years ago, and renewed my acquaintance with him last May. Though his reputation is local to Egypt, his long services, tact, and high character, indicate that he would make an altogether wise, good and acceptable Patriarch. Like the Metropolitan of Leontopolis, with whom alone of the seven candidates I have no personal acquaintance, but of whom all men speak well, he has strong support, just because he is a Bishop of the Patriarchate and has earned general appreciation and goodwill.

If I were Orthodox and were called upon to give the casting vote in this election, doubtless I should have views upon its varying issues and should find no difficulty in deciding for which of the candidates to give it. But among the men, as men, themselves, I should find it hard to decide; for each of them is a worthy and adequate candidate for the Patriarchal Chair, high dignity though it be. Or if I were an Anglican resident in Egypt, with a first-hand knowledge of local requirements, I might be a partisan of one or the other among them.

But writing as an Anglican whose first thought and business it is to work to prepare the *terrain* for the Reunion of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches, I am bound to rejoice that each and all of the seven candidates are devoted and enthusiastic friends of the Anglican Church.

If by espousing openly the cause of any one of them I could ensure its success, I would not do so, not only because, since I am Anglican and not Orthodox, my action would be a preposterous intrusion into the domestic affairs of the Orthodox Church, but because for the cause of Reunion, whichever of them may be declared Patriarch of Alexandria, all will be well. If I did not think that it would be so, or whatever my private predilection, as decided by my private sympathy in regard to the controversial issues at stake, I should still hold that, even if I could decide the election by declaring publicly my private mind, I could do no greater disservice to our movement than to intervene in an election of this nature.

That Providence is working for the end which we have at heart is, I hold, plain from the list of the present candidates for the Throne of St. Mark.

There is one thing, however, about which we may well be anxious. It is reported that the Egyptian Government is advising the King of Egypt to exercise his legal right of striking out from the *Katalogos* names of anyone whom his advisers think undesirable. That a Moslem should have power to do anything of the kind is monstrous and a violation no less of decency than of liberty. If that privilege be used, it may unhappily be construed as being inspired by the British Residency, but the resentment and indignation which it will arouse will be shared assuredly by all of us Anglicans.